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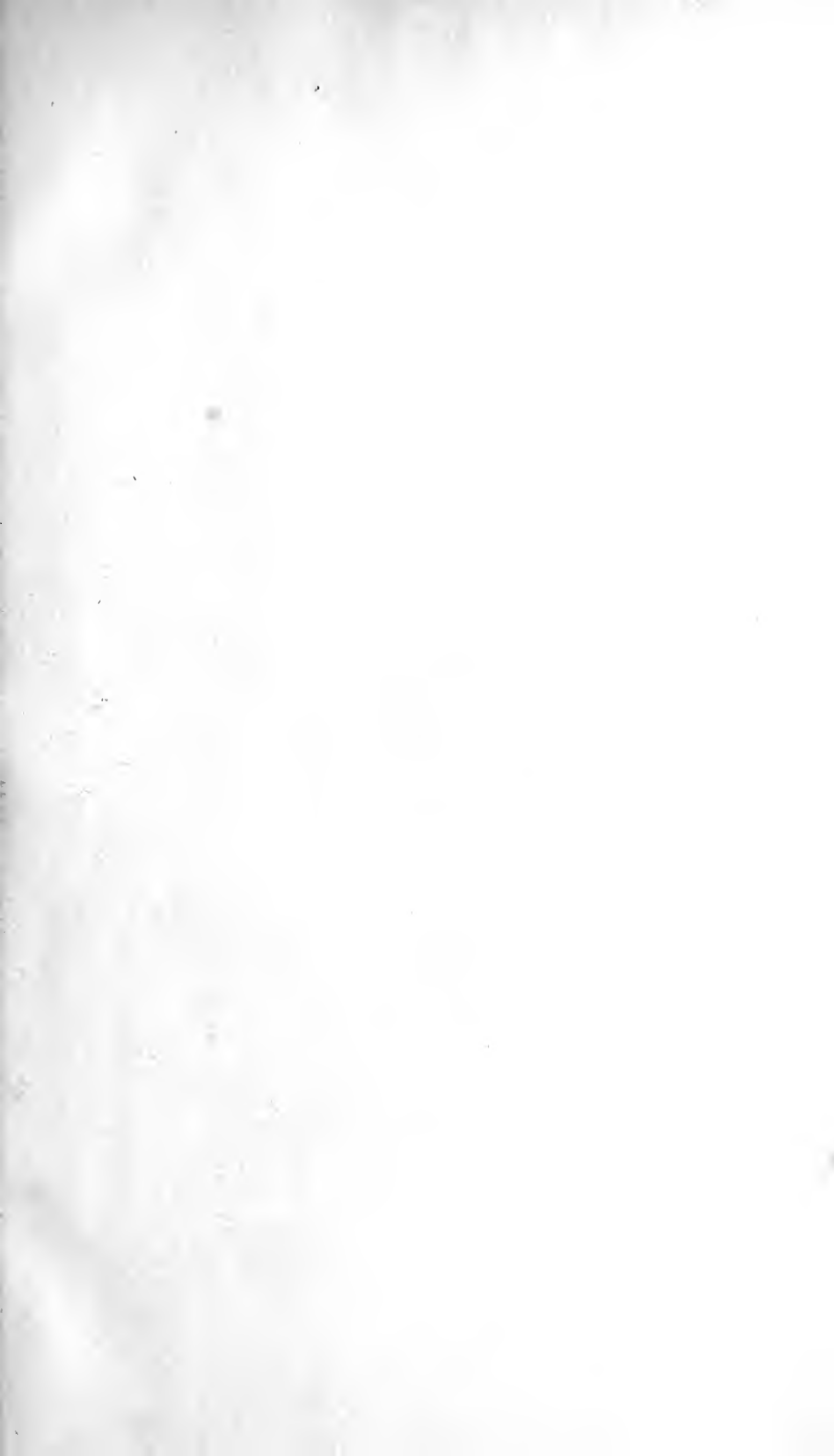
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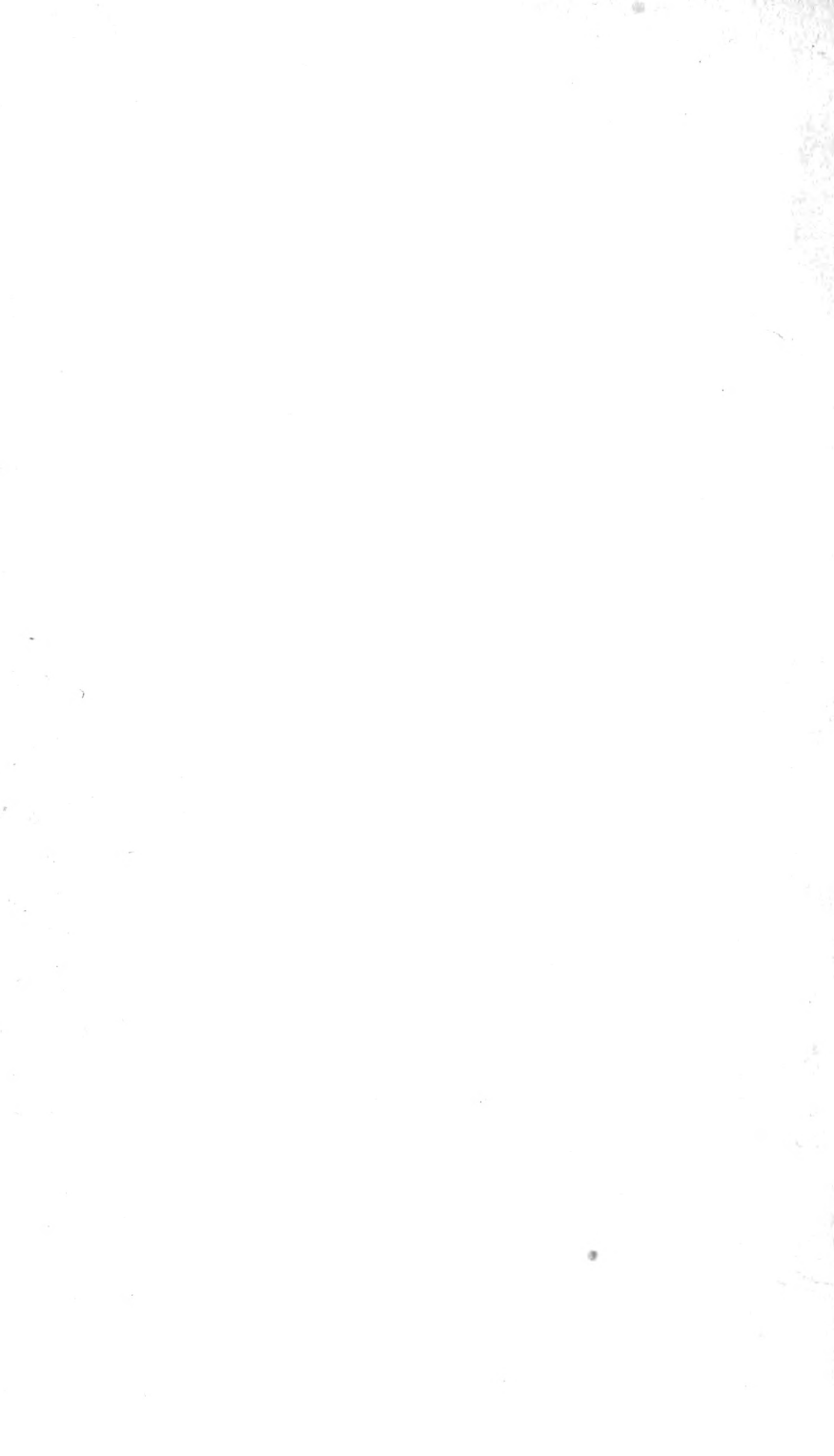
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THE CORRESPONDENCE  
OF  
M. TULLIUS CICERO.

BY THE SAME EDITOR.

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**BACCHAE** of **EURIPIDES**. London: Longmans & Co., 1871.

**MILES GLORIOSUS** OF **PLAUTUS**. London: Macmillan & Co., 1881.

**TROADES** OF **EURIPIDES**. Dublin: Browne and Nolan, 1882.

**DUBLIN TRANSLATIONS**. London: Longmans & Co., 1882.

**ACHARNIANS** OF **ARISTOPHANES**:—  
Translated into English Verse. London:  
Longmans & Co., 1883.

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# THE CORRESPONDENCE

OF

## M. TULLIUS CICERO,

ARRANGED ACCORDING TO ITS CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER;

WITH

A REVISION OF THE TEXT, A COMMENTARY,

AND

INTRODUCTORY ESSAYS

ON

THE LIFE OF CICERO, AND THE STYLE OF HIS LETTERS

BY

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*Fellow of Trinity College, and Regius Professor of Greek in the University of Dublin.*

Land Louis  
Claude  
Purser

VOL. I.



(SECOND EDITION.)

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TO THE  
RIGHT HONOURABLE J. T. BALL, LL.D., D.C.L.,  
LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR OF IRELAND,  
AS A MARK OF RESPECT FOR HIS JUDICIAL AND PUBLIC CHARACTER,  
AND  
AS A TRIBUTE TO HIS SCHOLARSHIP AND LEARNING,  
THIS EDITION  
OF  
THE CORRESPONDENCE  
OF  
THE GREAT ROMAN LAWYER, THINKER, AND ORATOR,  
IS DEDICATED.

TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN,  
*May, 1879.*





# PREFACE

TO THE SECOND EDITION.

---

IN preparing the present edition I have gone carefully over the whole book, paying special attention to the kind and instructive remarks of the critics of the first edition. Several notes have been re-written, and most of my statements examined anew. In the work of examination and verification I have received much assistance from my friend Mr. Purser.

Since the appearance of my first volume, the criticism of the *Epp. ad Fam.* has passed into quite a new phase. The admirable monograph of Thurot on the *codex Turonensis* has proved its independence of M; and the paper of Fr. Rühl in the *Rheinisches Museum* has called attention to the value of the Harleian *codices* in the British Museum. These Harleian *codices* Mr. Purser has collated. I have introduced into the *Adnotatio Critica* of this volume a complete account of the tradition of H and T (which are described in Introd. iii. § 1).

It will be observed, however, that this volume contains very few of the letters *ad Familiares*. The succeeding volumes will present a full account of the readings of these important mss, which have not yet been used by any editors of the letters. The Introduction to vol. ii. will also, I trust, contain a full description of the Harleian *codices*.

When I wrote the *Praefatio* to the *Adnotatio Critica*, it had been my intention to correct some of the quite trivial errors in Rühl's paper\* in the *Rheinisches Museum*, vol. xxx., which I had followed in the Introduction; also to say a few words confirmatory of the theory that Rühl had advocated as to the value of the Harleian mss, and especially of the small one that contains the first half of the Epp. ad Fam. This I had intended to do on the basis of Mr. Purser's collation of these mss which he made for me a few months ago, at a time when, unfortunately, the Introduction was already printed. But *pereant qui ante nos!* Within the last few days there has come into my hands vol. iii. of the *Commentationes Philologiae Ienenses* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1884), in which (pp. 99–214) there is a masterly article by Oscar Streicher, 'De Ciceronis Epistolis ad Familiares emendandis,' treating fully of the smaller Harleian ms (a collation of which he obtained from Rühl), and of its relation to M and T. No one who has studied the Harleian ms right through, with Baiter's collation of M and Thurot's collation of T beside him, could come to a different conclusion from that which Streicher has arrived at; but few indeed could treat the problem in such an exhaustive and patient manner as he has done, so as to confirm his theory absolutely and beyond all question. Streicher's

\* At p. 4. 33, Orelli, H reads *idēq' est factum*. Is not this *idemque est factum*? Rühl says H reads *id ē q' factum*. In 15, 18, H reads *mirificus et*, not *mirificus senatus*. (Rühl saw this: see Streicher, p. 114). When Rühl says that at 16, 43, H reads *ordatum*; at 153, 12, *pergratum*; at 185, 9, *ultra*; at 196, 17, *initiat*; these are, no doubt, mere errors of the printer for *ortatum*, *pergratam*, *ultra*, and *initiatum*, which are the readings of II. In the list of books in the larger Harleian ms, Rühl has omitted 115<sup>a</sup>, *invektiva Ciceronis in Catilinam* (= the orations against Catiline); 125<sup>b</sup>, *Paradoxa Stoicorum*; 159<sup>a</sup>, anonymous fragment concerning Mile's case. The copy of the speech for Deiotarus at 134<sup>a</sup> only goes down as far as *aetate*, § 27: that at 142<sup>b</sup>, is complete. There are only a few fragments of the 4th Verrine at 159<sup>a</sup>. There is the whole of Book i., and Book ii. down to *intellegentiae*, § 34 of the *De Officiis*. At 180<sup>a</sup> is a letter of Alexander the Great to Aristotle; and at 185<sup>a</sup> some legends on the birth of Alexander. The speeches in *Sallustium* mean the so-called invective of Cicero against Sallust, and of Sallust against Cicero. I was wrong in stating that each book of the Epp. ad Fam. in H<sup>a</sup> has a separate index. Books x., xi. have no index. Further, in H<sup>b</sup>, there are indices to Books iii., iv., v., vi., viii. (first nine letters).

treatise is one of those complete and thoroughgoing works which uphold and extend the high renown that justly attaches to the learning of the great German nation. And, moreover, it forms an epoch: for Orelli's theory, which was put forward with all that profound scholar's vigour as the voice of truth ('sed vicit veritas', Hist. Crit. p. xvi), but which, from the very beginning, was subjected to powerful attacks, has now been finally demolished. I shall accordingly do no more than state the conclusion at which Streicher has arrived as regards the relation of the mss independent of M, viz., H, T, P (a Paris ms collated by Rühl). He supposes an original (lost) archetype (X), from which M and another lost ms (Y) were copied. From Y were copied H and another lost ms (Z). From Z were copied T and P. That H and T are independent can be felt from the fact that in three passages (iv. 6, 3; 12, 2; vi. 1, 6) they both preserve the correct readings, which M has disfigured, passages on which Thurot (p. 7) lays especial stress; and that H is independent of T is proved by the fact that the extraordinary displacement in i. 9 which is found in T (see Thurot, p. 25) is not found in H. Of course these are only samples of a vast number of similar arguments. For the full discussion of the question let the reader turn to Streicher,\* and he will be amply rewarded.

As regards the larger Harleian ms, there is little to be said beyond what Rühl has already told us, until (should the hope I

\* Among Streicher's original remarks there are, I think, only five on the letters in this volume. In Fam. v. 2, 7, he thinks *animo* of M and H arose from a repetition *iniurianemounquam animo*. But still, as he does not approve of *aliquo* of Z, for an opposition is wanted to *consulatus*, he leaves the passage unsettled. Perhaps *alio quo* would get over the difficulty. In v. 1, 1 he defends (with Thurot) *quo quidem* of Z against *quibus* of M, H, as the former expresses more bitterness. In v. 2, 7 he wishes to expunge the second *magna voce*. In v. 7, 3 he justly defends *verebare* of H T, as having mss authority against *vererere*, obtained from *verere* of M. Either would suit grammatically. In Att. iii. 15, 6 he reads *id quod* for *idque* as the latter, he thinks, cannot be used in a parenthesis, and such is the regular usage of *id quod*. (See his great store of examples, p. 139.) This improvement had already been made by Klotz, and was adopted in the first edition of this work.

have expressed in Pref. to Adn. Crit. not be disappointed) I may be able to treat of it at length in the Introduction to Volume ii. I may, however, just mention a very few passages which will add some confirmation to Rühl's theory of the independence of H and M:—x. 21, 6, p. 178, 18 (Orelli) H inserts *ut* before *exercitum* (conjectured by Ern.); xi. 14, 18, p. 199, 18 after *me* H adds *litteris* (a conjecture of Kleyn's); xiii. 15, 1, p. 239, 13 H adds before *νεφέλη* the words *ον φοτο τον δακεος* for *ως φάτο τον δ' ἄχεος*, Odyss. 24, 314; xiii. 28, 3, p. 246, 12 H reads *tibi confirmo in meque recipio*; xiv. 4, 5, p. 268, 26 H adds *non* after *ferenda*; xv. 8, p. 283, 22 for *suesti* H reads *consuesti* (a conj. of Cratander); xvi. 17, p. 299, 36 for *scis etueum* H reads *scite tu eum* (a conjecture of Wesenberg); xvi. 21, 1, p. 301, 1 for *adoptatissimus* H reads *exoptatissimus*.

When I quote Lange, I refer to the third edition of his *Römische Alterthümer* (Berlin, 1876). When I quote Marquardt, to the second edition of his *Römische Staatsverwaltung* (Leipzig, 1881). Whenever 'Marquardt, iv.' is referred to, the reference is to his volume entitled *Das Privatleben der Römer* (1879). 'Momm-  
sen St. R.' refers to the second edition of his *Römisches Staatsrecht* (Leipzig, 1876).

I have acted in accordance with the suggestion of a very kindly reviewer in the *Quarterly Review*, in adding to each page a headline giving the reference to the letter printed on that page, and in appending the date B. C. to the date A. U. C. wherever it is given. I have surveyed, in an Appendix to the Introduction, the relations of Cicero with Caesar and Pompeius before the outbreak of the Civil War, with special reference to the views put forward by a brilliant reviewer of the first edition of this volume, in the *Times* (Aug. 16, 1880). I have relegated to the same part of the volume a discussion about the relations between Cicero and Tiro, and an essay on the authorship of the *Commentariolum Petitionis*. The Addenda to the Commentary, dealing with certain difficult points

in history and antiquities, are from the pen of Mr. Purser. I have enlarged considerably the essay on the style of the letters, which appears under Introd. ii. § 2.

It was gratifying to find that I. C. G. Boot, whose *Observationes Criticae ad Cic. Epp.* appeared (Amsterdam, 1880) not long after my first volume, adopts, in some cases,\* the views which I had ventured to put forward in contravention of the doctrine of that eminent critic. But I have no reason to believe that he has ever seen my edition.

The great Madvig's *Adversaria Critica*, vol. iii., reached me just in time to allow me to record his conjectures in my *Adnotatio Critica*. These are all, of course, most interesting and instructive. There is, perhaps, only one (his conjecture on Att. iii. 15, 5) which one would have been disposed to adopt in the text.

The second volume of the Correspondence will appear very soon. I had begun to print when I was called on to prepare the second edition of this volume.

\* *E.g.* Att. iii. 7, 2; iii. 15, 4. The places are referred to in the notes. Boot also proposes the emendation of Att vi., l. 17, which I proposed in *Hermathena*, vol. i., pp. 205-208.

TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN,

December, 1884.

THE READER will kindly make the following CORRECTIONS. (Where *a* or *b* is added, the reference is to the first or second column of the notes; otherwise, the reference is to the text):—

Page 33, line 2 of note †, for 'Strachar-Davidson' read 'Strachan-Davidson.'

- „ 52, l. 18, for 'σεμνότερός τις' read 'σεμνότερος τις.'
- „ 61, l. 8, for 'presents' read 'present.'
- „ 72, note, for 'Cice' read 'Cicero.'
- „ 73, note, for 'compendius' read 'compendious.'
- „ 75, l. 28, for 'ix. 1, 1' read 'ix. 11, 1.'
- „ 82, l. 34, for 'codez' read 'codex.'
- „ 87, l. 22, for 'eorem' read 'eorum.'
- „ 91, l. 12, for 'Medico' read 'Mediceo.'
- „ 99, l. 22, third column, for 'Cariolani' read 'Coriolani.'
- „ 100, l. 1, for 'THB' read 'THE.'
- „ 104, l. 10, for 'gemadmodum' read 'quemadmodum.'
- „ 120, l. 37, for 'preturae' read 'praeturae.'
- „ 127, *a*, 13, for moribas' read 'moribus.'
- „ 130, 14, for exaedificatem' read 'exaedificatam.'
- „ 157, *b*, 26, after 'pro Mur.' add 73.
- „ 158, *b*, 5, for 'genlis' read 'gentis.'
- „ 169, 21, for 'detulis set' read 'detulisset.'
- „ 182, *b*, 1, for 'sometime' read 'sometimes.'
- „ 197, *b*, 32, for 'desterces' read 'sesterces.'
- „ 218, 16, for 'summam' read 'summum.'
- „ 223, 17, del full stop after 'sermone.'
- „ 223, *a*, 24, for 'requitem' read 'requietem.'
- „ 245, *b*, 3, for 'negotiationes' read 'negotiatores.'
- „ 282, *b*, 5, for 'ἔρδοι' read 'ἔρδοι.'
- „ 302, *a*, 23, for 'M' read 'In.'
- „ 302, *b*, 13, for 'ὑποθήκαις' read 'ὑποθήκαι.'
- „ 306, *a*, 30, for 'See' read 'La.'
- „ 332, 15, for 'quamvellem' read 'quam vellem.'
- „ 353, 14, for 'misserimum' read 'miserrimum.'
- „ 396, *b*, 9, for 'multitudina' read 'multitudine.'

# P R E F A C E

TO THE FIRST EDITION.

---

I KNOW that in attempting an edition of the whole correspondence of Cicero I am essaying a very large task. But it seems to me that a selection from a correspondence must always be eminently unsatisfactory. The editor must base his selection on some principle. Most editors will be guided, as Mr. Watson is, chiefly by considerations of historical importance and interest. But this principle will include compositions like the long letter to Lentulus (Fam. i. 9) and the first to Quintus, compositions which, except in outward form, resemble rather Cicero's speeches or his philosophical essays; and must exclude many of those charming little bits of *causerie*, the birth of a moment, which have stereotyped for us in a perfect phrase a passing smile or sigh of the writer; which have caught for us the 'flying blossom' of the *forum* or the *triclinium*; and which teem with interesting traits in the social life of the ancient Romans. Moreover, in these days of examinations the student must always view with uneasiness a book which, from its method, must often omit letters containing those cruxes which the correspondence so richly supplies, to be to the examiner 'a joy, and to himself a casting down of the eyes'.

I think it is not necessary for me to use any arguments to defend the course I have taken in editing the letters in their

chronological order. It seems to me that this is the only fruitful manner of reading any correspondence, and that much confusion and some misapprehension must necessarily result from its neglect. To go no further than the first letter of the first book to Atticus (as given in the editions which are not founded on the chronological sequence), we find that in it the chances of Cicero in his candidature for the consulship are fully discussed. We pursue our reading till we come to the tenth letter of the same book, when we again find Cicero anxious about an election. Will not the reader naturally suppose this to be the election spoken of in the first letter? But no; in the tenth letter Cicero is discussing his election to the praetorship, which he held two years before he had written the letter which stands in the ordinary editions as the first letter of the first book to Atticus.

On pp. 302, 303, I have given a list of the editors whom I have consulted in the recension of the text. Many of these have also been available for the English Commentary. I acknowledge fully my large indebtedness to Mr. Watson, whose work has established for itself, both in England and on the Continent, a very high position among classical editions. I have frequently in my notes called attention to the brilliant renderings of Mr. Pretor.

The selections of Hofmann, Süpfle, Frey, Parry, Matthiae, and Pritchard and Bernard, have been often consulted; the first three have been constantly before me. For the *Epp. ad Att.* I have chiefly used Boot; and Schütz and Billerbeck for the *ad Fam.* and *ad Q. Fr.*

I have found M. Gaston Boissier's *Cicéron et ses amis* not only very attractive but most useful; not, perhaps, so much for the facts which he supplies, which are generally easy inferences from the standard books of reference, as for the method of his work, and his admirably just estimate of the character and position of Cicero.



The text I have given is not the text of this or that editor. Baiter has given what professes to be, and is allowed to be, a thoroughly accurate collation of M, and a thoroughly complete record of the other tributaries which go to complete our knowledge of the text. Baiter is a scholar of high eminence, and of his valuable contributions to the knowledge of the letters by far the most important undoubtedly is this—he has rendered superfluous any other collation of the mss which are the sources of our knowledge. If every subsequent editor were bound to accept not only his testimony to the evidence of these mss, but also his inferences therefrom, then it would have been my duty to reproduce the text of Baiter. If, on the other hand, every editor who does not reproduce the text of Baiter must have himself collated the mss, then the work of Baiter has been thrown away. Scientific facts once ascertained do not call for repeated verification at the hands of each successive inquirer: why should not a collation once satisfactorily executed be regarded as final for the purposes of future editors? I conceive that an editor of the letters should accept without question the record which Baiter has given of the readings of M and the other mss of the letters, and should draw his own inferences therefrom. Accordingly, I have not been able to accept the text of Baiter as a whole. My text would, I think, more closely agree with that of Klotz (ed. 2nd). But from him I am obliged often to dissent. I believe I have adhered more closely than any other editor to M as reported by Baiter, and in this I follow Orelli, whose criticism, however, was unfortunately vitiated by a belief in the fabricated *codices* of Bosius, the fictitious character of which was discovered by Moriz Haupt in 1855. In many cases I have printed in my text the corrupt reading of M obelised, rather than acquiesce in a manifestly unsatisfactory conjecture. I have been very careful not to introduce, to the exclusion of the received conjecture, a conjecture of my own

or of another, unless I think the received conjecture is almost demonstrably wrong. I have given in Introd. iii. § 2 a list of the most important changes which I have either suggested or introduced. An estimate of the value of the different sources of our knowledge of the text will be found in Introd. iii. § 1.

I have quoted from the works of Cicero by reference to the sections, not to the chapters. In my notes I found myself compelled to quote passages from the letters not included in the present instalment by reference to their place in the letters *ad Att.*, *ad Fam.*, and *ad Q. Fr.*, and therefore, for uniformity, I have so designated letters included in the present instalment.

I wish to express my deep sense of the kindness of Dr. Ingram, Librarian of Trinity College, Dublin, and Editor of the literary side of the Dublin Series, in supervising these sheets as they passed through the press; and of the value of the suggestions which he has made.

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Mr. Froude's work on CAESAR has just appeared. My *Introduction* had gone to press some weeks before its publication; so that I have not been able to make any use of it. I have now read the book, and I do not see reason to modify any of my views. The work seems to me to derive its claim to attention chiefly from the eminence of its author. Most of the difficulties which beset the years 686-697 (b. c. 68-57), Mr. Froude shirks or shelves. He confidently asserts that Cicero did defend Catiline when charged with malversation in Africa, without giving any reasons for holding this view, or noticing any of the objections which have been urged against it.\* He dismisses with-

\* See note on Ep. xii. § 8, where the evidence on this matter is set forth.

out examination the charge of complicity with Catiline which has been well nigh proved against Caesar by Mommsen. 'Cicero', he says, 'was too honourable to lend himself to an accusation which he knew to be false'. A reference to my Introduction, pp. 17-20, will show what Cicero really thought about this matter, and to which side, the innocence or the guilt of Caesar, the evidence points. Mr. Froude seems to think that Caesar did utter all those rhetorical commonplaces on the text *mors ultima linea rerum est*, which Sallust puts into his mouth, and that Cicero matched his thesis with the antithesis *letum non omnia finit*. He hardly seems to understand Clodia—the *belle dame sans merci* who broke the heart of Catullus, poisoned her husband, intrigued with her brother, and prostituted herself to all the 'great-hearted sons of Remus'. Mr. Froude thinks that it may have been through her influence that Cicero took a lenient view of the Clodian violation of the mysteries of the Bona Dea, and that it may have been Cicero's intimacy with his sister which led Clodius to that course of conduct which ended in the exile of Cicero. *Ego illam odi* are the words in which Cicero describes his feelings towards Clodia. The story of an intimacy between Cicero and Clodia is utterly inconsistent with the character of Cicero, and with his expressed opinions. Moreover, even if it were true, plainly it would not by any means account for the conduct of Cicero or of Clodius. *Pulchellus* would not concern himself about the question whether *βούπις* had one lover more or less. Cicero's conduct in taking a lenient view of Clodius' sacrilege does not need to be accounted for; it was the *optimiste* policy to stand aloof from the trial. What really calls for an explanation is the fact that he ultimately threw himself violently into the anti-Clodian ranks; and this I think I have explained. Mr. Froude represents Clodius as acting in the interests of Caesar in his early attacks on Cicero. He neglects the significant fact that Clodius sought the tribunate as an avowed opponent of Caesar, and that Caesar sought in every

way to protect Cicero from his persecution, and he slurs over the difficulty by a maxim new to me that 'Politics, like love, makes strange bedfellows'.

Caesar's endeavours to befriend Cicero seem to me to be more naturally ascribed to personal feelings of admiration for the splendid abilities of Cicero, and a belief in him as a power in the state, than to 'a desire to work with the existing methods till the inadequacy of them has been proved beyond a doubt'. That the former theory is more consistent, not only with the evidence which has come down to us, but also with the character of Caesar himself, I have attempted to show (Introd., pp. 10-15). Mr. Froude has not been very accurate in his account of the trial of Clodius; and I should be glad to know in what old-world commentary he found that the words *nosti enim marinas* (Att. i. 16, 10) have reference 'to an adventure among the pirates, from which he (Clodius) came of with nameless infamy.' The words are not even addressed to Clodius, and could not possibly bear the meaning ascribed to them.

I am glad to see that Mr. Froude admits that Cicero never coquetted with Democracy. Yet he afterwards speaks of Cicero as 'trimming between the two parties'; and his view seems finally to resolve itself into Mr. Beesly's charge that Cicero 'took the wrong side'. The theory that Cicero would have thrown in his lot with Caesar, but that he feared that he should be eclipsed by the paramount genius of the latter, rests on a misconception which I have tried clearly to point out. Until long after Cicero had definitely chosen his side in politics, the paramount figure in his eyes and his countrymen's was not Caesar but Pompeius. If any jealousy such as this had actuated Cicero, it would have effectually withheld him from embracing the party of the *Optimates*, who looked to Pompeius as their champion, and finally espoused his cause against Caesar.

Mommsen has finely remarked that in the soul of Caesar there

was room for much beside the statesman. If Mr. Froude had told how the soul of Caesar was large enough to harbour a true appreciation of what was really good and great, even in a pronounced political opponent—large enough to hold an enthusiastic admiration for the unsurpassed intellectual powers of Cicero—he would have been able, without resorting to fiction, to place in a really beautiful light the nature of his hero ; and he might perhaps have dispensed with the futile attempt to wash the stains from the moral character of this extraordinary man. Yet we see how such an attempt was forced upon Mr. Froude when we arrive at the whimsical ‘parallel’ with which he has thought it fitting to close his sketch. It seems that after so many years the sacred admonition must still be urged : ‘Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar’s, and unto God the things that are God’s’.

TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN,  
*May*, 1879.

OMNES AUTEM CICERONIS EPISTOLAS LEGENDAS CENSEO MEA SENTENTIA VEL MAGIS  
QUAM OMNES EIUS ORATIONES. EPISTOLIS CICERONIS NIHIL EST PERFECTIUS.—*Fronto ad*  
*Antonin.* II. EP. 5.

EGO TECUM TAMQUAM MECUM LOQUOR.—*Cic. ad Att.* VIII. 14, 2.

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# INTRODUCTION.

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## I.—HISTORICAL.

### § 1. ON THE CHARACTER OF CICERO AS A PUBLIC MAN.

IN putting forth an edition of the Letters of Cicero in their order as written, one may dispense with the labour of telling over again the oft-told tale of Cicero's life. The salient facts are set down in a short summary prefixed to each year of Cicero's correspondence. But it will be convenient to take a broad view of Cicero's position in public and private life before we enter on the study of a series of letters which present to us the picture of the downfall of the Roman Republic. No picture could be sadder than this. The most tragic of spectacles is the baffled strength of a blind giant, the helplessness of a Hercules Furens or a Samson Agonistes. And it is with feelings not different that we regard that Republic which had developed such great vital forces, such a disciplined subordination of imagination to logic, and of the individual to the State, slipping into a despotism through the unworthiness of an oligarchy who were unconscious of her decadence, or even indifferent to it.

The present instalment of the correspondence of Cicero includes only eighty-nine letters. But these are of the highest interest, as they follow the fortunes of Cicero from his entrance into public life through his exile to his restoration. I hope to be able to prefix to future volumes of this work some estimate of the character of Cicero as it appears in the letters of those volumes. My observations at present will mainly have reference to the earlier part of Cicero's career.

The gusts which had menaced the Republic from without had died away before the storm began to brew within. The year after Cicero's birth witnessed the conclusion of the Jugurthine War by Marius and his quaestor Sulla—ominous conjunction; and Cicero was only six years of age when Marius and the pro-consul Catulus—the ideal optimates of Cicero—by their victory over the Cimbri, made Rome safe from the Germans. Henceforth 'foreign levy' is but a tool in the hands of 'treason domestic.' In the year of the city 666 (b. c. 88), the tribune P. Sulpicius, in transferring to Marius the command and province of Sulla, first exercised a power which was afterwards fatal to the Republic—a power which was crushed by Sulla, which was restored by Pompeius, which made Pompeius despot by the Gabinian and Manilian Laws, and which finally ruined him. In 669 (b. c. 85) we have a definite foretaste of the Empire in the spectacle of two rival Roman generals—Flaccus and Fimbria—opposing, each in his own interest, Mithridates, the common foreign foe.

In 674 (b. c. 80), at the age of 26 (just ten years before his famous prosecution of Verres, which may be looked on as launching him in public life), Cicero pleaded his first public cause. As the last words of the Master-Orator were a denunciation of the tyranny of Antonius, so the maiden speech of the rising advocate was levelled against the oppression of Sulla.\* It is evident that the charge of parricide brought against Sex. Roscius of Ameria was a political charge; yet in this speech, as well as in his defence of a woman of Arretium the following year, Cicero dared to lift up his voice against injustice, even though not only fear, but strong public partisanship, might have sealed the lips of one who describes the regime of Sulla in the words *recuperata respublica* (Brut. 311).

This bold step on the part of Cicero has been reflected on in two different ways. Plutarch ascribes to the fear of Sulla's vengeance the departure of Cicero for Greece in the following year. This theory shows clearly how dangerous must have appeared to Plutarch the bold front shown to the powerful dictator, but can

\* He thus describes its nature in the *De Officiis* (ii. 51): *maxime autem et gloria paritur et gratia defensionibus, eoque maior si quando accidit ut ei subveniatur, qui potentis alicuius opibus circumveniri urgerique videatur: ut nos et saepe alias et adolescentes contra L. Sullae dominantis opes pro S. Roscio Amerino fecimus: quae, ut scis, exstat oratio.*

hardly be accepted as accounting for the journey to Greece, inasmuch as the tyrant threw down the dagger the very year of Cicero's absence. But again, Cicero has been accused of showing in this proceeding a readiness to coquet with democracy. Now this is an entirely misleading point of view, and rests on a misconception of the Roman Bar in the days of Cicero.

The young Roman of promise seeking to work his way into political eminence was forced to adopt the profession of an advocate. And how does the advocate distinguish himself? By winning his case; and we have seen by the passage from the *De Officiis* just quoted, that the more difficult and dangerous was the case to handle, the more fitted it was to supply to the daring advocate a step on the ladder of promotion. The young Roman aspirant to political distinction looked about for some one to impeach or some one to defend as his only means of gaining public notice. There was hardly a man of eminence at Rome who had not appeared both as prosecutor and as defendant. Plutarch tells us that Cato Maior was prosecuted nearly fifty times, and he was constantly engaged in the prosecution of others.

In the year 689 (b.c. 65) Cicero, in a far more democratic speech, defended the tribune Cornelius, against whom the aristocrats had trumped up a charge of treason. Cicero spoke in defence of the tribune for four successive days. This speech, embellished as it was with an elaborate eulogy of Pompeius, is quoted by Quintilian (iv. 3, 13) as an illustrious instance of the power with which a great orator can wield his digressions.\* In another passage (viii. 3, 3), Quintilian again refers to the same speech in these words:

Nec fortibus modo sed etiam fulgentibus armis proeliatur in causa Cicero Corneli; qui non consecutus esset docendo iudicem tantum et utiliter demum ac Latine perspicueque dicendo, ut populus Romanus admirationem suam non acclamatione tantum sed etiam plausu confiteretur. Sublimitas profecto et magnificentia et nitor et auctoritas expressit illum fragorem. Nec tam insolita laus esset prosecuta dicentem, si usitata et ceteris similis fuisset oratio. Atque ego illos credo, qui aderant, nec sensisse, quid facerent, nec sponte iudicioque plausisse; sed velut mente captos et, quo essent in loco, ignaros erupisse in hunc voluptatis affectum.

\* Cicero calls these rhetorical artifices *καμπαι* in one of his letters, Att. i. 14, 4.

Such is the feeling which Cicero desired to evoke. He spoke for Cornelius as he spoke against Verres, as Whiteside spoke for O'Connell, in the pursuit of professional distinction, and to establish his growing fame as an unrivalled speaker and pleader. Quintus, in his *Commentariolum Petitionis*, is never tired of urging the vast importance of a reputation as a speaker. Yet modern historians see in these speeches evidence that Cicero at first attached himself to the democratic party, which he was bribed to abandon by the promised support of the Optimates in his canvass for the consulship. This charge would certainly have been met and rebutted by Cicero in some of his works if it had ever been made against him in his own time. He would doubtless have been astonished if he could have foreseen that this would be one of the 'verdicts of history for which,' as he says,\* 'I feel much more reverence than for the chit-chat of the present age.' We may well exclaim, as did the orator himself in this same speech, *O callidos homines, O rem excogitatam, O ingenia metuenda*.

I should not have thought it necessary to refer to the calumnies which beset Cicero on the very threshold of public life, but that it is so very important to show how futile is the appeal to his forensic speeches as evidence for Cicero's political opinions. For these we must go firstly to his private letters, and secondly to his philosophical and rhetorical works. That we are not to look in these speeches for his personal opinions, we have his own evidence in a most important passage in his speech for Cluentius (139):

Errat vehementer, si quis in orationibus nostris, quas in iudiciis habuimus, auctoritates nostras consignatas se habere arbitratur. Omnes enim illae orationes, causarum ac temporum sunt, non hominum ipsorum aut patronorum. Nam, si causae ipsae pro se loqui possent, nemo adhiberet oratorem. Nunc adhibemur, ut ea dicamus, non quae nostra auctoritate constituentur, sed quae ex re ipsa causae ducantur.

Moreover, we have the same circumstances viewed from opposite, or at least very different, points of view in different speeches, as no one can fail to observe who reads the *pro Sulla* with the

\* Quid vero historiae de nobis ad annos DC praedicarint? Quas quidem ego multo magis vereor quam eorum hominum qui hodie vivunt rumuseulos, Att. ii. 5, 1.

speeches against Catiline, or who, after admiring the denunciations hurled on Verres for his oppression of Sicily, takes up the defence of M. Fonteius, charged with malversation in Gaul—a speech delivered the year after the Verrines were written.\* And such contrasts, no doubt, would far more frequently appear if Cicero had oftener been a prosecutor. Hence Cicero's personal opinions should never be sought in his forensic speeches. Even in his political speeches one must not expect a too accurate record of his real convictions. Who, for instance, could for a moment believe that in the speech against the wise and moderate Agrarian Law of Rullus† Cicero was speaking otherwise than as an advocate? And hence we may estimate the priceless value of the private letters and the works on philosophy and rhetoric. As an instance of his unprejudiced expression of his real opinion in his rhetorical treatises, one recalls his high praise‡ of Sulpicius, whose defection from the ranks of the Optimates must have made him politically very distasteful to one whose ideal statesmen were Metellus Numidicus,§ and Q. Lutatius Catulus.|| That the public letters are by no means so trustworthy might be expected *a priori*; and we have among them letters in which one can hardly believe that the expressed sentiment is sincere—for instance, the letter to Antonius (Att. xiv. 13 *b*), in which he uses such very temperate expressions to describe his feelings towards his old enemy Clodius.

In his private letters, however, we may expect to find his real opinions. But his private letters, though a fountain of light to

\* Compare also with the language of the Catilinarian speeches the very temperate portrait of Catiline in the *pro Caelio*.

† This Law was conceived in the best spirit of wise and moderate statesmanship. But the principle of drafting off the idle population of Rome as colonists of the public domain was the pet scheme of the Gracchi, and was identified with the democratic programme. Cicero, therefore, as an optimate, was bound to oppose it, and he has shown amazing adroitness in turning the passions of the people against a scheme with which he must to a great extent have sympathised. Surely the *etiquette* of party government must have rendered every Englishman familiar with such acts. And nowhere can we find a closer analogy to Roman politics than in our own party struggles. Afterwards, in 694, when it was not a party question, he spoke strongly in favour of a similar Agrarian Law proposed by Flavius.—Att. i. 19, 4.

‡ De Orat. i. 131–2, iii. 31. Brut. 183, 203.

§ Pro Sest. 101. Pro Planc. 89.

|| Att. i. 20, 3. De Orat. iii. 9.

those who read them with intelligence and without a theory, may be made the source of a formal *acte d'accusation* against the whole character and life of Cicero in the hands of a theorist who insists on reading letters which (never intended to be published) reflect every passing light or shade which falls across the disc of the writer's mind, as so many chapters of a history which registers and stereotypes at each page the political convictions of a statesman. M. Gaston Boissier, in his admirable study of Roman society in the last days of the Republic called *Cicéron et ses amis*, points out how the man of the world is really more fitted to read the letters of Cicero aright than the German professor. I think I shall not do ill in giving this passage in Boissier's own words:—

Ces faiblesses d'un moment, ces soupçons ridicules qui naissent d'une blessure d'amour-propre, ces courtes violences qui se calment dès qu'on réfléchit, ces injustices qu'arrache le dépit, ces bouffées d'ambition que la raison s'empresse de désavouer, une fois qu'on les a confiées à un ami, ne périssent plus. Un jour, un commentateur curieux étudiera ces confidences trop sincères, et il s'en servira pour tracer de l'imprudent qui les a faites un portrait à effrayer la postérité. Il prouvera, par des citations exactes et irréfutables, qu'il était mauvais citoyen et méchant ami, qu'il n'aimait ni son pays ni sa famille, qu'il était jaloux des honnêtes gens et qu'il a trahi tous les partis. Il n'en est rien cependant, et un esprit sage ne se laisse pas abuser par l'artifice de ces citations perfides. Il sait bien qu'on ne doit pas prendre à la lettre ces gens emportés ni croire trop à ce qu'ils disent. Il faut les défendre contre eux-mêmes, refuser de les écouter quand la passion les égare, et distinguer surtout leurs sentiments véritables et persistants de toutes ces exagérations qui ne durent pas. Voilà pourquoi tout le monde n'est pas propre à bien comprendre les lettres; tout le monde ne sait pas les lire comme il faut. Je me défie de ces savants qui, sans aucune habitude des hommes, sans aucune expérience de la vie, prétendent juger Cicéron d'après sa correspondance. Le plus souvent ils le jugent mal. Ils cherchent l'expression de sa pensée dans ces politesses banales que la société exige et qui n'engagent pas plus ceux qui les font qu'elles ne trompent ceux qui les reçoivent. Ils traitent de lâches compromis ces concessions qu'il faut bien se faire quand on veut vivre ensemble. Ils voient des contradictions manifestes dans ces couleurs différentes qu'on donne à son opinion suivant les personnes auxquelles on parle. Ils triomphent de l'imprudence de certains aveux ou de

la fatuité de certains éloges, parce qu'ils ne saisissent pas la fine ironie qui les tempère. Pour bien apprécier toutes ces nuances, pour rendre aux choses leur importance véritable, pour être bon juge de la portée de ces phrases qui se disent avec un demi-sourire et ne signifient pas toujours tout ce qu'elles semblent dire, il faut avoir plus d'habitude de la vie qu'on n'en prend d'ordinaire dans une université d'Allemagne. S'il faut dire ce que je pense, dans cette appréciation délicate, je me ferais peut-être encore plus à un homme du monde qu'à un savant.\*

It is misleading—nay absolutely false—to say that Cicero made overtures to democracy. He exercised on every cause entrusted to him his unrivalled abilities as a pleader; but he who says that the author of the speech *pro Cornelio* was coquetting with democracy might as well say that the author of the speech *pro Sulla* was intriguing with the Catilinarian conspirators. His projected defence of Catiline is put forward as an advance towards the popular party. But on what evidence? Catiline was not, at the time of his trial for his malversation in Africa, in any sense the accredited successor of Gracchus or Saturninus, of Sulpicius or Cinna. It was not till the year 691 (b. c. 63) that Catiline came forward as a popular champion. The chief charge which Cicero brought against him as his opponent for the consulship was the charge of his murder of M. Marius Gratidianus, a near relation

\* pp. 14-21. I may fitly add here, as connected with this point of view, the same brilliant writer's estimate of the German detractors of Cicero, such as Drumann and Mommsen—'Drumann surtout ne lui passe rien. Il a fouillé ses œuvres et sa vie avec la minutie et la sagacité d'un homme d'affaires qui cherche les éléments d'un procès. C'est dans cet esprit de malveillance consciencieuse qu'il a dépouillé toute sa correspondance. Il a courageusement résisté au charme de ces confidences intimes qui nous font admirer l'écrivain et aimer l'homme malgré ses faiblesses, et, en opposant l'un à l'autre des fragments détachés de ses lettres et de ces discours, il est parvenu à dresser un acte d'accusation en règle où rien n'est omis, et qui tient presque un volume. M. Mommsen n'est guère plus doux, seulement il est moins long. Comme il voit les choses de haut, il ne se perd pas dans le détail. En deux de ces pages serrées et pleines de faits, comme il sait les écrire, il a trouvé moyen d'accumuler plus d'outrages pour Cicéron que n'en contient tout le volume de Drumann. On y voit notamment que ce prétendu homme d'Etat n'était qu'un égoïste et un myope, et que ce grand écrivain ne se compose que d'un feuilletoniste et d'un avocat. Voilà bien la même plume qui vient d'appeler Caton un don Quichotte et Pompée un caporal. Comme il est toujours préoccupé du présent dans ses études du passé, on dirait qu'il poursuit dans l'aristocratie romaine les hobereaux de la Prusse et qu'il salue d'avance dans César ce despote populaire dont la main ferme peut seule donner à l'Allemagne son unité.'—pp. 26, 27.

of C. Marius, in the Sullan proscriptions. Cicero in one passage says that Catiline at one time nearly imposed on himself, and that he quite suddenly discovered the desperado's designs, having previously hardly harboured a suspicion of him.\* Of course these words are to some extent the pleas of the advocate of Caelius, but they could not have been used to the jury if Catiline had always stood in a menacing attitude.

Cicero never coquetted with democracy, though he accepted the brief of Roscius and Cornelius, and entertained the idea of defending Catiline. He could win his way to distinction in public life only by his position at the Bar; and a high position at the Bar was not to be made by the picking and choosing of briefs. Had he defended Catiline he would have spoken for him as he did for Fonteius, charged with a similar offence, and his act would not have been looked on as an overture to the democratic party, even if Catiline had been the acknowledged leader of that party—a position which, I submit, Catiline did not hold, or even claim, at the time of his trial. Cicero might of course have served the interests of his canvass by defending Catiline, who could hardly have acted very strenuously against his own advocate, and who would probably have made common cause with Cicero against Antonius. It is pretty certain that as a matter of fact Cicero did not actually defend Catiline. The *oratio in toga candida* may be regarded as decisive on that point.

In that speech Cicero reproachfully recalls to the memory of Antonius some slight services done to him when Antonius was candidate for the praetorship, and he upbraids Q. Mucius, a tribune, with his unfriendly conduct, reminding him how he, Cicero, had defended him on a charge of peculation. Is it, then, possible that if Cicero had really defended Catiline he would have failed to twit him with the fact? Again, if Cicero had really defended Catiline, could he possibly have used the words which are found in the very same oration, *miser qui non sentias illo iudicio te non*

\* Or. pro Cael. 14, "Me ipsum, me, inquam, quondam paene ille decepit, cum et civis mihi bonus et optimi cuiusque cupidus et firmus amicus ac fidelis videretur: cuius ego facinora oculis prius quam opinione, manibus ante quam suspitione deprehendi: cuius in magnis catervis amicorum si fuit etiam Caelius, magis est ut ipse moleste ferat errasse se sicuti non numquam in eodem homine me quoque erroris mei paenitet, quam ut istius amicitiae crimen reformidet."



*absolutum verum ad aliquod severius iudicium ac maius supplicium reservatum?* But if Cicero had defended Catiline, his act would have been neither immoral nor unprofessional. Catiline was at this time neither worse nor better than other Roman governors, who, when they were invested with power, as a rule misused it. But the detractors of Cicero speak as if he had thought of defending Catiline, the declared enemy of the State, the character blackened by the denunciations of the Catilinarian invectives—as one might speak of Burke, if, after impeaching Warren Hastings, he had undertaken the defence of Sir Elijah Impey. If Cicero, to improve the prospects of his own candidature, had defended Catiline on a charge of extortion, he would not have given greater offence to Roman sentiment than would now be given to English sentiment if a respectable and rising politician made common cause in his canvass with some young nobleman who had squandered large sums of money on the turf. England, happily for her subjects, does not look on proconsular malversation with the lenient eyes of ancient Rome.\*

Perhaps never was a more childish criticism made on a great historical personage than that of Dio Cassius on Cicero:—ἐπιμφο-  
τίριζέ τε γάρ (*he was a trimmer*), καὶ ποτὲ μὲν τὰ τούτων ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ τὰ ἐκείνων ἴν' ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων σπουδαζήται ἔπραττε.† Yet this foolish taunt has been echoed by the greatest of modern historians of Rome. Theodor Mommsen has so far forgotten the high functions of the historian in the self-imposed task of finding in Caesar the perfect man, that in introducing for the first time to his readers one who (however we may regard his character) must ever be among the most prominent figures in the picture of the dying Republic—one who in literature at least must ever be a marvel to the world—he can find no more respectable terms to

\* The arguments drawn from the *oratio in toga candida* have been urged by Asconius against Fenestella, who maintains that Cicero did defend Catiline. Bücheler puts forward the strange theory that Asconius, writing under Nero, cannot have known the passage, Att. i. 2, 1: *hoc tempore Catilinam competitorem nostrum defendere cogitamus*. Hence he argues that the collection of the letters to Atticus which we have could not have been published till after the period of Asconius.

† xxxvi. 43. Dio Cassius seems not to have read the letters at all. See note on Att. ii. 24, 2, where Dio's extraordinary theory about the real nature of the obscure plot of Vettius is given and commented on.

use than 'the notorious political trimmer, M. Tullius Cicero.'\* This criticism is not only flippant and altogether inapplicable to a personage of the proportions of Cicero, but it rests (as I have endeavoured to show) on a misrepresentation of the position of a Roman advocate.

It is idle to seek to suppress or evade the fact that Cicero was looked on as a great power† by those who had intelligence enough to see that the tongue is as great an instrument of government as the hand. And he who had the strongest hand in those days and the largest brain, the great Julius Caesar, saw best what a power was Cicero. Indeed one of the most picturesque traits in a very picturesque character is the pertinacity with which Caesar refuses to be repulsed by Cicero. After he failed to gain the great orator to his own interests, we read with pleasure of the magnanimity shown in offering him one of his own lieutenancies to protect him from Clodius, and afterwards a place among the twenty commissioners. The seventh, eighth, and ninth books of the letters to Atticus record in almost every letter the desire of Caesar, couched in the most manly and respectful terms, to gain over the great Marcus Tullius, or at least to secure his neutrality.‡ Plutarch (Cic. xxxix.) gives a very striking description of the trial of the arch-traitor Q. Ligarius, which shows strongly the influence of Cicero over the victor of Pharsalia, λέγεται δὲ καὶ, Κοίντου Λιγαρίου δίκην φεύγοντος, ὅτι τῶν Καίσαρος πολεμίων εἰς ἐγεγόνει, καὶ Κικέρωνος αὐτῷ βοηθοῦντος, εἰπεῖν τὸν Καίσαρα πρὸς τοὺς φίλους· Τί κωλύει διὰ χρόνου Κικέρωνος ἀκοῦσαι λέγοντος, ἐπεὶ πάλαί κέκριται πονηρὸς ὁ ἀνὴρ καὶ πολέμιος; ἐπεὶ δ' ἀρξάμενος λέγειν ὁ Κικέρων

\* In the same spirit Mommsen dismisses Cato with a remark on the irony of fate which had decreed that the epilogue of a great political tragedy should be spoken by the fool. But his choicest flouts and jibes are kept for Pompeius, because when he returned at the head of his army after the Mithridatic War, he did not make himself master of Rome. The theory of the historian seems to be that any general who is strong enough to play successfully the rebel and traitor must be a fool if he refuses the part. To the Prussian historian his refusal is inexplicable, except on the hypothesis that he did not see his chance.

† A strong tribute to the personal reputation of Cicero is preserved in a letter from Cato (a man not likely to misrepresent the state of feeling at Rome), congratulating Cicero on the *supplicatio* which he himself had felt bound to oppose (Fam. xv. 5, 1).

‡ The magnanimity of Caesar at this period sometimes wrings from Cicero an almost involuntary expression of admiration; see Fam. iv. 4, 4; vi. 6, 10.

ὑπερφυῶς ἐκίνει, καὶ προὔβαινεν αὐτῷ πάθει τε ποικίλος καὶ χάριτι θαυμαστὸς ὁ λόγος, πολλὰς μὲν ἰέναι χρόας ἐπὶ τοῦ προσώπου τὸν Καίσαρα, πάσας δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς τρεπόμενον τροπὰς κατὰδηλον εἶναι· τέλος δὲ τῶν κατὰ Φάρσαλον ἀψαμένον τοῦ ῥήτορος ἀγώνων, ἐκπαθῇ γενόμενον τιναχθῆναι τῷ σώματι, καὶ τῆς χειρὸς ἐκβαλεῖν ἕναι τῶν γραμματίων. Τὸν γοῦν ἄνθρωπον ἀπέλυσε τῆς αἰτίας βεβιασμένος. Such is the effect produced on Caesar—surely not a man to be caught by varnished superficiality—by the man whom Mommsen flouts as ‘a journalist in the worst sense of the term,’ a ‘thorough dabbler,’ who was ‘nothing but an advocate, and not a good one.’\*

In estimating the character of Cicero, and his relations with the men of his time—especially the man of his time, Caesar—the detractor of Cicero has a great advantage. Whatever tells against Cicero tells against him with damning force, for the witness against Cicero is Cicero himself, his letters being the only authority for much of the history of this period. But when the letters place Cicero in a favourable light—when, for instance, they show us Caesar suing for his adhesion, and gather-

\* A letter of Cicero to Paetus shows how much Caesar valued even the lighter efforts of the great consular.—Sed tamen ipse Caesar habet peracre iudicium, et, ut Servius, frater tuus, quem litteratissimum fuisse iudico, facile diceret: ‘Hic versus Plauti non est, hic est,’ quod tritas aures haberet notandis generibus poetarum et consuetudine legendi, sic audio Caesarem, cum volumina iam confecerit ἀποφθεγμάτων, si quod adferatur ad eum pro meo, quod meum non sit, relicere solere: quod eo nunc magis facit, quia vivunt mecum fere cotidie illius familiares. Incidunt autem in sermone vario multa, quae fortasse illis cum dixi nec illitterata nec insula esse videantur. Haec ad illum cum reliquis actis perferuntur: ita enim ipse mandavit. Sic fit ut, si quid praeterea de me audiat, non audiendum putet.—Fam. ix. 16, 4.

It is astonishing how the pursuit of a theory may blind a historian to the proper appreciation of things. Here is the comment of Duruy on the relations between Cicero and Caesar described in the words just quoted—“Content de la royauté qu’il avait toujours, celle de l’esprit, il ne laissait percer les regrets qu’en de malignes plaisanteries. Ce rôle de frondeur spirituel plaisait à César; il se délassait d’adulation. Chaque matin on lui apportait les bons mots de Cicéron, et il en faisait un recueil. L’ancien consulaire, le père de la patrie, devenu le bouffon de la tyrannie!”—*Hist. des Romains*, ii. 532.

Mommsen has well observed that in the soul of Caesar there was room for much besides the statesman. It is a pity that in his view of the relations between Caesar and Cicero he has so completely forgotten this just and profound remark. If he had remembered it, he might have added some touches, not the least graceful, to the portrait of his ideal man.

ing the crumbs that fell from his literary repasts—then, say the detractors, we have Cicero posing, the literary man conceiving a picturesque position and placing himself therein, elevating himself to a pedestal to be worshipped by the great man of the age. Now, to all this we can only make this reply. For much that is most admirable and amiable in the character of Cicero, as well as for all that may be made the object of reprehension or contempt, our sole authority is his correspondence. This correspondence (of course I refer to the private letters, which form so much the larger part of the collection, not the letters to public characters, which are in every way such as his speeches) to me seems the absolute reflection of the man's mind. He says to Atticus (viii. 14, 2), *ego tecum tanquam mecum loquor*, and to me it seems that he poured out his inmost thoughts as in a soliloquy. I can, however, suppose a reader of the letters honestly to entertain the view that Cicero had anticipated the long lease of life that his letters would have, and deliberately placed his character and position in a favourable though unreal light. I say I can suppose this view to be held honestly, though I cannot conceive it to be held intelligently. For there is reason to believe that Cicero never thought of the chance that his letters might be preserved until the correspondence had nearly reached its close. But the theory which I cannot reconcile with either honesty or intelligence is the theory which supposes Cicero to have written with candour and sincerity when he acknowledges his shortsightedness and deploras his mistakes, but looks on him as a mere romancer when he describes the unexampled position which he held as a wielder of written and spoken words. And akin to this theory is that which speaks of all the greatest of his *Optimate* speeches as a price exacted from him by the nobles for their support in his candidature for the consulship, as if the *optima causa* was not to him dearer than life, as dear almost as fame, and as if any man of Cicero's ability would or could restrain himself from giving all his intellectual resources to the aid of a party of which he was the mainstay, and in a sense the creator. But, say the detractors, he defended Roscius and Cornelius, and thought of defending Catiline, *ergo* he sought the support of the democrats. Now he gained his object without this support. *Ergo*, say they, nearly all his consular speeches are

evidence of the dirty work which he was called on by a vile party to do, that he might earn the wages which he had received in advance.

The fact is that Cicero had set up for himself an idol in the restoration of the Optimate party,\* of whom he gives us a full-length picture in *Sest.*, chapters *xlvi.*, *xlvi.*: his political watch-words are 'senatus auctoritas,' and 'ordinum concordia'; his political triumph was the crushing of the Catilinarian conspiracy without an appeal to the sword, by inducing the wealthy middle class to make common cause with the aristocracy; and his political predecessor is Catulus.† It is by fostering the union between the Senate and knights that he hopes to bring about his cherished scheme, and to do this he was ready to erect the knights, in the words of Pliny (*H. N.* *xiii.* 8.), into a '*tertium corpus*' or 'third estate.' In Pompeius‡ he saw (and long refused *not* to see) the

\* It cannot be denied that his fidelity to the Optimate party wavered in the period immediately succeeding his restoration. The celebrated letter to Lentulus (*Fam.* *i.* 9) is rather an apology than a defence. But he always bitterly reproaches himself for any temporary defections from the *causa optima*, and his letters are never so gloomy as during his *rapprochement* towards Caesar. During the portion of Cicero's life coincident with Parts *i.*–*iii.* of his correspondence there prevailed a perfect *entente cordiale* between the Senate and the Optimates. This, together with the installation of Pompeius as the champion of the *causa optima*, was Cicero's political aspiration. This view of the situation (in which, be it observed, the Optimates were by no means at one, some gravely distrusting Pompeius) became obviously Utopian after the year 698 (b. c. 56). Yet the Optimates finally coalesced with Pompeius against Caesar, and here, again, Cicero was in a minority, for he represents his policy before the civil war as having been one of conciliation; see *Phil.* *ii.* 24: '*Atque idem ego pacis concordiae compositionis auctor esse non destiti.*' Cicero feared that if Pompeius were victorious his sword would drink deep of the blood of Rome. Lucan (*i.* 330) finely says of Pompeius, that he had licked the sword of Sulla, and had never forgotten the taste of blood. An estimate of Cicero's political position after his return from exile belongs to Part *iv.* The political position of Cicero at that time is best described in his own words—'*diaeta curare incipio; chirurgiae taedet.*'—*Att.* *iv.* 3, 3.

† *Att.* *i.* 20, 3.

‡ It cannot fail to be observed, that as long as Pompeius keeps up friendly relations with the popular leaders, Cicero is never tired of sneering at his vanity and pomposity; Sampsiceramus, Arabarches, Hierosolymarius, &c., are all jibes at the conquering hero who thinks he may be the successor of Sulla. It is only when he has thoroughly broken with the revolutionary party that Cicero speaks of him with sincere respect. We have a strong expression of the belief of Cicero that in Pompeius lay the only hope of the State in *Att.* *ix.* 1, 4: '*Dabimus hoc Pompeio quod debemus. Nam me quidem alius nemo movet: non sermo bonorum qui nulli sunt; non causa quae acta timide est,*

instrument of this policy, which in fact was realised for the brief period of Cicero's consulate, and the three succeeding years.\*

Mommsen's theory of an ironical, contemptuous deference on the part of Caesar towards Cicero, which even showed itself ready to flatter the weaknesses of an intellect which it despised, is as untrue to history as it is injurious to the character of Caesar himself. It is simply fiction, and inartistic fiction. Caesar saw, as he saw everything, that Cicero was a great power. His speeches not only swayed the assembly, but they discharged the highest work now done by our best newspapers, magazines, and reviews. To gain Cicero was what it would now be to secure the advocacy of the *Times*; or rather what it would be were there no other paper, review, or magazine but the *Times*, and were the leaders of the

agetur improbe. Uni, uni hoc damus ne id quidem roganti, nec suam causam (ut ait) agenti, sed publicam.' But Cicero never succeeded in acquiring an affectionate regard for Pompeius—a feeling against which in the case of Caesar he had to struggle hard. His comment on the death of Pompeius does not speak the language of real grief: 'Non possum eius casum non dolere; hominem enim integrum et castum et gravem cognovi.'—Att. xi. 6, 5.

\* This ideal period he himself often refers to in the words *nostra tempora*, and describes its duration in Fam. i. 9, 12, 'Tenebam memoria nobis consulibus ea fundamenta iacta ex Kalendis Ianuariis confirmandi senatus, ut neminem mirari oporteret Nonis Decembribus tantum vel animi fuisse in illo ordine vel auctoritatis. Idemque memineram nobis privatis usque ad Caesarem et Bibulum consules, cum sententiae nostrae magnum in senatu pondus haberent, unum fere sensum fuisse bonorum omnium.' It is worth mentioning here that the oft-quoted verse—

O fortunatam natam me consule Romam

is often misunderstood. Its meaning is fixed by a passage in the *pro Flacco*, 102. The words may be rendered—

'O happy fate of Rome to date  
Her birthday from my consulate!'

The birthday was the celebrated December 5, on which he put Lentulus and his accomplices to death: this is the passage from the speech for Flaccus: 'O Nonae illae Decembres quae me consule fuistis! Quem ego diem vere natalem huius urbis, aut certe salutarem, appellare possum.' The phrase *natam me consule Romam*, for *quae diem natalem me consule habuisti* is like the expression of Horace (Epp. i. 5, 9) *cras nato Caesare lactus Dat veniam somnumque dies*. So also Plautus says (Pseud. i. 3, 16) *hodie nate*, meaning, 'you who are celebrating your birthday to-day.' Seneca (*de brev. vit.* 5) speaks of Cicero's consulate as praised by him 'justly but immoderately' (*non sine causa, sed sine fine laudatus*), and no one can read in an unprejudiced spirit the history of the time without seeing what a very important part the great orator then played on the Roman stage.

*Times* written by Burke and Sheridan. He placed the public in possession of the political situation. It is true, as Mommsen points out, that he came forward in the trial of Verres against the senatorial *iudicia* when they were already set aside, that he thundered against Catiline when his departure was already an accomplished fact. It is true that the second Philippic was not delivered till Antonius had fled to Cisalpine Gaul. But were these speeches therefore useless, or mere exhibitions of powerful pleading? By no means. They put the public in possession of the circumstances in each of these cases, and taught them to look on these circumstances with the eyes of the speaker and his party; they converted resistance into acceptance, and warmed acceptance into enthusiasm; they provided faith with reasons, doubt with arguments, and triumph with words.

Professor Beesly,\* in a vigorous essay, maintains that the Catilinarian conspiracy (though falsely called a conspiracy according to him) was really an attempt to revolutionize the state—an attempt which was near succeeding, and which was made by the revolutionary party under the leadership of Catiline, who was the political successor of the Gracchi, of Saturninus, of Drusus, of Sulpicius, and of Cinna. That the movement is not to be wholly accounted for by saying that the parties to it were ‘dissolute youths,’ ‘insolvent debtors,’ and ‘disbanded soldiers,’ he has shown very clearly.† Nor has he failed to make it plain that Caesar was at this time in no sense the leader of the popular party. But neither was Catiline. Until he failed in his suit for the consulship in 691 (b.c. 63), and seemed about to fail in 692 (b.c. 62), he does not seem to have even conceived the idea of an *émeute*; for the rumoured plot to murder Cotta and Torquatus, the consuls of the year 692 (b.c. 62), was discredited even by the hypothetical victim Torquatus. It is here that Mr. Beesly’s brilliant picture seems blurred. He confesses that the popular cause might have been in better hands, but he seems blind to the utter incapacity and pitiable stupidity of Catiline and the whole revolutionary party. Catiline drifted into the ranks of the insurgents. After foolishly vapour-

\* *Catiline, Clodius, and Tiberius*: London, Chapman & Hall, 1878.

† Yet that the special city following of Catiline was mainly composed of debtors who sought *novae tabulae* is plain from the invariable language of Cicero.

ing in the senate about putting himself at the head of the popular party, he was too weak and undecided to take any step. The feebleness of such a man would have saved him from the fate of the Gracchi and Saturninus had he remained at Rome, but it suited the Optimates that he should show his hand, and Cicero succeeded in forcing Catiline to join the insurgents, and thus to give colour to the stories (mostly exaggerated) about the widespread and terrible Catilinarian conspiracy. Then the gross blunder of Lentulus in making overtures to the Allobroges rendered possible the *coup d'état* of the 5th December. So the dull aristocrat was completely out-manceuvred by the adroit *parvenu*. The situation was no doubt menacing, chiefly on account of the vagueness and the wide area of the suspicion which prevailed. Even the loyalty of Cicero's colleague Antonius was breathed upon. Cicero saw that he must strike a blow, but was determined not to invoke the military power. The people would never brook the abnegation of the right of appeal to the tribes in the case of persons guilty only of a plot to commit assassinations, or to abolish debts. But if the conspirators could be proved guilty of complicity with a foreign foe, of an attempt on the commonwealth, these extreme measures might be resorted to. Catiline declared himself a public enemy when he repaired to the camp of Manlius, and Lentulus twisted for himself the rope which strangled him in the Tullianum.

In short, it seems to me that Catiline (whose atrocities are probably much exaggerated, and whose chief defect was his stupidity)\* finds his political analogue not in Marat or Robespierre, but in Guy Fawkes† or Smith O'Brien, who, had Fortune called him to die in battle, would have known how to die as well as Catiline, and who did not know much better how to effect the purpose of his life. Of course, in private life, there was all the

\* Cicero, in his speech *pro Murena* (§§ 50, 51), records some 'wild and whirling words' of Catiline. His whole portrait in this passage is in a more bold and picturesque attitude than we are accustomed to. However, the expressions there attributed to Catiline by Cicero probably derived most of their force and point from the orator himself, who was interested in making his foiled adversary appear as formidable as possible.

† In the Gunpowder Plot there is much that resembles the attempt of Catiline, not only in the crudeness of its conception, but also in the disproportionate alarm excited—a fact to which the Book of Common Prayer quite recently bore witness.



difference in the world between the high-minded and single-hearted Irish enthusiast and the 'stolid rake' (as Professor Palmer has aptly called him) who, even after full allowance is made for the exaggerations of his delineator and destroyer, must be admitted to have earned as bad a character in a bad age as was consistent with his dulness and want of individuality. Indeed, I cannot help thinking that Cicero has done all that could be done to secure a place in history for Catiline. He has manufactured a somewhat imposing stage-villain out of very scanty materials. It is a strong proof of the amazing literary power of the orator. Surely no one would have been more surprised than Catiline himself (who seems to have been but too conscious of his own mediocrity) had he known that the time would come when he should occupy a niche beside Caesar Borgia, when his existence should be reconciled with the Divine supervision of the world only on the theory that

Plagues and earthquakes break not Heaven's design :

I own I can look on Catiline as but a very mild type of epidemic, and only as a sort of make-believe stage earthquake.

Georges Thouret has shown in an excellent paper in the *Leipziger Studien*\* that it is well-nigh certain that both Plutarch and Dio Cassius took their accounts of the conspiracy of Catiline from the lost treatise *περὶ ὑπαρείας* which Cicero mentions to Atticus in the words *commentarium consulatus mei Græce scriptum misi ad te* (Att. i. 19, 10). This work, as well as the letter to Pompeius in Latin, *de rebus suis in consulatu gestis*, has completely perished; and of the third essay on the same subject, the Latin poem also mentioned in Att. i. 19, 10, we preserve only a few verses, which, however, are a valuable aid in the critical treatment of that passage. Accordingly, if it be allowed that Plutarch and Dio Cassius found in the *περὶ ὑπαρείας* materials for their history of the conspiracy, then we may reduce the records of this important episode to two—the Ciceronian and the Sallustian; for Appian and Florus followed Sallust. Now Cicero had not sufficient evidence to convict Caesar of complicity with Catiline. We may infer from the account of Plutarch that Cicero in his treatise *περὶ ὑπαρείας* refused to implicate Caesar, though he did im-

\* Vol. i., Part ii., pp. 303-360.

plicate Crassus, and thereby earned his hostility. Again, Plutarch (Vit. Caes. 8) tells how Caesar was assailed on leaving the Senate on the famous 5th of December, adding τοῦτο μὲν οὖν οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ὁ Κικέρων εἶπερ ἦν ἀληθὲς ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς ὑπατείας οὐκ ἔγραψεν. The same writer tells us that Cicero did incriminate Caesar after his death. Knowing, therefore, that Cicero has deliberately suppressed his real opinion on this important question, and that Sallust (though not the mere special pleader that Mommsen would make him) is strongly prejudiced in Caesar's favour, we are bound very carefully to reconsider the almost unanimous verdict of modern historians acquitting Caesar. To the proofs of the guilt of Caesar put forward by Mommsen the following considerations may be added.

We have the unequivocal evidence of Suetonius. He is undoubtedly disposed to embrace views unfavourable to the character of Caesar, and so modern historians think they may neglect his distinct evidence that Caesar was publicly arraigned as one of the conspirators:—*recidit rursus in discrimen aliud inter socios Catilinae nominatus et apud Novium Nigrum quaestorem a L. Vettio indice, et in senatu a Q. Curio . . . Curius e Catilina se cognovisse dicebat, Vettius etiam chirographum eius Catilinae datum pollicebatur* (Iul. 17). However, in a very similar passage (Iul. 9) Suetonius states that, in the year of the city 688 (b. c. 66), Caesar entered into a conspiracy with Crassus to make Crassus dictator with himself as *Magister Equitum*, and to secure by a *coup d'état* the consulship for P. Sulla and L. Autronius; and he distinctly gives as his authorities Tanusius Geminus,\* M. Actorius Naso, a letter of Cicero to Axius, the Edicts of Bibulus, and the speeches of C. Curio senior. Now the two last-named may be discounted as notoriously hostile to Caesar, but who can deny that the testimony of the three first-named writers is unimpeachable? If therefore, as seems probable, Suetonius relied on the same authority in the question of Caesar's complicity with Catiline, surely his evidence is altogether worthy of credence. And indeed what antecedent objection besets the

\* If Tanusius is the Volusius of Catullus (xxxvi. 1) he must have been a far from attractive writer, but not necessarily untrustworthy. There is a possible allusion to the guilt of Caesar in *pro Mur.* 84. But this cannot be the passage to which Plutarch refers, as it was written during the lifetime of Caesar. The passage Att. x. 8, 8, does not refer to the Catilinarian conspiracy.

theory that Caesar should eagerly follow the banner on which was inscribed *novae tabulae*? He was now plunged in a sea of debt; he had lavished unheard-of sums in the attempt to climb into popular favour, and he had as yet reaped no reward. Pompeius was on the point of returning from the East. When he said to his mother on the Ides of March, 691 (b. c. 63), after lavishing a fortune on his suit for the Pontificate, *domum se nisi pontificem non reversurum*, he spoke the words of a desperate man.\*

As to the argument which has satisfied many, that Cæsar would not have stooped to accept a position subordinate to Catiline, we should remember that we moderns are very prone to exaggerate the proportions of Caesar as a historical figure in the eyes of his countrymen, while his contemporaries, on the other hand, were more likely to underrate his dimensions. Looking back on his marvellous career, and reflecting on the momentous issues which followed the civilization of the West, we feel that Caesar still

doth bestride the narrow world

Like a Colossus,

and can hardly recall in imagination the time when he was no very imposing personage in the eyes of his contemporaries. On Ep. xlv. (Att. ii. 19) I have pointed out how the Commentators have insisted on making Caesar 'the tyrant,' and Pompeius one of his 'supporters,' whereas the whole context shows that it is Pompeius who is the *dominus*, and Caesar one of his *advocati*, in the eyes of the people of Rome, though at that time, 695 (b. c. 59), Caesar no doubt actually did see his way to that supreme position,

\* There is one argument against the guilt of Caesar which seems to some to be of great weight. 'If,' it is urged, 'Caesar had been a Catilinarian, Cicero must have known it; and it is certain that Cicero would have mentioned it in some of those letters before the outbreak of the civil war, in which he weighs the characters of the rival leaders, and the probable issues of the conflict.' But Cicero had made up his mind about the policy of Caesar. Caesar is to him a *perditus civis*, a *tyrannus*; his action is a *furor*, a *scelus*. He had done of late so many illegal acts that the question what he was fourteen years ago was irrelevant. Besides, I think Cicero does hint at Caesar's complicity with Catiline, when he dwells on his *vita, mores*, ANTEFACTA, Att. ix. 2a, 2. This unproved surmise was a mere drop in the ocean compared with his subsequent acts. The negative evidence which rests on the silence of Cicero concerning this one illegality of Caesar cannot be set against the positive proofs of Mommsen and others. The whole question of Cicero's attitude towards Caesar before the war is discussed in Appendix A.

which he cannot have dreamed of in the year 691 (b.c. 63).<sup>\*</sup> Probably, had the rash attempt of Catiline succeeded, Caesar would have had an earlier opportunity of showing his true greatness—his admirable fitness to use success, and to wield power however absolute.

Next to the consulship, the most interesting episode in this period of the life of Cicero is his exile. Professor Beesly again points out 'the inherent improbabilities in the vulgar account.' 'We are asked to believe,' he says, 'that stained with the blood of the popular leaders, Cicero was respected and beloved by the vast majority of Roman citizens, and that the troubles which subsequently befell him were simply the result of a personal quarrel with Clodius.' He sees in this account a tendency 'so easy, and to the vulgar mind so agreeable, to attribute the Persian invasion of Greece to a curtain-lecture of Atossa's, or the English Reformation to the pretty face of Anne Boleyn.' There is much that is both new and true in what he has advanced, and I think we may admit that Cicero was not a favourite with the populace after his suppression of the Catilinarian conspiracy. Indeed he admits as much himself in some passages of his letters—for instance, in that one in which he says that the fact that his deposition in disproof of the *alibi* of Clodius did not avail to procure a conviction has actually been of service to him with the populace. 'The plethora of my unpopularity,' he says, 'has undergone depletion, and the operation has not been painful.'<sup>†</sup> And it seems probable, too, that the people were opposed to his restoration, which was procured by a 'whip' of Italian voters. It is certainly true that there was an attempt made to impede the rebuilding of his house, and that he had to walk about the city with a guard of armed men. But here his enemies are the mere mob, whom he calls *sordem urbis et faecem*. With the more respectable elements of the popular party I think there is evidence that the picturesque career and demeanour of the great *novus homo* was not without its effect on the imagination. When, being prevented by the tribune Metellus Nepos from addressing the people on laying

<sup>\*</sup> Suetonius (Iul. 9) quotes from a letter of Cicero to Axius the words *Caesarem in consulatu confirmasse regnum de quo aedilis cogitarat*. If this is really a sentiment of Cicero's, it is one of the least sagacious of his political reflections.

<sup>†</sup> *Missus est sanguis invidiae sine dolore*.—Att. i. 16, 11.

down his office, he swore that he had saved the state, I fancy there really was a general burst of responsive enthusiasm. The Catilinarian conspiracy at one time wore a very threatening aspect, made more sinister by the empty vapourings of Catiline, and Cicero had put it down without calling on Pompeius to unsheath his sword. No attempt to upset the constituted government by force recommended itself much to the law-abiding Roman who had won his empire by subordination of self to State, of imagination to reason. The Roman citizen presents the strongest contrast to the Parisian, who will die behind his barricade for an idea.

But I return to the circumstances which led to the exile of Cicero. Some time in the year 692 (b.c. 62) Clodius was found in woman's clothes in the house of Caesar, one of the praetors, where the women were celebrating the rights of the Bona Dea, from which all males were rigorously excluded. We find the first notice of this event in a letter of Cicero to Atticus, written on January 1, 693 (b.c. 61). For this last reason, and because Clodius is spoken of as *quaestor designatus* at the time, which would place the crime in one of the later months of the year, it has generally been inferred that the outrage took place in December 692 (b.c. 62). On the other hand, Ovid assigns May 1st as the date of the festival of the Bona Dea. Hence Mr. Beesly infers that Clodius must have ventured on this daring escapade in May, that seven months were allowed to elapse before any notice was taken of the crime, and that it was then made use of merely as a pretext for venting on Clodius the political rancour of the oligarchy, to whom (he suggests) Clodius must have given some fresh offence, as we should probably find if we had the history of the year 692, of which we are ignorant, owing to a break in the continuity of Cicero's correspondence. But Mr. Beesly's assumption is utterly unwarranted. The Bona Dea, on whose rites Clodius intruded, was worshipped on the night of the 3rd and 4th December, as has been demonstrated by Marquardt (iii. 331-2). Marquardt quotes Plutarch (Cic. xix.) to the effect that on the night after Cicero had disclosed the plot of Catiline he was brought home to the house of a neighbour, because Cicero's own house was occupied by the rites of the Bona Dea. Cicero, as we know, made his celebrated disclosures on December 3; therefore the rites of the Bona Dea

were going on during the night of December 3-4. The Bona Dea to whom Ovid refers was quite different. Her sacrifices were held on May 1st in a temple on the Aventine, whereas the rites which Clodius violated were held in a private house. The latter sacrifice, however, was a public sacrifice (*pro populo*), because it could only be held in the house of an officiating *consul* or *praetor urbanus*. Caesar, at the time of Clodius' crime, was both *pontifex* and *praetor urbanus* (Marq. iii. 332). Thus vanishes Mr. Beesly's incredible hypothesis that Cicero should have told the whole story of the sacrilege without hinting that the crime was seven months old. But even without this demonstrative proof the evidence of Cicero is unmistakable. In a letter written on January 1, 693 (b.c. 61) (Att. i. 12), he says:—'I suppose you must have heard that P. Clodius was detected in the disguise of a woman in C. Caesar's house when the sacrifice was going on, and that he was allowed to escape safe from the house through the aid of a servant maid; and that the outrage has caused immense indignation. I am sure you will be sorry for it.' On February 1, of the same year, again writing to Atticus, he says (and it will be observed that the accurate rendering of the word *instaurassent* accounts for at least *some* delay): 'I suppose you must have heard that while sacrifice was being offered at the house of Caesar, a man effected an entrance in woman's clothes, and that it was only after the vestal virgins had performed the sacrifice afresh, *instaurassent* (the first having been polluted by the intrusion of Clodius), that Cornificius—not one of us consulars, observe—brought the matter before the Senate. The Senate referred the matter to the Pontifices, who pronounced that sacrilege had been done. So the consuls were directed by the Senate to bring in a bill to hold an inquiry into the matter. Caesar has divorced his wife. The consul Piso, through friendship for Clodius, is doing his best to shelve the bill which he is himself obliged to bring forward by order of the Senate. Messalla, the other consul, is in favour of strong measures. The partisans of the good cause, yielding to the prayers of Clodius, are standing aloof. Gangs of bravoes are being got up. I myself, though I had been a perfect Lyeurgus at first, am gradually cooling down. Cato is straining every nerve for the prosecution. In a word, I am afraid that this cause, defended by the democrats, while the Optimates stand aloof from the prosecution, will work great mischief to the State.'

Surely this whole passage is completely opposed to the theory that the prosecution of Clodius was the result of spite on the part of the oligarchy, who trumped up an almost forgotten charge against a person who had rendered himself politically obnoxious to them. On the contrary, the Optimates were desirous of standing aloof from the prosecution altogether until pushed into it by the foolish obstinacy of Cato. In the course of the debate, however, Clodius was imprudent enough to try conclusions with 'Tear-'em the ex-consul,'\* and found him far too cunning of fence, and keen of thrust. Cicero, true to the programme of his party, which he strongly condemns Cato for neglecting, would have gladly stood apart, but that Clodius brought an odious taunt against his cherished consulship: *me tantum comperisse omnia criminabatur* (Att. i. 14, 5). This was the ill-omened word that began to be bruited about against the Father of his country even during his consulship, that in suppressing the Catilinarian conspiracy he had been wont to declare 'that he had received information' to this or that effect, that he required neither trial nor proof, that 'he had information' which justified his acts. So ill-sounding was this word in his ears, that in a letter to his colleague Antonius (Fam. v. 5, 2), written but a short time before this, Cicero actually avoids the word *comperi* for this reason, *contra etiam esse aliquid abs te profectum ex multis audiri, nam comperisse me non audeo dicere ne forte id ipsum verbum ponam, quod abs te aiunt falso in me conferri*—Clodius had used the hated word, and Cicero (Att. i. 16, 1)—*cum ille ad conciones confugisset in iisque meo nomine ad invidiam uteretur; di immortales quas ego pugnas et quantas strages edidi!*

It was then that Hortensius, feeling that no panel could fail to convict Clodius, hit on the expedient of facilitating matters, and obviating the hostility of the tribune Fufius, by giving up the consular bill, which empanelled a jury to be chosen by the praetor,

\* So I have translated the expression *cynicus consularis* in Ep. xxxvi. (Att. ii. 9, 1), borrowing the phrase from the *sobriquet* of Mr. Roebuck. The word refers to Cicero's *biting repartees*. The common rendering of the phrase 'the consular cynic' is not a translation at all. Cicero had nothing in common with the cynic philosophy but his biting tongue, under the lash of which Catiline tottered half stunned and paralysed from the Senate, and Clodius *magnis clamoribus afflictus conticuit et concidit* (Att. i. 16, 10). The term 'cynical,' in its modern sense, as applied to the cold man of the world, devoid alike of beliefs and enthusiasms, is perhaps, of all words in our language, the one least applicable to the character of Cicero.

and allowing Fufius to propose a bill providing that the jury should be chosen by lot out of the *decuriae*. This was of course the ordinary practice; and it is clear that the consular rogation, in providing a panel chosen by the praetor, proposed an exceptional measure, which is not made very clear to us. But is it not a most daring assumption to suppose, as Mr. Beesly does, that the oligarchy 'were bent on nothing less than galvanising the *comitia centuriata* into a new life, for the purpose of creating by its instrumentality a *Quaestio* to try Clodius'? Can anyone suppose that Cicero would leave an attempt so remarkable in such obscurity, and never mention the extraordinary circumstance that the bill was moved in the *comitia centuriata*? 'I presume,' says Mr. Beesly, 'that for a Roman such information was not necessary, because to tell him that a bill was moved by a consul was equivalent to telling him that it was moved in the *comitia centuriata*.' But surely this view is incompatible *omnibus litteris* with the account of Cicero, who invariably speaks as if the projected *Quaestio* could easily have been carried out except for the blunder of Hortensius. Moreover, the oligarchy are supposed to have conceived this unprecedented *coup* through their thirst for the blood of a man whose offence against them is in itself a hypothesis. He must have offended them because they thirsted for his blood. And why did they thirst for his blood? Because he had offended them so grievously. Similarly, that Clodius was a 'prominent member of the democratic party' is assumed, because 'there is no other way of accounting for the extraordinary *acharnement* of the nobles, or the interest the people took in his cause.' The fact is, that he had hitherto appeared first as the accuser of Catiline, and afterwards as one of Cicero's body-guard at the execution of Lentulus and his accomplices—not very consistent acts in 'a prominent member of the democratic party.' The violation of the state religion seems to have been resented in a way which we can hardly understand in a nation which certainly was mainly sceptical; but anything is possible in a state where C. Julius Caesar, notorious for scepticism and profligacy in a sceptical and profligate age, was Pontifex Maximus.\* The Optimates, as we have seen,

\* The curious tenacity of the Romans for traditional usages, and the strange fusion of formalism and scepticism in their character, is strongly illustrated by the history of



would have held aloof but for the quixotism of Cato. Cicero, as a leading Optimate, gave evidence to upset the *alibi* of Clodius.\* Clodius was acquitted—the second occasion during a period of five years on which the verdict of a Roman jury was *meridie non lucere*—and during the struggle and after it raged the war of words in which Clodius was so notably worsted. Hence arose the enmity between Clodius and Cicero, not from Cicero's deposition, to which the latter never adverts as the source of Clodius' persecution. And hence the adoption of Clodius into a plebeian family, his tribunate, and the exile of Cicero. For I maintain that here, if ever, we have an instance of a political event of some magnitude brought to pass by private animosity and personal *pique*. It is possible to sin in the writing of history by making causes too particular, but it is also possible to sin in making them too general. It is absurd 'to attribute the Persian invasion of Greece to a curtain-lecture of Atossa,' but there is a great temptation which chiefly besets brilliant writers like Mr. Beesly or Theodor Mommsen to absolutely discount private influences as a factor in history, to refer every phenomenon to the operation of general laws, and, exaggerating the paradox of Buckle, to speak as if it might have been predicted *a priori* that Caesar was bald, and that Claudius died of eating a mushroom. Yet such historians do not question the Aristotelian apophthegm (Pol. viii. 4, 1)—*γίνονται μὲν οὖν αἱ στάσεις οὐ περὶ μικρῶν, ἀλλ' ἐκ μικρῶν, στασιάζουσι δὲ περὶ μεγάλων· μάλιστα δὲ καὶ αἱ μικραὶ ἰσχύουσιν, ὅταν ἐν τοῖς κυρίοις γένωνται*. Nor do they demur to the long list of instances adduced by him, in which private quarrels and jealousies were the *occasions*, though not the *causes*, of public events of great importance.

the prosecution of Rabirius. He, whom the eloquence of Cicero had not availed to save, was rescued by the adroitness of the praetor Metellus Celer, who struck the flag which waved from the Janiculum during the assemblies of the centuries. This was in old times the signal of an Etruscan raid. On seeing the flag struck, the burghers would rush from the debate to repel the foe. The ruse succeeded. The populace, who refused the life of Rabirius to the arguments of Cicero, gave it to the observance of an obsolete constitutional fiction.

\* Cicero may have been persuaded by Terentia to depose against the *alibi* of Clodius. Terentia hated Clodia, whom she suspected (seemingly without much evidence) of designs on her husband. *Ego illam odi* is Cicero's own description of his feelings towards this *publica cura* of Rome.—Att. ii. 1, 5.

Moreover, Mr. Beesly's account is inconsistent with itself. If Clodius had really been 'the prominent leader of the popular party,' [he needed not to have taken the trouble to become a tribune; he could, on the invitation of Fufius, have addressed the *comitia tributa*, which would have readily given ear to the acknowledged popular leader. Clodius sought the tribunate in the character of an opponent of Caesar,\* who seeks to deny for himself and Pompeius any participation in bringing about the adoption into a plebeian family. Cicero suspects nothing. He refuses the *legatio* offered by Caesar, who, on failing to gain him as an adherent, generously seeks at least to protect him from molestation. Pompeius assures Cicero of his protection, and Cicero, when it does occur to him that Clodius is his enemy, declares that—

His soul's in arms and eager for the fray.

I cannot doubt that, had Cicero chosen, the Triumvirate might have been a Quattuorvirate;† but he is faithful to his *causa optima*, the defection of Pompeius from which he regrets in expressive phrase (Att. ii. 21, 3, 4). His only comfort is that he has now no rival in Pompeius for the plaudits of posterity (Att. ii. 17, 2). Clodius having gained his tribunate by concealing his designs against Cicero (a strong proof that Cicero was not the object of popular resentment), at once proceeds to his revenge. After several enactments, having a tendency to conciliate the various classes of Roman society, he proposes a law enacting that anyone who had put Roman citizens to death without trial should be interdicted from fire and water. Caesar having in vain tried to gain Cicero as an adherent—having in vain sought even to afford him an opportunity for retiring from a perilous position with

\* *Inimicissimus Caesaris, et ut omnia ista rescindat.*—Att. ii. 12, 2.

† This is stated in so many words by Cicero in the *or. de provinciis consularibus*, § 41, *me in tribus sibi coniunctissimis consularibus esse voluit*. And this pronouncement is abundantly confirmed by Cicero's private letters of this period. See Att. ii. 1, 6, and 7 to the words *non minus esset probanda medicina quae sanaret vitiosas partes reipublicae quam quae exsecaret*; again (Att. ii. 3, 3), from the words *Nam fuit apud me Cornelius*, where he distinctly says that he might have been a member of the coalition, but that he preferred to adhere to the policy and party which from his boyhood he looked on as the party of patriotism and constitutionalism. In fine, he resolves that his motto shall be: *εἰς οἰωνὸς ἀριστος ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πατρὸς*.

honour—now abandons him to his fate. Indeed Cicero's presence in Rome as a declared opponent of the Triumvirate might have proved an obstacle to his own departure for Gaul. Pompeius betrayed him to whom he had so often pledged his word. The treason of Pompeius and the jealousy of Hortensius well-nigh cost the world some of the noblest of the speeches and essays of Cicero, for often during his exile the victim of Clodius was on the point of self-destruction. He often regrets that he had not opposed force to force, even though he should have perished in the employment of it; and still more he deplores the fatal step which he took in leaving Rome before he was directly impeached. But he invariably attributes his fall, firstly to the treason of Pompeius against the Optimates, and consequently against himself; secondly, to the jealousy felt towards him by the rival aspirants to the leadership of the Optimate party.

The recall of Cicero cannot for a moment be ascribed to a sudden *rapprochement* on the part of Pompeius to the nobility. Nor is Mr. Beesly true to the authorities in saying that the terms on which the nobility accepted the overtures of Pompeius were 'the re-establishment of the senatorial government and the recall of Cicero.' The exile of Cicero was due to the jealousy of the nobility as much as to the treason of Pompeius. But jealousy is a sentiment which, though it grows terribly while its object is still in a position to excite it, yet is capable of being allayed by the humiliation of the once envied rival. Cicero recalled from exile, even with all the honours which attended his recall, was no longer the triumphant *parvenu*, the irresistible *moqueur*, unstained by a humiliation, and unabashed by a repulse. And to this must be added the effect of that essentially personal factor in history which is so completely discounted by Mr. Beesly and his school. A quarrel about the safe keeping of an Armenian princeling brought about an incurable rupture between Pompeius and Clodius, and obtained for Cicero the good offices of Pompeius in procuring his restoration. Moreover, the people, whose instincts led them to acquiesce in the punishment of a man who had undoubtedly strained the constitution, yet felt that he had amply atoned his *coup d'état*, and welcomed back the saviour of his country. No doubt the rabble hissed, but the people (especially the Italians)

were enthusiastic in the cause of his restoration, and Pompeius, through hatred for Clodius, enrolled himself on the same side. The Senate strained every nerve, and there seems to have been an organised 'whip' of Italian voters. Nor were the bravoos of Milo an unimportant factor in the result achieved.\* Thus, sad to tell, the restoration of Cicero was brought about mainly by the unconstitutional means by which it might more easily have been averted.

It will be seen, therefore, that neither in his version of the conspiracy of Catiline, nor in his account of the circumstances which led to the exile of Cicero, can the view of Mr. Beesly be accepted, unless by one who has deliberately formed the theory that Cicero has 'cooked' his letters—has given not the record of his own shifting hopes and fears, but a series of simulated reflections, so contrived as to put his own position and character in the best possible light. If anyone so reads these letters, which practically are our only authority for this period, I cannot argue with him. We differ on ultimate principles. When Cicero, in no polemical spirit, with no thought of proving anything, calls himself, in playful passages, *vindicem aeris alieni*,† it seems to me to show that he looked on the Catilinarian conspiracy as a struggle on the part of deeply indebted desperadoes, who were prepared, if necessary, to blot out the accounts against them in blood. Now a far more direct attestation to the same effect in one of his speeches would go a very small way towards convincing me of the sincerity of the sentiment expressed. Such is my view of the nature of the letters, and I believe this view will force itself on every unprejudiced reader of them.

But there is one sentence in which Mr. Beesly sums up the character of Cicero, which is interesting as an outspoken statement of much that is generally only implied in other arraignments of this conspicuous personage. 'I protest,' he says, 'that I have a genuine sympathy for all that is amiable and attractive in the character of Cicero. But I cannot forget that he took the wrong side in the politics of his country—nay, that he hired himself to do the work of a vile party.' That he hired himself to do the work of a vile party is not true. He joined a party, and used all his splendid abilities for the support of a party, which some may think it

\* Dio. Cass. xxxix. 8.

† Att. ii. 1, 11; Fam. v. 6, 2.

fitting to call vile; but he had never belonged to any other party, and his hire was the honours and influence which his commanding intellect must have won in any civilized society. Except in the case of Burke, never perhaps has such genius reaped so little political reward. Whether Cicero 'took the wrong side in the politics of his country' depends on the other question, Which was the right side? This question is answered against Cicero, first, by unscrupulous theorists, who are smitten with an inordinate lust for despotism; or who, like Mommsen, gaze upon Caesar with inarticulate rapture.\* These speak as if Cicero should have seen that his cherished Republic was no longer possible; that everything had long since been tending to monarchy; that Caesar was the genius destined to erect a great structure, 'to have laid any stone of which would have been enough to have secured the immortality of any man.'† In the work of C. Gracchus, which laid the foundation of the *tyrannis*, Cicero only saw the *seeditio* of a turbulent tribune who sought to excite the people against constituted authority. In the Gabinian and Manilian Laws, which established the *tyrannis*, he only saw large honours conferred on one to whom he looked as the champion of the Optimates. Whether Caesar formed or did not form clearly the design of establishing a *tyrannis*, he certainly did not avow it. It is remarkable how, during his whole career,

\* 'As the artist can paint everything except consummate beauty, so the historian, when once in a thousand years he falls in with the perfect, can only be silent regarding it. . . . The secret of Nature, whereby in her most finished manifestations normality and individuality are combined, is beyond expression.'—Momm. Hist. Rom. iv. 457.

† It must not be forgotten that the spheres of the historian and of the biographer do not completely coincide. If it is the duty of the historian to seek to solve the question, what was the real character of the Catilinarian conspiracy, it is no less the duty of the biographer to try to discover what was the actual opinion of Cicero about its nature and origin. The conspirators may have been democrats; but if Cicero thought they were anarchists, the biographer is bound to construct his analysis of Cicero's character as if they were anarchists. The Republic, no doubt, was sick of a mortal disease, but Cicero thought it was curable. A dagger was plunged to the heart of the Republic, and Cicero did not apprehend that it would be fatal to pluck the weapon from the wound. Caesar may have come to deliver the people from oppression, but Cicero thought he was coming to establish a despotism. Mommsen has an amazing power of seizing the *Zeitgeist* of an epoch, and in marshalling his facts so as to point out, amid a mass of apparently isolated phenomena, some prevailing and characteristic tendency; but he forgets that his Caesars and Ciceros were struggling under a dust of battle which two thousand years have hardly cleared away. He forgets that his estimate of the influence of Caesar on history may still be quite just, though Caesar dreamed not of the fine issues to which his spirit was so finely touched.

even the most acute of his contemporaries failed to appreciate the colossal proportions of Caesar as a historical figure. They stood too near the canvas to judge of the effect.

But again, the question which I have put has been answered against Cicero by those who are enamoured of liberty, of whom is Mr. Beesly. They argue as if Cicero knew well that the aristocracy were 'a vile party,' who were determined to maintain their privileges of oppression, as if he said to himself, 'Caesar is coming to rescue the people from the tyranny of a dominant class, but he shall not do so; we shall resist him, and oppress them still.' Now, it never occurred to Cicero that the people were being oppressed; if he had been told that Caesar was coming to restore them their liberty, he would have asked when had they lost it;\* and it would have seemed a strange reflection to him that a gang of ruined aristocrats like Curio, Dolabella, Antony, under the leadership of one who boasted his descent from the heroes of the Iliad, from Venus Aphrodite, from the kings and the gods of Rome, were coming to wrest the despoiled liberties of the people from the usurping hands of a Varro, a Cicero, and a Cato—from two burghers of Reate and Arpinum, and the descendant of a Tusculan peasant. But the fact is that Caesar, when once launched in the war, did not claim for himself the character of a liberator.† He spoke of his consulship refused to him, his province taken away, and his army disbanded. We hear nothing about an oppressed people, or a champion of democracy. Cicero saw in the approach of Caesar but peril to his dear Republic. Nor could he possibly have diagnosed the disease by which the Republic was slowly dying. When a Saturninus or a Catiline was crushed, he thought the Republic was cured. He did not see that these were but recurring symptoms of a deeply-seated and fatal malady. The Republic on which Cicero centred his faith and love, to which he devoted his pen and tongue, and for which he gave his life, was the Commonwealth of the Scipios.‡ Such a Commonwealth existed now only in an imagination which

\* Gaston Boissier, *Cicéron et ses amis*, p. 64.

† He claimed it at the very commencement of the struggle (De Bell. Civ. i. 22), but dropped the cry when he crossed the Rubicon.

‡ It is from this period that Cicero loves to take his interlocutors in his dialogues. He professes to Pompeius (Ep. xiii. *fin.*) that his highest aspiration is to play Lelius to the Scipio of Pompeius; and in choosing a fictitious name under which to correspond with Atticus, he calls himself Laelius.

took memories for hopes. But surely the Commonwealth of the Scipios, which fired the enthusiasm of Virgil under Augustus, and of Lucan under Nero, was no unworthy object of the devotion of Cicero.\* There are some who so lust to see 'brute Power increase' that they can sneer at the struggle of Chaeronea, and smile at the death-pains of Poland; that they can but shout *vae victis* over the defeated, however noble or unequal the struggle. To me it seems that none but such as these ought to be able to view with indifference the fall of the Roman Republic, or to wonder why Cicero clung with such reverential homage to the Commonwealth, and even to the faint, pale ghost of the Commonwealth, which, in the times of the First Triumvirate,

Did squeak and gibber in the Roman streets.

And if it be contended that Cicero showed some want of insight in not seeing that monarchy was inevitable, we may reply that his was a blindness which contrasts favourably with the perspicacity which taught Atticus to make his peace with Caesar and Antonius so secure.†

\* The benefits of the Empire were of course very great to the world. The provincials especially had good reason to bless it. But we must enter on the *per contra* side of the account—the great weakening of the manly fibre of the Roman character. Compare the independent tone of Cicero's letters with the grovelling adulation of Pliny. Nay, take the Machiavellian letter of Quintus on the tactics of a candidate for consulship (Ep. xii.); nothing could be more worldly and politic than its precepts; but what an advantage in dignity it has over some of the epistles of Horace. The one teaches to flatter the public; the other to cringe to the Emperor.

† An able and encouraging review of the first edition of this volume (*Times*, August 16, 1880), would put the matter in a nutshell by asking, Did Cicero sincerely believe Pompeius to be the champion of the Republic? I give the whole passage, as it vigorously expresses the reviewer's conception of Cicero's attitude towards Pompeius:—

"It is interesting to notice Cicero's estimate of Pompeius at different stages of his career. His real opinion of the man is contained in a curious passage in Att., Bk. i.: 'He is affectionate towards me openly; but his dislike is sufficiently obvious. He has no courtesy, no candour, no high-mindedness in his public life, no brilliancy, no resolution, no generosity.' Pompeius's behaviour in face of the victorious advance of Caesar in Italy is thus described: 'But our Gnæus—is it not incredible and heart-breaking?—is completely prostrate! He has no heart, no head, no activity, no troops.' It was indeed a cruel disappointment to one who had written to Cælius two years before that Pompeius was 'a great citizen, and of mind and discretion adequate to all possible emergencies.' But Cicero's contempt for the man himself vanishes when he regards him as the representative of the *optima causa*, the champion of the Senate and the ancient constitution. He then thinks only of the dignity of Pompeius's position; of

In a word, Cicero, like every politician, was actuated by mixed motives in the line which he took. He desired to achieve the commanding position to which he felt that his powers entitled him; but he did not wish to reach by crooked paths an eminence, however great. He was ambitious to rise, but he was ambitious to rise by inspiring his fellow-countrymen with a strong and abiding sense of those pre-eminent abilities of which he was conscious, and to use his power, when attained, in the honest service of the best interests of the State, as he conceived them. That vanity and self laudation, which is so repugnant to our sense of fitness, was a vice not only of the man, but also of the age, though no doubt he was vain to a degree conspicuous even then. How different from ours was the spirit of the time when even Caesar, on whose 'marvellous serenity' Mommson dwells so lovingly, could send such a letter to the senate as *veni, vidi, vici*. With what ridicule would such a dispatch now be received by Parliament and the Press. Cicero lived in an epoch when pro-consuls sought and found

the many ties which bind him to himself: he calls him his dear friend, with whom he stands or falls. But did Cicero sincerely believe Pompeius to be the champion of the Republic? This is the nutshell in which the whole question of this part of Cicero's policy lies. If he did believe it, it was his stern duty to adhere to the Pompeians. If he did not, it was open to him either to remain neutral, or to side with whichever leader was in his opinion best fitted to govern the State. Cicero makes no disguise to Atticus of his opinion on this point. In March of 49 he writes:—

“What both rivals seek is absolute power; they have not cared one jot for the prosperity and honour of the State. Nor, indeed, did Pompeius leave the city because he could not defend it, nor Italy because he was driven thence; but from the beginning his design was to move every land and sea, to incite barbarian kings to bring savage nations against Italy, to assemble the largest armies he could. That is the sort of Sullan dominion which many of his suite have long been thirsting for. Do you think an arrangement might not have been come to between the two? Why, such might be framed even at this moment; but our friend (Pompeius) will have none of it; both rivals, I repeat, wish to reign.”

“Thus it is clear that Cicero knew that Pompeius was only using the Constitution as a peg on which to hang his pretensions. Possessing this knowledge, Cicero had no justification for the course he took.”—*Times*, Monday, Aug. 16, 1880.

To this I answer that a fair and full examination of Cicero's letters shows that he did look on Pompeius as the champion of the Republic, while Caesar was its declared foe; and that it is unfair to set against the prevailing tone of the letters the hasty expression of a momentary fear, the feverish outburst of distracted petulance. Undoubtedly Cicero does speak of Pompeius as being actuated, like Caesar, only by personal motives; but it is in the tone in which a good Tory might have sometimes said of Lord Beaconsfield—‘I declare he is as bad as Gladstone.’ The evidence is set forth in Appendix A.



their 'laurels in a must cake,' and on their return to Rome enjoyed the empty pageantry of a triumph or a *supplicatio*, which was often but a mockery of their demonstrated incompetence. But, in spite of characteristic weaknesses, Cicero was a great power in his age. In the opinion of his contemporaries he saved Rome in the time of Catiline, and did his best to save it in the time of Antonius. When once fairly embarked in politics, Cicero was eminently serviceable to the party of his adoption. For these services he has been condemned by Mommsen, but has won the enthusiastic praise of Pliny, who rightly sees the splendid triumphs of a born orator, not the enforced drudgery of a slighted hireling, in the speeches which persuaded the people to abandon the Agrarian Law, 'that is, their food,'\* and to spare Roscius; and which induced the descendants of the Sullan proscripts to relinquish their claim to office. It was the same magic power which extorted from the *iudices* the condemnation of Verres, and which sent Catiline half stunned from the Senate. It would be very easy to add to Pliny a long array of enthusiastic admirers of Cicero among ancient writers. The eloquent eulogy of Velleius Patereulus (ii. 66) has often been quoted, and Quintilian (Inst. Or. xii. 1, 15) has given a noble testimony to the patriotism of Cicero: Cremutius Cordus, quoted by Seneca (Suas. vii.), writes that he was 'conspicuous not only for the greatness but the number of his virtues'; and Livy (Sen. *ibid.*) says that 'to praise him as he deserves we ought to have another Cicero.' But these witnesses are superfluous to him who reads the letters as they have been read by all historians from Niebuhr to Merivale; while Mommsen and Drumann would no doubt dismiss their evidence with a sneer, and again betake themselves to their *acte d'accusation*.†

\* Plin. Nat. Hist. vii. 31.

† I quote here the concluding words of an admirably just and learned account of the life of Cicero in the *Quarterly Review*, by Mr. Strachan-Davidson, of Balliol College, Oxford:—

"His is one of those characters whose faults lie on the surface; and the preservation of his most secret letters has withdrawn the veil which hides the weakness and the pettiness of most men from the eyes of posterity. His memory has thus been subjected to a test of unprecedented sharpness. Nevertheless, the faithful friends who resolved to present to the world his confidential utterances, unspoiled by editorial garbling, have not only earned our gratitude by the gift of a unique historical monument, but have judged most nobly and most truly what was due to the reputation of Cicero. As it was in his lifetime, so it has been with his memory: those who have known him most in-

## § 2. CICERO IN HIS PRIVATE LIFE.

Cicero is presented to us even at the very commencement of his correspondence as being in easy circumstances. He already possesses his estates at Formiae and Tusculum. We find him in the year 687 (b. c. 67) looking out for *objets d'art* for his *gymnasium* at Tusculum, and he is in a position to pay some £170 for certain statues made of the *κογχίτης λίθος*, for which Megara was famous. He had inherited from his father an estate in Arpinum, in the neighbourhood of the two country houses of his brother Quintus, Arcanum and Laterium; and a house in Rome on the Carinae, which he seems to have made over to his brother Quintus,\* when he himself, after his consulate, bought for nearly £30,000 the magnificent house of M. Crassus on the Palatine, which brought on him so much envy and misconstruction. The marriage portion which he received on marrying Terentia, 677 (b. c. 69), at the age of 29, amounted to about £3400. But even before this time he was in a position, in the years 675, 676 (b. c. 79, 78), to make a tour through Greece and Asia. What, then, were the sources of Cicero's income, for there is no evidence that he inherited any considerable fortune? The chief source, no doubt, was his practice at the Bar, especially as the advocate of foreign States and Kings. For though the Cincian Law† forbade the feeing of advocates, yet there is abundant evidence that the

timately have commonly loved him best. He is no demi-god to be set on a pedestal for the worship of the nations, but a man with human virtues and human weaknesses, and withal possessed of a charm of grace and goodness which makes us think of him as of some familiar and beloved friend. The calm retrospective judgment of Caesar Augustus, recorded for us by Plutarch (*Life of Cicero*, ch. 49) sums up not unfairly the story of Cicero's life.

‘It happened many years after, that Caesar once found one of his grandsons with a work of Cicero in his hands. The boy was frightened and hid the book under his gown; but Caesar took it from him, and standing there motionless he read through a great part of the book; then he gave it back to the boy and said, *This was a great orator, my child, a great orator and a man who loved his country well.*’ ”

\* Plut. Cic. viii.

† This law was really an aristocratic measure. It shut the career of an advocate to all who did not possess some fortune. It denied the necessities of life to the advocate, while it gave him the luxuries, which came in the form of handsome presents from wealthy clients. The Bar then, as a political career until very recent times, was the privilege of the well-to-do.

thankfulness of successfully-defended clients generally took a substantial form. We may perhaps infer from Att. i. 20, 7, that the gratitude of L. Papirius Paetus showed itself in the appropriate present of his library, and the tone of this passage leads us to surmise that the Lex Cincia de Muneribus, now nearly 150 years old, had to a great extent become obsolete.\* Cicero, then, who devoted himself to the Bar at the early age of 25, must have made a considerable income by his profession. For there seems to have been but one other source of income to him—legacies left by grateful clients or admiring friends. Plutarch tells us that early in life he was bequeathed a sum of about £3000, but his receipts under this head are probably much exaggerated.† For instance, we are asked to believe that in 695 (b.c. 59) the Stoic Diodotus, who had been for some time an inmate of Cicero's house, left him heir to a sum equal to about £85,000! Of a truth—

Sapiens uno minor est Iove, dives,  
Liber, honoratus, pulcher, rex denique regum,

if he can make such bequests to his friends or hosts. But the grandeur of the legacy is as nothing compared to the coolness of the legatee, *Diodotus mortuus est; reliquit nobis H. S. fortasse centies* (Att. ii. 20, 6), and then he passes to other trifling topics. Malaspina is no doubt right in reading *sestertia centum*, about £850. At the age of 61, in the year 709 (b.c. 45), Cicero did receive a very large legacy from Cluvius, which he tells us brought in nearly £700 a-year, and afterwards over £800: *vehementer me Cluviana delectant*,‡ he says to his friend Atticus when he discovers how valuable his legacy is about to prove. Cicero appears§ to have been able to serve the interests of this rich Puteolan by using in his favour his influence with Q. Thermus, who governed Asia as pro-praetor in 703 (b.c. 51). There seems to have existed in Ancient Rome a testamentary mania, in consequence of which dis-

\* It is possible, indeed, that the remark here may be merely playful, as there is no evidence that Cicero ever acted as advocate for Papirius Paetus. But, besides this passage, there is abundant proof that this law was practically a dead letter.

† Cicero boasts (Phil. ii. 40) that he had received in bequests above £170,000, but this is probably a rhetorical hyperbole.

‡ Att. xiv. 9, 1.

§ Fam. xiii. 56.

tinguished public characters often became the heirs of men personally quite unknown to them. The obscure *millionaire* loved at his death to divide his riches between two or three of the most eminent public characters of the day. It was not a tribute to the character or the politics of the legatee. Such bequests were thought to reflect distinction on the testator. Caesar and Cicero were co-heirs of Cluvius; and Cicero was coupled with the detested Clodius in the will of the architect Cyrus. This vagary of human folly ought not to cause much surprise. Are there not now those who during life devote their resources to the entertaining of distinguished persons, whose society they dislike; or the purchase of works of art, the merits of which they cannot appreciate; or who, at their death, apply to ostentatious charity wealth equitably due to dependents or benefactors?

Such, then, were the main sources of Cicero's income, for he refused to avail himself of the ordinary avenues to wealth in Rome. These were, first and chiefly, the plunder of the provinces. Cicero turned his back on this means of enriching himself by waiving his claim to a province after his praetorship and his consulate. When, in the year 703 (b.c. 51), he did accept the government of Cilicia, he set his face against the illegal practices by which Appius had 'depleted' the province. We may form an estimate of the wealth to be amassed by an unscrupulous governor, when we learn from Cicero himself that, in spite of the rigorous purism of his administration, he laid by in his provincial life nearly £19,000. This sum, which was in *cistophori*, the Asiatic currency, he deposited in the hands of certain *publicani* in Ephesus.\* Another road to a fortune neglected by Cicero was the practice of usury.† It is a singular feature in the social life of this period,

\* Cicero distinctly tells Rufus (Fam. v. 20, 9) that Pompeius appropriated this money. Yet we read in the early letters of the eleventh book to Atticus of this sum of money apparently still intact. It seems impossible to escape from the inference of Boot that the statement made by Cicero to Rufus was untrue, and that it was made with the design of comforting Rufus, who had recently sustained a pecuniary loss. Rufus was his quaestor.

† This mode of acquiring wealth was by no means deemed disreputable in Rome. But Cicero does not seem to have sought thus to add to his resources. He uses, in one of his letters to Quintus (Q. Fr. i. 3, 6), an expression which seems designedly employed to show that his means were more honourably acquired. Writing from exile, he speaks of himself as one who once was *liberis, coniuge, copiis*, genere ipso

that men of the highest distinction lent money on interest to individuals and corporations. Brutus, though according to Shakspeare he condemned Cassius for his itching palm, had large transactions of this kind, and it was thus that Atticus amassed the wealth which he knew so well how to keep. Nor was this trade confined to men. There is much reason to believe that Terentia seriously embarrassed her husband by speculations, in which she allowed herself to be defrauded by her steward and freedman Philotimus. Caerellia,\* too, seems to have had extensive business transactions. From these Cicero always held aloof, though we find him ever ready to lend to a friend, and very frequently obliged to borrow.† His exile and its consequences involved him in difficulties, from which he never wholly emerged. Yet he cannot have ever been deeply in debt, for we find him throughout his life in possession of half a dozen country residences in the most delightful parts of Italy, together with 'lodges,' or *deversoria*, at Tarracina, Sinuessa, Cales, and Anagnia, which the absence of hotels rendered necessary for persons of distinction who would travel in a manner befitting their rank. In the matter of money lent to him, Cicero shows a fastidious sense of honour quite in advance of his age. He feels it incumbent on him to apply to the repayment of his debt to Caesar

*pecuniae, beatissimus*. Cicero did not look down on trade. In *Parad.* 6 he writes, *qui honeste rem quaerunt mercaturis faciendis*; but he aspires, for himself, to the function which Scipio, in the *Republic* (i. 35), claims, *cum mihi sit unum opus hoc a parentibus maioribusque meis relictum, procuratio atque administratio reipublicae*.

\* This interesting woman (the loss of whose correspondence with Cicero is much to be regretted) for many years afforded to him that intelligent sympathy in his literary labours which he sought in vain from Terentia. She was the Stella of Cicero. That the intimacy partook in no degree of the nature of an intrigue is plain from the friendly relations which subsisted between Caerellia and Terentia. Yet the rancour of Dio Cassius has not recoiled even from this aspersion. Like Swift, Comte, and Goethe, Cicero felt the charm of a woman's sympathy; but Caerellia never had reason to regret that she had extended it to him. In his respect for the sanctity of domestic life Cicero presents a strong contrast to the manners of his age. Other traits in his character, too, show an approximation to modern modes of feeling and thought—notably his refined repugnance to the cruel sports of the amphitheatre.—*Fam.* vii. 1, 3.

† Cicero walks under his load of difficulties with a light step, which reminds us of Sheridan, with whom, indeed, the *seurra consularis* has other affinities. He says of his country houses at Tusculum and Pompeii, *me, illum ipsum vindicem aeris alieni, aere non Corinthio sed hoc circumforaneo obruerunt* (*Att.* ii. 1, 11); and again (*Fam.* v. 6, 2), *itaque nunc me scito tantum habere aeris alieni, ut cupiam coniurare, si quis me recipiat*.

the money which he had received for the expenses of his triumph, 'because it looks ugly to be in debt to a political opponent.'\* Again, on leaving Rome after the death of Caesar,† he writes to Atticus:—'I am owed money enough to satisfy all claims on me; yet it often happens that debtors fail to pay in due time. If anything of this sort should happen, pray consult only my reputation. Borrow afresh to meet the demands of my creditors, or even raise money by selling my property.'

His married life with Terentia was decorous, but destitute of real sympathy. His early letters from exile are full of tender expressions, but he seems to have become gradually estranged. He suspects her of frittering away his money under the evil influence of Philotimus. His last letter‡ to her reminds us of the celebrated 'chops and tomato sauce,' which the counsel for Mrs. Bardell found so difficult to construe into the language of affection. Cicero has been blamed for his divorce of Terentia, and his remarriage with the youthful Publilia at the age of 63. But it must be remembered that 63 was not then thought so advanced an age as it is now. Men began life much later than in modern times. Cicero cannot be said to have begun his political life till he was nearly 40 years of age, and Caesar began his career as a great general at an age at which Alexander was dead and Napoleon had been conquered.

Nor was the career of his son Marcus a source of happiness to Cicero. Finding him intractable under the hands of his tutor Dionysius, his father sent him to Athens (as to an University) to complete his education. His allowance seems very ample, amounting, as it did, to about £850 a-year. Yet the youth squanders this on carousing and entertainments, while his tutor Gorgias abets his extravagances and dissipations, reminding us of Doctor Pangloss in the *Heir-at-Law*. Young Marcus seems never to have thoroughly cast off the vices of his youth. In the letter to Tiro (Fam. xvi. 21), in which he announces his complete reforma-

\* *Est enim ἄμορφον ἀντιπολιτευομένου χρεωφειλέτην esse.*—Att. vii. 8, 5.

† Att. xvi. 2, 2.

‡ In Tusculanum nos venturos putamus aut Nonis aut postridie. Ibi ut sint omnia parata. Plures enim fortasse nobiscum erunt et, ut arbitror, diutius ibi commorabimur. Labrum si in balineo non est, ut sit: item cetera, quae sunt ad victum et valetudinem necessaria.—Fam. xiv. 20.

tion, we cannot help feeling that the young man 'protests too much,' and we hear that, even after Augustus raised him to the consulate, he distinguished himself by his drunken excesses.\* It is a sad reflection to think what the consulate was when the great orator had to strain every nerve to gain it, and what it was when, as a late return for the services of the father, the Emperor conferred it, as a piece of patronage, on a brainless profligate.

It is in his daughter Tullia that Cicero finds his solace and pride. Like Francis Atterbury, he found in the society of a daughter his one refuge from the chances and changes of a troublous life. He is never wearied of recounting her virtues. Indeed, he so eulogises her intellectual powers and her acquired knowledge, that he has almost earned for her the unenviable reputation of an *esprit fort*, or even a blue-stocking. Her infatuation for Dolabella, her third husband, is quite consistent with her father's account of her. We often find women of really exceptional intellect yielding to the fascinations of a handsome, shallow, somewhat clever Bohemian. Such was the blind admiration which the Brontë sisters felt for their worthless brother; such was the love of George Eliot's Romola for Tito; and such was the strange infatuation which made Tullia cling to Dolabella, in spite of his wicked extravagance, which squandered her dower, and his insulting infidelities with Caecilia Metella, which he hardly took the trouble to conceal. Tullia had lost her first husband, the noble Piso, by death; she was then married to Crassipes. It was when her father was absent in Cilicia that her hand was sought for the third time. Among her suitors was Tiberius Nero, the father of the Emperor. Thus Cicero might have been the ancestor of an Emperor, as Atticus was of an Empress. Tullia died in child-

\* Brutus, however, commended his services at Pharsalia, and the delighted father dedicated to young Marcus the *De Officiis*. It is very interesting to observe how, under the profligacy and superficial cultivation of the declining Republic, still we may occasionally catch a glimpse of the old Roman qualities, by which *fortis Etruria crevit*. We can still see the iron hand in war. Quintus lays down his bloody axe and well-worn scourge; young Marcus casts the chaplet from his wine-flushed brow; to wield the sword with all the energy of Camillus or Scipio. Plutarch remarks that by a singular coincidence Divine justice reserved the completion of the punishment of Antonius for the house of Cicero: after the capture of the fleet of Antonius, which was immediately followed by his death, it was to the new consul, M. Cicero, that the official despatch announcing the victory was sent.

birth,\* at the age of 31, at her father's house in Tusculum, where she had taken refuge from the outrages of Dolabella. Cicero never recovered her loss. He never forgave Publilia, who betrayed joy at her death, and never again received her into his house, in spite of the girl's earnest entreaties for the forgiveness of her aged husband. One cannot but smile to find Cicero at once preparing to deify his dead daughter, as Hadrian afterwards deified his beloved slave. We owe to the death of Tullia the letter of Sulpicius, written to console the bereaved father (Fam. iv. 5). This is by far the best of the extant letters to Cicero, which, as a rule, show an amazing inferiority to the letters of the orator himself. There is a good letter from Matius (Fam. xi. 28), and many amusing letters from others, but this is the only great letter, not by Cicero himself, in the whole correspondence. It is sad to see how little real consolation Sulpicius could offer to his friend. He urges him to moderate his grief for his daughter; to see her father so wretched would wound her loving heart were she alive; perhaps it wounds her even now, *si quis etiam inferis sensus est*.

In his romantic love for his daughter and his indifference to his wife, the character of Cicero presents a *trait* familiar in modern French life. Again, we have a view very characteristic of the modern Frenchman in the lightness with which he assigns to Terentia religion as her department, while his own business is with men.† Another thoroughly French feature in his disposi-

\* She had had no children by her previous marriages.

† Neque Di quos tu castissime coluisti, neque homines quibus ego semper servivi.—Fam. xiv. 5, 1; cf. also Fam. xiv. 7, 1. We find often in Cicero casual hints at his agnosticism, for instance, in Att. iv. 10, 1, *fors viderit, aut si qui est qui curet Deus*; and in the *pro Cluent.* 171, we have this remarkable passage:—nam nunc quidem quid tandem illi mali mors attulit? Nisi forte ineptiis et fabulis ducimur, ut existimemus illum apud inferos impiorum supplicia perferre . . . quae si falsa sunt, id quod omnes intellegunt, quid ei tandem aliud mors eripuit praeter sensum doloris? In the speech for Rabirius (29) Cicero anticipates an eternal existence for the souls of the good, basing it on the instinctive belief of mankind: again, in the *De Har. Resp.* (19), he affirms his belief in the existence of gods, grounding it on the evidences of design in Nature. Again, in *De Nat. Deor.* (i. 37), and in *De Rep.* (vi. 16), he speaks of an overruling Providence. But it is strange how lightly his beliefs sit upon him, and how little they influence his conduct: in Tusc. i. 74 he says that the God who holds authority in our breast forbids us to leave our post without his leave; yet we know that during his exile he clearly and deliberately contemplates the commission of this act, and we hear nothing at all about any prohibition of conscience, or even a hint that self-destruction is unworthy of a good man.



tion is his hatred for provincial life. 'I cannot express to you,' he writes (Att. v. 11, 1), 'how I am consumed with longing for the town, how intolerably insipid is this provincial life.' A letter to Caelius (Fam. ii. 12, 2), in the passage beginning *Urbem, urbem, mi Rufe, cole, et in ista luce vive*, breathes the very spirit of the *salon* and *boulevard*.

It is singular that the correspondence of another great letter-writer should be marked by the same overflowing love for a daughter. Madame de Sévigné's love for 'the prettiest girl in France' certainly was not so well placed as the love of Cicero for Tullia. Madame de Grignan seems to have been selfish, extravagant, and cold-hearted—not, indeed, nearly so loveable as her brother Charles de Sévigné. Indeed we can hardly acquit the clever Frenchwoman of assuming a rôle, and posing in the picturesque attitude of the adoring mother.

Cicero speaks in the highest terms of his father and mother. Of the former he writes (De Or. ii. 1) as *optimi ac prudentissimi viri*, and there is good reason to think that the beginning of his poem on his consulship was devoted to an elaborate eulogy of his father.\* Cicero has often been accused of want of filial feeling, because he has been supposed to have curtly announced the death of his father to Atticus in the words *pater nobis decessit a. d. iiii. Kal. Decembres* (Att. i. 6, 2; Ep. ii.). In my notes on that passage I have fully discussed the soundness of the text. It is enough here to observe that even if the text be sound, it is quite probable that Cicero had announced to Atticus in more fitting terms his father's death, and is here (in answer to a question from Atticus) merely reminding his friend of the date—'the date of my poor father's death (for this is the force of *nobis*) was Nov. 24.'†

While acquitting Cicero in this particular instance, one cannot help noticing, even in the most refined of the ancient Romans, an absence of sensibilities which polish, and even sweeten, the intercourse of modern life. In letter VIII. (Att. i. 3) Cicero announces to Atticus the death of the grandmother of Atticus in jesting phrase, which good taste must condemn. It seems that the lady was not dear to Atticus, and that he was not at all likely to feel

\* See note on Att. i. 19, 10.

† For strong expressions of real sorrow for the death of a slave, and again, of a mere acquaintance, we have to go no further than Att. i. 12, 4, and iv. 6, 1.

real grief for her; yet there is certainly a coarseness of tone in the letter. A sentiment of reverence should be inspired by the thought of death, and even if it be not felt, it should be assumed. In such a case, if ever, hypocrisy is a homage to good taste.

In connexion with this vindication of Cicero from attributed want of affection, it will be pertinent to examine briefly a few other charges brought against Cicero on the authority of his own letters.

In Att. iii. 12, 2, Cicero says, 'I am shocked that my speech against Curio has become public. I wrote it under the influence of anger, and as a reply to his attack on me. But I thought I had prevented any chance of its getting into circulation. However, inasmuch as I happen never to have had any verbal altercation with him, and inasmuch as it is written with less than my usual care, I think a good case could be made to show it was not by me.' When Cicero wrote this he was in an agony of suspense about the success or failure of the attempts to bring about his restoration. A speech against Curio and Clodius, of the literary execution of which he was ashamed, and which was extremely likely to inflame still more against him the resentment of his enemies, had, in spite of Cicero's efforts to prevent it, somehow got into public circulation. Cicero accordingly wished that it could be represented not to be his. It seems to me that even at the present day, if a public man wrote something which, on reflection, appeared likely to injure him, and also was unworthy of him in style, he would feel a desire to disown the article, or at least would refrain from acknowledging it to be his, which would probably have very much the same effect. It is, however, extremely unlikely that the supposed modern statesman, even in a letter to an intimate friend, would own his real feelings. And this very fact must be placed to the credit of modern society. Christianity and chivalry have made certain acts and sentiments impossible for a gentleman to avow.

One is bound to take into account the different points of view from which an act presents itself to the moral sense at different epochs of society. Cicero did favour his friend Brutus in a dispute with the Salaminians; but Brutus could hardly understand why Cicero should take the Salaminians into account at all. Cicero was in advance of his age in every way, and behind the present age, not in obedience to the dictates of the moral sense, but only

in the education and refinement of it. This consideration, I think, entitles Cicero to an acquittal in the two following cases.

We learn (Att. vi. 6, 4) that Cicero was desirous of securing the good will of Caelius for his friend Atticus; so he dictated to the copyist of Atticus, who happened to be with him, a letter in praise of Caelius, which he read to Caelius as having come from Atticus.\* Cicero, in all naïveté exclaims, *at te apud eum, di boni! quanta in gratia posui, eique legi litteras non tui sed librarii tui.* It never occurred to Cicero that it was base to stoop to a fabrication even to serve a friend.

In 707 (b.c. 47) a packet of letters from Quintus, directed to various friends, fell accidentally into the hands of Marcus. Some of them he forwarded to their destination. But on learning from these persons that the letters forwarded by him were full of atrocious reflections upon himself, he opened the remaining missives, and sent them to Atticus, leaving it to him to decide whether they should be retained or sent to their destination. ‘The fact that they have been opened,’ he suggests, ‘makes no matter, for I fancy Pomponia has his seal-ring.’ This, of course, strongly conflicts with modern notions about honour, but the writer is supremely unconscious that the act is in any way questionable.† Yet of those who would now look on such an act as worse than a crime, how few would be capable of the high-mindedness with which Cicero acted on his discovery of his brother’s treachery! He wrote to Caesar a letter (of which we still preserve the copy which he sent to Atticus (Att. xi. 12, 2)), completely absolving his brother from the suspicion of having instigated his own hostility against Caesar, or having urged him to fly to Greece, and begging the good offices of Caesar for a brother under the recent sense of whose baseness to him he must have been still smarting.

It seems to me that this is an act of large nobleness and truly chivalrous feeling, quite startling when we remember the times in which Cicero lived.‡

\* Att. xi. 9, 2.

† The same observations apply to a practice which Cicero acknowledges that he adopts in giving introductory letters to friends: see Fam. xiii. 6a.

‡ A much more serious charge which has been brought against the moral character of Cicero is examined in Appendix B, at the end of the Introduction, ‘On the relations which existed between Cicero and Tiro.’

The character of Quintus is very remarkable. One is familiar with the domestic bully, who in the world is an obsequious sycophant. But in Quintus we have the exactly opposite type. With his friends he is

Jealous in honour, sudden and quick in quarrel :

the violence of his expressions\* makes us feel that in his tragedies he must have 'torn the passion to tatters': in his province he is a wild beast in ferocity, though he seems to have sought to be just, and he certainly was not rapacious; he returned from Asia as poor as he left Rome; but woe to the luckless provincial who was caught tripping; the scourge was not cruel enough for Quintus, nor the axe sufficiently expeditious. Not Shakspeare's Richard was more ready to cry 'Off with his head'! But in private life he was the humblest of men. *Hæc ego patior quotidie* is his plaintive ejaculation when Pomponia insults him in presence of his brother Marcus, and refuses to sit at table because Quintus had sent his slave Statius on before to see if dinner were ready (Att. v. 1). No doubt the undue influence accorded to Statius in domestic matters was resented by the mistress of the household; but the paramount position of that slave seems to show that (in his private life), had Quintus been emancipated from the tyranny of Pomponia, he would have experienced but a change of rulers. The letters of Marcus are full of affection towards his brother Quintus. Nor does he fail in solicitude for him and his son even after he has discovered their base treachery in seeking to prejudice him with Caesar.

T. Pomponius Atticus, who stood to Cicero in the relation which Sir Horace Mann occupied to the Cicero of English letter-writing, Sir Horace Walpole, is not a pleasing person. His persistent neutrality in politics† was a course which, though nowise reprehensible in our own times, must have been very much condemned in the days of Cicero. Yet he seems to have escaped to a great extent from adverse criticism; and, though connected with

\* Cicero, writing to Atticus (xv. 29, 2), says of Quintus, *ego tamen suspicior hunc, ut solet, alucinari*: for examples of the violence of Quintus, see Ep. liii. § 6, where Cicero by no means hints that his brother is in the habit of 'going off his head.'

† As regards actions at least. He had, it appears, the strongest political feelings. We are told that Atticus exclaimed *periisse causam si (Caesar) funere elatus esset*.

the unfortunate Sulpicius, he succeeded in living uninjured by Cinna or Sullan, and in affording pecuniary assistance to Marius in his flight. He was intimate with the best Romans, from Sulla to Augustus; he was on good terms with both Caesar and Pompeius; he had the warm friendship of Brutus, Hortensius, and Cicero, and excited the enthusiastic admiration of Cornelius Nepos, the friend of Catullus. This he accomplished partly by availing himself of the shelter of his philosophic opinions. The Epicurean was speculatively bound to prefer the life of thought to the life of action. But he could not have preserved his complete tranquillity had he not early migrated to Athens, and there remained for about twenty years. In Athens we find him leading the life of a cultured gentleman, a recognised patron of literature and the fine arts, and recommending himself to his adopted fellow-citizens by gifts of corn, grown, no doubt, on his Epirote estate—a Roman practice which Cicero seems disposed to condemn.\* As a thorough man of business,† a ready lender of money, and a literary critic of the first order, Atticus was, of course, very useful to Cicero, but no doubt the keen *negotiator* found not a little that was negotiable in his relations with the great *littérateur*. Atticus kept large numbers of *librarii*, or slaves who acted as copyists. These, no doubt, executed many copies of the masterpieces of Cicero, and thus contributed not a little to fill the coffers of their master. Atticus seems to have neglected none of the avenues to wealth, and even to have discovered some new ones for himself. Not only do we find him practising money-lending on a large scale, but we even read of his buying and training bands of gladiators, to be hired out to the Aediles for their public shows.‡ And the wealth thus accumulated was preserved by a consistent parsimony in his household *ménage*, on which Cicero often rallies him. In Att. vi. 1, 13, he takes him to task for serving up cheap vegetables on expensive plate, and asks what would be his fare if his service were of earthenware; and in Att. xvi. 3, 1, he sends Atticus his treatise *de Gloria*, which he asks him to have copied on large paper, and, in suggesting that he should read it for his guests at a dinner which he was

\* Att. vi. 6, 2, Heus tu *πυρρός* εἰς δῆμον Athenis! Placet hoc tibi?

† Nepos tells us (ch. 6) *nullius rei neque prae neque manceps factus est*. See note on Ep. xxv. § 8.

‡ Att. iv. 4b, 2; iv. 8a, 2.

about to give, Cicero adds: 'but give them a decent entertainment, an you love me; else they will vent on my treatise their indignation against you.' Nepos (vit. Att. 13) says that he knows as a fact that the amount allowed by Atticus for household expenses was 3000 *asses*, or about six guineas of our money, per month.

Nothing seemed more important to Atticus than to conceal as much as possible his business relations, and to appear before the world as a literary gentleman living on his estates in Epirus and elsewhere. When we find that his uncle, the odious Caecilius, from whom Cicero tells us even his own relations could not get a farthing under twelve per cent., adopted Atticus, and left him heir to a large fortune, one is a little tempted to think that the usurer Caecilius was in reality a secret partner of Atticus, taking much of the profits and all the obloquy, and not unwilling on those terms to play Jorkins to the Spenloe of his influential nephew.

One cannot much admire the character of the man who was on terms of intimate friendship with Clodius during his persecution of Cicero, and who, after the murder of Cicero, was the friend and entertainer of Fulvia, the wife of Antonius. His knowledge of business was, no doubt, of much service to Cicero; but we find that Cicero even here was able to repay him in kind. The very last letter of Cicero to Atticus\* shows the keen interest which Cicero took in the material interests of his friend.

A short account of the movements of Atticus between Greece and Rome will be found in the Introduction to Parts II., III. He married Pilia in Feb. 698 (b.c. 56), at the age of 53. Of this marriage the only issue was a daughter, born 703 (b.c. 51), who was married to M. Agrippa, and whose daughter, Vipsania Agrippina, was the wife of the Emperor Tiberius. We are told that, believing that he was suffering from an incurable disease, he destroyed himself by abstaining from food for five days (vit. Att. 22).

\* Att. xvi. 16.

## II.—LITERARY.

## § 1. ON THE LETTERS THEMSELVES.

IN the time of Cicero the letter was written either (1) on thin tablets of wood or ivory covered with wax, in which the letters were cut in uncial characters by the *stilus*, the characters being protected from defacement by the projecting rim of the tablets; or (2), they were written on paper or parchment with a reed pen and ink. It seems to me more probable that the letters of Cicero were written in the second fashion. We have frequent allusions to *charta* in the letters; for instance, in Fam. vii. 18, Cicero asks Trebatius whether he wrote on a palimpsest, and if so, what could have been the writing so worthless as to make way for the letter. So in Q. Fr. ii. 14 (15*b*), 1, it is plain that *charta*, *calamus*, and *atramentum* were used. The same inference is to be drawn from Att. v. 4, 4, and perhaps from the passage already adverted to above (Att. vi. 6, 4), where Cicero avails himself of the services of the copying slave of Atticus to pass off on Caelius the letter written by himself, but purporting to come from Atticus; for Cicero's handwriting on *charta* with a pen would have been much more easily recognised than his uncials carved with a *stilus* on wax. Moreover, the use of pen and paper would be so obviously more suitable for long letters that we can hardly doubt that it was the vehicle used by Cicero for his correspondence. Nor is there any real evidence to set against the passages adduced above, for expressions like *tabella*, *exaravi*, &c., are applied to the use of pen and paper as well as to the use of *cera* and *stilus*.\* When the letter was finished the *tabellae* were bound together by a thread, which was sealed at the knot. This seal was generally looked on as the formal guaranty of genuineness, for the hand-

\* That in old times the *cera* and *stilus* were employed in letter-writing there can be no doubt. We have all the materials enumerated together, the *stilus*, the wax, the thread, the tablets, and the signet-ring, in Plaut. Bacch. iv. 3, 78, *seq.*; such phrases as *exarare* and *tabellae* would be survivals from the ancient usage; nor is it at all improbable that *chartae* would be enclosed between tablets of wood or ivory and bound by a thread, so that the *tabellae*, even though actually thus employed, would not necessarily imply the use of the *cera*.

writing was generally that of a slave, if the writer possessed sufficient means to keep a *servus a manu* or *ab epistolis*.

There being no postal arrangements whatever in the time of Cicero, it was necessary either to employ private messengers, or to avail oneself of the services of the *tabellarii* of the *publicani*, who were constantly travelling between Rome and the provinces.

The outside address was brief. In Att. viii. 5, 2, Cicero speaks of a packet with the superscription *M'. Curio*, and in a fresco at Pompeii there is a letter directed *M. Lucretio*.

The letter began with simple greeting, *M. Cicero s. d.* (*salutem dicit*) *M. Caelio*, or *s. p. d.* = *salutem plurimam dicit*, and it seems that in a very frequent or familiar correspondence even this form was dispensed with. *Cicero Attico Sal.*, as a heading to each letter to Atticus, is probably not genuine, for Cicero never uses the name *Attice* in the body of a letter until we come to the year 704 (b.c. 50) (Att. vi. 1, 20). *Mi Pomponi* is the nearly invariable form of address, even after the year 689 (b.c. 65), before which he must have received his surname Atticus; therefore it is not probable that this surname was used all along by Cicero in the headings of his letters and nowhere else. These considerations have induced Boot to strike out the words *CICERO ATTICO SAL.* throughout; but it is probable that Cicero used some words of formal greeting, and it has therefore seemed to me better to retain these words, having first warned the reader that they cannot be looked on as certainly genuine.\*

Cicero occasionally calls Atticus *mi Attice* (vi. 1, 20; xiv. 12, 1); sometimes, but very rarely, *mi Tite* (ix. 6, 5) and *mi T. Pomponi* (iv. 2, 5). In dedicating the *De Senectute* to him he writes *O TITE*; but in this passage he is quoting from Ennius. Cicero addresses Trebatius as *mi Trebati*, *mi Testa*, *Testa mi*, and in one place as *mi vetule* (Fam. vii. 16, 1). He calls him *C. Trebati* in Top. i. 1, as he is dedicating his work to Trebatius; but to address his friend thus in a letter would be stiff and formal. The omission of the *praenomen* was a mark of close intimacy in the time of

\* It has been observed that Cicero very rarely introduces the name of his correspondents into his letters. In the whole of the sixteen books to Atticus, containing 397 letters, he apostrophises his friend by name only 22 times. Such apostrophes are very much more frequent in the Brutine correspondence; there are 23 in the first book of 18 letters. This is one of the arguments against the authenticity of the Brutine correspondence.



Cicero, as is distinctly proved by Fam. vii. 32, 1, *quod sine prænominē familiariter, ut debebas, ad me epistolam misisti, primum addubitavi num a Volumnio senatore esset, quocum mihi est magnus usus*. Compare also Fam. xvi. 18, 1, where Cicero addresses a letter to Tiro with the greeting *Tullius Tironi Sal.*, and Tiro seems to have taken exception to the form as unsuited to their respective positions. Words which indicated close familiarity were scarcely suitable between Cicero and a manumitted slave. Cicero in reply suggests even a more familiar form of address—*Quid etiam? non sic oportet? equidem censeo sic: addendum etiam Suo?* But he adds, *sed si placet invidia vitetur*. The omission of the *prænomen* would have provoked unfavourable comment.\* S. V. B. E. (*si vales bene est*), as well as S. V. B. E. E. Q. V. (*si vales bene est, ego quoque valeo*), seems to have been a formal mode of address used only to distant acquaintances, dignitaries, and women.†

The earliest letter of the correspondence is written in 686 (b. c. 68); the latest in 711 (b. c. 43). I have already expressed my opinion of the great historical value of these letters, especially the private letters. Indeed, if we except Caesar and the epitome of the lost Books of Livy, they are the only basis for the history of the period of which they treat. If Sallust be looked on as a political pamphleteer, we have no better authorities than Velleius Paterculus, and Suetonius, who cannot be trusted unless they give their authority; save Appian, Plutarch, Dio Cassius, who lived two centuries after Cicero, and wrote without any critical spirit.

Cicero himself never edited or collected his letters. But even

\* This is probably the real interpretation of Hor. Sat. ii. 5, 32:—*Quinte, puta, aut Publi, gaudent prænominē molles Auriculæ*. Fastidious Romans wished to be addressed with distant and formal respect. The places which Orelli cites in support of his view, which is the contradictory of mine (as he holds, without evidence, that the use of the *prænomen* was a mark of intimacy), are not relevant. The passage from the *De pet. cons.* (Ep. xii. of this ed.) has no reference to the *prænomen* as distinguished from the *nomen* or *cognomen*; and that quoted from Fam. i. 9, 19 is utterly irrelevant, for Cicero does not even hint that it was by calling Clodius Publius that the senators sought to flatter him; the point of the passage is wholly and solely that Clodius and Vatinius both had the *prænomen* Publius. Again, it seems to be very far-fetched to explain the Horatian passage by supposing that the poet is thinking especially of the freedman Dama, who would be proud of the *prænomen* which he received on his manumission. The context does not warrant this supposition. Now my explanation is very simple, and is quite in keeping with the passages in Cicero.

† See note on Att. ii. 9, 1 (Ep. xxxvi.)

in his lifetime there was some such project formed. The well-known *locus classicus* on the subject is Att. xvi. 5, 5, *meorum epistolarum nulla est συναγωγή, sed habet Tiro instar septuaginta. Et quidem sunt a te quaedam sumendae. Eas ego oportet perspiciam, corrigam; tum denique edentur.* Two years before this he had written to Tiro a letter (Fam. xvi. 17), in which he jestingly condemns his use of the adverb *fideliter* in the phrase *valetudini fideliter inserviando*, and says that he ought to be more careful if he wishes his letters to be included in the volume.\* But it is universally agreed that no collection of the letters was published during the life of Cicero. The *Epistolae ad Familiares*† and *ad Atticum* were probably published at the same time, and edited by the same editor; this has been inferred from the fact that there is evidence of the strict observance of the rule to exclude from one collection letters published in the other. This rule is only twice violated. We find enclosed to Atticus (Att. x. 9a) a letter from Caelius to Cicero which appears as Fam. viii. 16; and in the same way a letter from Cicero to Dolabella (Fam. ix. 14) is published again among the letters to Atticus (Att. xiv. 17a). That the letters to Atticus did not appear before the death of Atticus (722, b. c. 32) is probable from the testimony of Corn. Nepos. The letters to Quintus and Brutus were published with the letters to Atticus.

The Books of the *ad Fam.* are entitled according to the person to whom the earlier letters in each Book are addressed. Thus the first is *ad Lentulum*, the second *ad Curionem*, the third *ad Appium Claudium Pulchrum*. The eighth consists solely of letters from Caelius to Cicero. It is probable that the editor first published twelve books, and subsequently added four others, the thirteenth and fifteenth being *addenda* to the first edition, the fourteenth consisting solely of letters to his family, and the sixteenth of letters

\* The words are *tuas quoque epistolas vis referri in volumina*. It is to be observed that these words do not imply that any collection of Cicero's letters existed at that time, but only that Cicero desired that such a collection should be made. The words might merely mean, 'are you, too (like myself), set on a collection of your letters?' or 'do you want to make a collection of your letters as well as mine?'

† This title has no classical authority, and the name is not free from objections, for some of Cicero's correspondents were in no sense his *familiares*. However, the correspondence may conveniently be so named, as *most* of his correspondents were *familiares*. *Ad Diversos* is bad Latin. Suetonius calls such a series *amicorum epp.* See note on Att. ii. 13, 1.

to Tiro, who, as we shall see, was probably the editor of the collection. Subsequent to the extant collections we have evidence of the existence of much larger volumes of which only scanty fragments remain. These were probably made in the Augustan period, and perhaps from them were gleaned materials for the books of *addenda* (Fam. xiii. xv.) But the original xii. books were not remodelled on the basis of the later collection, for from the four books *ad Pompeium*, and the three *ad Caesarem*, which the now lost edition is said on good authority to have contained, we should doubtless have had copious extracts. Now the *Epp. ad Fam.* contain only one letter to Pompeius (Fam. v. 7) and three to Caesar (Fam. vii. 5; xiii. 15, 16).

That Books xiii. and xv. are *Addenda* to the first xii. is plain from the following table:—\*

Letters to (or from):—

Cassius Longinus	are found	. (a)	xii. 1-13	(b)	xv. 14-19.
M. Claudius Marcellus	„	. (a)	iv. 7-11	(b)	xv. 9.
Julius Caesar	„	. (a)	vii. 5	(b)	xiii. 15, 16.
Minucius Thermus	„	. (a)	ii. 18	(b)	xiii. 53-57.
Munatius Plancus	„	. (a)	x. 1-24	(b)	xiii. 29.
Sulpicius Lemonia	„	. (a)	iv. 1-6	(b)	xiii. 17-28.
Trebonius	„	. (a)	x. 28	(b)	xv. 20, 21.

It is, however, more than likely that the *Epp. ad Fam.*, as we have them, were issued in *five* separate parts.

(1). The first xii. books, the letters in which are on various subjects, such as politics, art, domestic life, letters of introduction, &c.; the collection being in no way based on any considerations about the nature or subjects of the letters.

(2). Lib. xiii. consisting solely of letters of introduction,† based, therefore, on the very principle neglected in libb. i.-xii.

(3). Letters to Terentia and his family.

(4). Lib. xv. constructed exactly like libb. i.-xii.

(5). Lib. xvi. consisting of letters to Tiro.

A close inspection of the above table will show that lib. xiii. may be looked on as a book of *Addenda* to libb. i.-x., as it contains no letters to any of the persons addressed in libb. xi., xii., while

\* See Nake, *Hist. Crit. Epistolarum*, pp. 2, 3.

† Ep. 68 is not strictly speaking an *epistola commendaticia*, but it is a reply on the part of Cicero to a letter from Servilius which plainly was of that character.

lib. xv. stands in the same relation to libb. i.-xii. It might therefore, perhaps, be inferred that libb. i.-xii. did not appear altogether, but first libb. i.-x., and immediately after libb. xi., xii.

The *Epp. ad Fam.* (and therefore the whole correspondence) were probably edited by Tiro, because—(1) we know that he had formed such a design; (2) *ad Fam.* xvi. contains many letters addressed to him (some even not by Cicero) which would hardly have found their way into the volume had it not been edited by Tiro; (3) there are no letters from Tiro, just as in the other volume there are no letters from Atticus, though Tiro's letters were carefully preserved by Cicero, as we are told in *Att.* ix. 10, 4, *evolvi volumen epistolarum tuarum quod ego sub signo habeo serroque diligentissime*; (4) To these arguments for the editorship of Tiro may be added one drawn from a passage in *Att.* ii. 1, 3:—‘Fuit enim mihi commodum, quod in eis orationibus, quae Philippicae nominantur, enituerat civis ille tuus Demosthenes, et quod se ab hoc refractariolo iudiciali dicendi genere abiunxerat, ut *σεμνότερός τις καὶ πολιτικώτερος* videretur, curare ut meae quoque essent orationes, quae consulares nominarentur. Quarum una est in senatu Kal. Ian., altera ad populum de lege agraria, tertia de Othone, quarta pro Rabirio, quinta de proscriptorum filiis, sexta, quum provinciam in contione deposui, septima, qua Catilinam emisi, octava, quam habui ad populum postridie quam Catilina profugit, nona in contione, quo die Allobroges invulgarunt, decima in senatu, Nonis Decembr. Sunt praeterea duae breves, quasi *ἀποσπασμάτια* legis agrariae. Hoc totum *σῶμα* curabo ut habeas. Et quoniam te cum scripta tum res meae delectant, iisdem ex libris perspicies et quae gesserim et quae dixerim, aut ne poposcisses: ego enim tibi me non offerebam.’ If, as seems probable (see notes on *Att.* ii. 1, 3), this passage is spurious, there is much reason for accepting the theory of Orelli, that it was inserted by Tiro to vouch for the authenticity of the three last speeches against Catiline, which (according to Orelli) were not written by Cicero, but probably by Tiro. It would certainly have been an attractive subject for one who wished to foist his own work on posterity as a speech written by the great orator, and his position as Editor of the letters would have given him an opportunity to almost ensure the success of his forgery.

Nake believes that Atticus was the editor, because we know

from the letters that he often bought and sold whole libraries,\* that he kept a large establishment of copyists,† that he in various ways assisted Cicero's literary pursuits, suggesting to him subjects on which to employ his pen, replying carefully to questions of Cicero on literary points, and correcting and criticising his work. Thus Cicero in one place says that in his work *de Gloria* Atticus had selected for praise the very best bits, which were now enhanced in his own estimation by the approval of his friend; 'for,' he writes, 'I was in great dread of those bits of red wax of yours'‡ which pointed out defects. The most important testimony in support of Nake's view is a passage in Att. ii. 1, 2, *tu si tibi placuerit liber curabis ut et Athenis sit et in ceteris oppidis Graeciae*, which shows clearly that Atticus was in the habit of actually publishing works of Cicero, the book here referred to being a memoir of his consulship, written in Greek. However, all these arguments do not in my opinion counterbalance the evidence for the editorship of Tiro, given above, and to it may be added a passage in Fam. xvi. 23, 2, where Cicero writing to Tiro says, *Atticus noster, quia quondam me commoveri πανικοῖς intellexit, idem semper putat, nec videt quibus praesidiis philosophiae saeptus sim, et hercle quod timidus ipse est, θορυβοποιεῖ*. Surely this contemptuous judgment on himself would not have been permitted by Atticus to survive in his edition. Moreover, the only objection against the theory that Tiro was the editor is the defective arrangement of the books above referred to; but this is completely explained by the theory of a plurality of editions, which, as we have seen, is more than probable. Nor can we accept the view of Nake that the collection which we now have was posterior to the much fuller collection, of which there is undoubted evidence. The paucity of letters to such remarkable personages as Caesar and Pompeius is fatal to such a supposition; for we know that the large collection contained books of such letters: how, then, can we

\* Att. i. 4, 3; ii. 4, 1.

† Att. xii. 40, 1.

‡ Att. xvi. 11, 1, *cerulas enim tuas miniatulas extimescebam*. It was the habit of the ancients to stick pieces of coloured wax on the margin of books to mark exceptionable passages. *Cerula* could not mean 'a kind of crayon,' as Lewis and Short explain it. The Greeks called these *cerulae* παραπλάσματα. For other testimonies to the editorship of Atticus, see Att. i. 19, 10; 20, 6; xiii. 37, 3; xiii. 43, 3; xvi. 6, 4; vi. 2, 3, *Phliasios dici sciebam, et ita fœ ut habeas*. Cp. also Fronto, Ep. 7, 20 (Naber).

account for the fact that the smaller collection which we possess presents us with very few letters to those eminent persons. The argument on which Nake most relies for his theory that the letters, as we now have them, were first published in the beginning of the second century A. D., is the fact that Fronto\* made a collection of elegant extracts from Cicero's letters—a fact which seems to me in no way to support his hypothesis, but rather to tend to subvert it.†

The three books *ad Quintum Fratrem* embrace a period of six years, from 694–700 (b. c. 60–54). They are highly interesting, though not written with that complete *abandon* which characterises the letters to Atticus. Indeed one is greatly struck and somewhat puzzled by the stately and respectful courtesy of the great consular to his younger and comparatively undistinguished brother in the first letter of this correspondence. It is, however, rather a formal essay on provincial government than a letter, and was intended as a return for the letter of Quintus on the duties of a candidate (Ep. xii.).

The correspondence with Brutus has been pronounced spurious until recent times. But the objections against it are by no means decisive. The Latinity has been defended by C. F. Hermann, and Niebuhr admitted the possible genuineness of the first book. Orelli considers that the first book was written by a rhetorician twenty or thirty years after the death of Cicero, and the second by some Italian or German in the fifteenth century. Nipperdey insists only on the spuriousness of the two letters (I. 16, 17) in which Octavianus is inveighed against. Plutarch (Brut. 53)

\* Memini me excerpisse ex Ciceronis epistolis ea duntaxat quibus inesset aliqua de eloquentia vel de philosophia vel de Rep. disputatio; praeterea si quid elegantius aut verbo notabili dictum videretur, excerpisse . . . Omnes autem Ciceronis epistolas legendas censeo mea sententia, vel magis quam eius omnes orationes. Epistolis Ciceronis nihil est perfectius. Front. ad Antonin. ii. 5 (ed. Mai. 1823).

† L. Gurlitt, in an able essay (Gottingen, 1879), maintains that there never was any larger collection than those which we have. He explains the allusions of Nonius and other grammarians as referring to the collections which we possess, or as being corrupt, or as instances of negligence or stupidity on the part of the grammarian. With regard to Nonius, he quotes with approbation the words of Bücheler (Rhein. Mus. 596), *quocum qui comparari posset levitate et stupiditate neque antiquitas neque nostra aetas ullum grammaticum tulit*.

Gurlitt strongly holds the theory that Tiro was the editor.

throws doubts on the genuineness of these letters. But Ammi-  
 anus Marcellinus (xxix. 5, 24) says, *agebat autem hac Tullianum  
 illud advertens quod 'salutaris vigor vincit inanem speciem clemen-  
 tiae.'* This passage (with *severitas* for *vigor*) is found in Epp. ad  
 Brut. i. 2, 5, and is an important testimony to the genuineness of  
 the letters.\* The first book is found in M; the second (according  
 to Cratander, who first edited it) was in the lost C.† Cratander's  
 verdict on the question of their genuineness is this:—(*has epistolas*)  
*quod a Ciceroniana dictione abhorreere non videbantur, et in vetusto  
 codice primum locum obtinerent, nos haud quaquam praetermittendas  
 existimavimus.* This seems to me a just view of the duty of an  
 editor. Moreover, in the great confusion of their order they have  
 a defect from which the supposed forger would most probably  
 have kept them free. I shall therefore include these letters in  
 my edition. To the letter to Octavianus, as manifestly spurious,  
 I shall not give a place.‡

But I have ventured on a very decided innovation in publish-  
 ing the treatise commonly known as *De Petitione Consulatus* in its  
 proper place in the correspondence of Cicero for the first time.  
 Many views have been taken of the nature of this composition.  
 But one (that of Eussner) would clearly deny to it a place in this  
 volume. I feel bound, therefore, to show that this theory is  
 untenable. Here, however, is not the best place to discuss the  
 question. The reader will find a full statement of the case in  
 Appendix C. to Introduction, on the *Commentariolum Peti-  
 tionis*.

\* There is another passage in Amm. Marc. which seems to me to imply a perusal of the Brutine correspondence: *languentibus partium animis*, xiv. 11. Surely this is a reminiscence of the very strange expression *ne animi partium Caesaris commoverentur*.—Epp. ad Brut. ii. 4, 5.

† See Introd. iii. § 1.

‡ The case against the authenticity of these letters has been much strengthened since the appearance of the first edition of this volume by the essay of Paul Meyer (Zurich, 1881) '*Untersuchung über die Frage der Echtheit des Briefwechsels, Cicero ad Brutum*,' and by an able article by F. Beecher in the *Rheinisches Museum*, xxxvii. pp. 576 ff. The question of the authenticity of the Brutine correspondence will be treated when I arrive at the point in the correspondence of Cicero where it makes its appearance. Whether genuine or not, I think they ought to be included, if only because they have been so long the battlefield of critics. Much instruction as to the style of Cicero is afforded by the arguments both of the assailants and the defenders of the Latinity of these letters.

## § 2. ON THE STYLE OF THE LETTERS.

We have in the Letters of Cicero an almost unique literary monument. The history of one of the most interesting epochs in the annals of the world is unfolded to us in a series of cabinet pictures by a master hand. We contemplate, passed in review before us, a procession of those Roman nobles who in the last few decades of the Republic wielded a greater power than is now given to kings, and lived with far greater splendour. The Senate has been called a mob of kings. Most of its members had held, or would at some time hold, governments more irresponsible and not less important than the Governor-General of India now administers. And all these we see in the letters in the aspect which they presented to their friends and associates, not in the aspect which they presented to the world and to the historian. We see Pompeius, with his embroidered toga and with his chalked bandages on his legs, sulking because no one would thrust on him that greatness which he might have grasped if he had but put forth his hand. We hear how Lucullus thought more about teaching his bearded mullets to eat out of his hand than about the interests of the *causa optima* so dear to Cicero. We have a distinct portrait even of such an obscure figure as Piso (consul in 693, b. c. 61), in whose caustic words and supercilious visage we fancy we can detect a likeness to the late Lord Westbury. In Caelius and Dolabella we have a type of the *jeunesse dorée* of Rome; in Trebatius, of the genial professional man. To each of these Cicero writes in a tone suitable to his correspondent's years and views. Whether he exchanges *rumusculi* with Caelius, jokes with Paetus, or politics with Lentulus—whether he complains or apologises, congratulates or condoles—whether he lectures his brother Quintus on his violence of temper, or addresses himself to the kindly task of bantering Trebatius out of his discontent with the camp of Caesar in Gaul, we never miss the sustained brilliancy and fertility of thought and language. It is most interesting to observe the superiority of his letters to those of his correspondents. For instance (to confine ourselves to the present instalment), observe in the letter of Quintus (Ep. xii.) the forcible-feeble rhetoric, the constant employment of the word *ratione*, which reminds us how vaguely indefinite words like *relation*, *attitude*, *element*, are used by slip-shod writers in the present day to conceal inaccuracy of thought. And compare the letter from Q.



Metellus Celer (Ep. xiv.) with Cicero's reply (Ep. xv.). The one is the almost inarticulate grumble of a man labouring under a sense of injury; it is vague and indefinite: though very short, he repeats the same sentiment twice, and he finishes with an obscure menace which seems to have escaped from him involuntarily. It is, in short, such a letter as would be written by the average colonel of the present day. The reply is a masterpiece of ingenious defence, which, if necessary, the writer might afterwards describe as an apology, but which really puts the aggrieved Proconsul completely in the wrong, and it concludes with a quiet smile at the stupid threat—a smile which Metellus would not see, but which would be enjoyed by the intelligent. We have, it is true, many charming letters from Caelius and others of Cicero's correspondents, notably the exquisite letter of Sulpicius before referred to. These, however, are quite exceptional, and the net result of the comparison of the letters of Cicero with those of his contemporaries is a greatly strengthened belief in the amazing literary endowments of Cicero.\* But the quality in Cicero's letters† which makes them most valuable is that they were not (like the letters of Pliny, and Seneca, and Madame de Sévigné) written to be published. The letters are absolutely trustworthy; they set forth the failures and foibles of their writer as well as his virtues and his triumphs. The portraits with which they abound were never to be shown to his involuntary sitters, so there was no reason why they should not be faithful. In his speeches this is not so: according to the requirements of his brief, his subjects are glorified or caricatured beyond recognition.

As a motto for the whole correspondence may be taken his own words‡ in which he exalts the letter of Atticus over the oral description of Curio. He should be a good talker who could surpass the vivacity of Cicero's letters. But it is a serious error to ascribe carelessness to them. His style is colloquial, but thoroughly accurate. Cicero is the most precise of writers. Every sentence

\* For points of difference between the letters of Cicero and his correspondents, see pp. 71 ff.

† Of course I here refer to the private letters. The public letters have not this quality. For an instance of the degree to which Cicero disguises his real feelings in his public letters, see Att. xiv. 13b, where he sends to Atticus a copy of a letter to Antonius.

‡ Ubi sunt qui aiunt ζῶσης φωνῆς, Att. ii. 12, 2.

corresponds to a definite thought, and each word gives its aid to the adequate expression of the whole. Those who think that the speeches are a mere effusion of rhetoric, a piling up of superlatives for most of which another superlative might easily be substituted, without any injury to the meaning or effect of the passage, have (it seems to me) not read Cicero aright. Every adjective is set down with as careful a pen as ever was plied by a master-hand; each is almost as essential to the sentence as the principal verb. We have an amusing testimony to the carefulness—one might say purism—of his letters in Att. vii. 3, 10, where he so earnestly defends his use of *in* before *Piraeum* (while he avows with shame that he should have written *Piraeum* not *Piraeæ*), on the ground that Piraeus cannot be regarded as a *town*; citing in defence of his usage Dionysius and Nicias Cous, and quoting a passage in point from Caecilius, whom he candidly allows to be but a poor authority, as well as one from Terence, whose *elegantia* he considers to be beyond dispute. All this, too, at a time when one might have supposed that he would have been more concerned in deciding on the political position to be assumed by him on his return to Rome, which he was fast approaching, and from which were constantly reaching him *miri terrores Caesariani*, and reports which he describes as *falsa, spero, sed certe horribilia*. We should, therefore, in my opinion, never admit the theory of carelessness in the writer to influence our opinion about the soundness or unsoundness of a phrase or construction.\*

In treating of the Latinity of these letters one must, of course, in an Introduction dwell mainly on the general aspects of the style, for details referring the student to the notes and to special

\* The letters from exile are not marked by the carefulness and accuracy of his other letters. He tells us himself that this is so. We find a remarkable statement in Ep. lxiii. (Att. iii. 7, 3), *ego et saepius ad te et plura scriberem, nisi mihi dolor meus quum omnes partes mentis, tum maxime huius generis facultatem ademisset*; and we do find a carelessness and inaccuracy which contrast strongly with the style of his happier days. Like Hamlet, he 'has not skill to reckon his groans.' Hence expressions and constructions which in Parts I. and II. would call for the knife, in Part III. may often be regarded as genuine. The great stylist no longer feels the energy to achieve, or the pride in achieving, that precision and grace of expression in which he so vastly outstripped his contemporaries. Remarkable examples of this *pigritia* (to use Cicero's own word for his 'listlessness,' his 'unstrung condition' during exile, Ep. lxvi. 2) may be found twice in Ep. lxiii., § 1 (the very letter in which he owns his feeling of literary impotence); twice in Ep. lxiv. 4; as well as in other letters written during his exile.

treatises on the style of the letters, such as Stinner's and Paul Meyer's, afterwards to be mentioned; as well as elaborate histories of Latin style such as Nägelsbach's *Stylistik*, and Dräger's *Historische Syntax*. Having pointed out, therefore, what seem to me to be the distinctive characteristics of the correspondence as a whole, I shall give a general sketch of the broad peculiarities of this branch of literature as regards the *use* of words, and offer a few observations on the distinctions which may be observed between the letters of Cicero and of his correspondents.

## A.

There is a very remarkable characteristic of the style of these letters, not hitherto dwelt on,\* so far as I am aware—a very close parallelism between their diction and the diction of the comic drama.† It is, indeed, to be expected *a priori* that the language of familiar letter-writing would closely resemble the language of familiar dialogue. In both cases the language may be expected to be largely tinged with the idiom of the *sermo vulgaris*, or *colloquialism*.‡ Cicero, in an important passage,§ recognises the *colloquial* character of his letters, referring, no doubt, especially to those which we have spoken of as his more private letters, namely, those to Atticus, Trebatius, Caelius, and his brother Quintus. It would be impossible for me here to enter into an elaborate comparison between the language of Cicero's letter and that of the comic stage. But in order to show that the subject well deserves a full treatment (as has been suggested by T. Müller, the able reviewer of the

\* Stinner (*de eo quo Cicero in Epistolis usus est sermone*, Oppeln. E. Franck. 1879) notices this feature in the letters, but does not pursue the subject.

† Cicero has in a passage already quoted expressed his high opinion of the *elegantia* of Terence: in Off. i. 104, he lays down that there are two kinds of humour—*unum illiberale, petulans, flagitiosum, obscenum; alterum elegans, urbanum, ingeniosum, factum*; and of the latter he makes Plautus a type, in this judgment differing from the verdict of Horace (Ep. in Pis. 270; Epp. ii. 1, 170) and of Quintilian (x. 1, 99); but afterwards corroborated by Gellius (vii. 17, 4), who pronounces Plautus *homo lingue atque elegantie in verbis Latinae princeps*.

‡ It must be borne in mind that *archaism* is a large ingredient in *colloquialism*, as has been pointed out (p. 127) in the very able treatise of Paul Meyer, *Untersuchung über die Frage der Echtheit des Briefwechsels Cicero ad Brutum*. Stuttgart, 1881.

§ Quid enim simile habet epistola aut iudicio aut contioni? Quin ipsa iudicia non solemus omnia tractare uno modo; privatas causas et eas tenues agimus subtilius, capitis aut famae ornatus. *Epistolas vero cotidianis verbis texere solemus.*—Fam. ix. 21, 1.

first edition of this volume in Bursian's *Jahresbericht*), I will here point out some of the coincidences which have struck me. I will first take one play, the *Miles Gloriosus*, and note the coincidences; then add such general resemblances as have not been touched.

(1). In the following examples it is not contended that in every case the usage adduced is confined to Cic. Epp. and the comic drama; but that it is far more prevalent there than elsewhere, and that this circumstance is not fortuitous, but arises from the fact that the usage referred to partakes of that *colloquial* character which the Germans call *Vulgarismus*.

Mil. i. 1, 11, *tam bellatorem*: for *tam* with predic. subst., cp. *tam Lynceus*, Fam. ix. 2, 2; *tam corruptrice provincia*, Q. Fr. i. 1, 19; *tam matula*, Pl. Pers. iv. 3, 64; *parum leno*, Ter. Phorm. 507.

Mil. i. 1, 44, *sic memini tamen*: for *sic* = 'as things now stand,' cp. *sed sic me privas*, Fam. v. 20, 4; *sic vero fallaces sunt*, Q. Fr. i. 1, 16. See under *sic* v. 3 in Lewis and Short.

Mil. i. 1, 67, *dare operam*, 'to attend to': see L. S., *opera*, ii. A 1.

Mil. ii. 2, 62, *tibi ego dico*: cp. *narro tibi* in Cic. Epp. See n. on Ep. xxii. 10.

Mil. ii. 2, 95, *quid agimus*: for this emphatic use of pres. indic. instead of delib. subjunc., cp. *nunc quid respondemus*, Att. xvi. 7, 4.

Mil. ii. 3, 1, *certo . . . scio*: *certo* is found only in comic poets and in Cic., nearly always in his letters.

Mil. ii. 6, 103, *irae*: for abstract substantives in plural, cp. in Pl. *opulentiae*, Trin. ii. 4, 89; *parsimoniae*, ib. iv. 3, 21; *perfidiae*, Capt. iii. 3, 7; *industriæ*, Most. ii. 1, 1; *paces*, Pers. v. 5, 1; *superbiae*, Stich. ii. 2, 27. In Cic. Epp. we find *iracundiæ*, Q. Fr. i. 1, 39; *admurmurationes*, Q. Fr. ii. 1, 3; *aestimationes*, Fam. ix. 18, 4; *apparitiones*, Q. Fr. i. 1, 12; *compellationes*, Fam. xii. 25, 2; *computationes* and *concentrationes*, Fam. ix. 24, 3; *dementiæ*, Att. ix. 9, 8; *desperationes*, Fam. ii. 16, 6; *iocationes*, Fam. viii. 16, 7; *avaritiæ*, Q. Fr. i. 1, 40; *incontinentiæ*, Att. x. 8, 9; *tranquillitates*, Att. vi. 8, 4; *urbanitates*, Fam. xvi. 21, 7.

Mil. iii. 1, 41, *nota noscere*: cp. *actum agere*, Ter. Phorm. 419; *inventum inveni*, Capt. ii. 3, 81; *perditum perdamus*, Fam. xiv. 1, 5.

Mil. iii. 1, 148, *odiorum Iliæ*: cp. *malorum impendet* 'Ιλιάς, Att. viii. 11, 3.

Mil. iii. 2, 38, *loculi*: Pl. affects strange diminutives, like this from *locus*; e.g. *recula*, from *res*; *specula*, from *spes*; *ralla*, for

*rarula*; *celocula*; *nepotulus*; *uxorcula*. *Vid. infra*, pp. 68 and 69, for a list of dimin. in Cic. Epp.

Mil. iv. 2, 102, *tago*; old form of *tango*: ep. *tagax*, Att. vi. 3, 1.

Mil. iv. 3, 17, *nihil huius*: ep. *quod huius, quod eius*, &c., in Cic. Epp., *passim*. This expression is also common in legal *formulae*.

Mil. iv. 5, 43, *hariolatur*: used in Att. viii. 11, 3; very frequent in comic poets; elsewhere only in Cic. de div. i. 134. The dialogues of Cic. naturally presents points of contact with the letters; for instance, the *tnesis* of *per* with adjectives and verbs is common to the letters and dialogues of Cic. and the comic drama, but does not occur elsewhere in classical Latin.

(2). Thus the examination of one play of Plautus yields a dozen coincidences between the drama and the letters. I now add such general stylistic resemblances as have not been necessarily suggested by the *Miles*.

(a) The prevalence of such interjections as *st*, *hui*, *sodes*, *amabo te*; *ast* for *at*; *absque* for *sine*; *mi* for *mihi*.

(b) Such phrases as *nullus venit*, 'not a bit of him came'; *ab armis nullus discedere*, 'not to move an inch from one's post'; *Corumbus nullus adhuc*, 'not a sign of Corumbus yet'; *nullus tu quidem domum*, 'don't stir a foot to visit him.'\*

(c) *Teneo, habeo* in sense of *scio*, especially in imper. *sic habeto, tantum habeto* with accus. and infin.; and *habeo* = *possum* with infin.

(d) Copious use of ejaculatory phrases: *at te Romae non fore!* Att. v. 20, 7; *O tempora! fore cum dubitet*, Att. xii. 49, 1; *facinus indignum! epistolam . . . neminem reddidisse*, Att. ii. 13, 1; *esse locum tam prope Romam ubi*, Att. ii. 6, 2; *hui! totiensne me dedisse*, Att. v. 11, 1; *me miserum! te incidisse*, Fam. xiv. 1, 1; *hem! mea lux*, Fam. xiv. 2, 2.

(e) Isolated agreements in the employment of a peculiar word (or phrase), as *susque deque est*, which is found only in Plautus and Cic. Epp. among classical writers. Paul Meyer (*Untersuchung*, p. 127) defends *expedire* = *narrare* in Epp. ad Brut. i. 15, 1, on the ground that it is an archaism. On similar grounds I would introduce *accuderim* in Att. i. 1, 2, as a Plautine word, and *PIPULO ac convicio* for *populi convicio* in Q. Fr. ii. 10 (12), 1. On a like principle

\* Att. xi. 24, 4; xv. 22, 1; xiv. 3, 1; xv. 29, 1. For similar usage in the comic poets, Ter. Eun. ii. 1, 10; Hec. i. 2, 4; Andr. ii. 2, 33; Plaut. Trin. iii. 1, 5.

Meyer (p. 134) vindicates *tardare* intrans. in Att. vi. 7, 2 by *durare* intrans. in Plautus. Such cases as these will be noticed in the notes where they occur.

(f) A very striking coincidence with the diction of the comic stage is illustrated by the phrase *quid mi auctor es*, Att. xiii. 40, 2; *quid sim tibi auctor*, Fam. vi. 8, 2, where *auctor es* is treated as a verb and takes an object in the accusative. This construction is very common in Plautus, e.g. *ubi quadruplator quempiam iniecit manum*, Pers. i. 2, 18; *sitis gnarures hunc rem*, Most. i. 2, 17; *quod gravis est*, Amph. iii. 1, 18, where see Ussing's note.

(g) In Plautus, words like *videlicet*, *scilicet*, *ilicet*, are, as it were, resolved into their component elements and govern a case, as if (e.g.) *videlicet* were *videre licet*. A very good example of this is found in Pl. Stich. iv. 1, 49, 51:—

*videlicet*, parcum fuisse illum senem . . .

*videlicet*, fuisse illum nequam adolescentem.

Hence, I believe it is unsound criticism to change *tum videlicet datas*, the ms reading in Att. v. 11, 7, to *datae*, which, indeed, would not stand without *sunt*, as Boot observes.

(h) Another use of the accus., which the letters and the *comici* have in common, is illustrated by *scelus hominis*, 'a villain,' Att. xi. 9, 2. This usage is pushed very far by Pl., who not only has *scelus viri*, Mil. v. 41, but even *hallex viri*, Poen. v. 5, 31; *hominum mendicabula* = *mendicos*, Aul. iv. 8, 3.

(i) An accusative of cognate or homogeneous objects is very common both in the letters and in comedy. Under this head come such accusatives as *si quidquam* (i.e. ullum amorem) *me amas*, Att. v. 17, 5: cp. *id gaudeo*, Ter. And. ii. 2, 25; *quid gaudeam*, Pl. Capt. iv. 2, 62. An excellent example of a cognate accus. is to be found in a letter of Caelius to Cicero: *ut suum gaudium gauderemus*, Fam. viii. 2, 1. Cp. also *quidquid valebo . . . valebo tibi*, Fam. vi. 6, 13, where T badly gives *conciliabo tibi*.

(j) The use of the *ethical dative* is far more common in the letters and in comedy than elsewhere in classical literature. In fact the ethical dative without *en* or *ecce* is very rare in the other writings of Cicero. For this reason I would defend *tibi* of the mss in Att. iv. 2, 4, *vix tandem tibi de mea voluntate concessum est*, 'after all, at last, lo and behold you with my consent, the point was con-

ceded.' The vigorous exclamation is justified by the *unexpected* announcement that Cicero himself was for conceding the request of Serranus, which was so adverse to his interests. It seems to me most unscientific to read *illi*, or *id ei*, or *homini* for *tibi*. Surely no copyist, however stupid, finding any of these readings, all of which yield an obvious sense, would have written *tibi*, which at first sight seems to give no sense at all.

(k) A passage in the letters *ad Fam.* affords an example, in my opinion, of a characteristic idiom borrowed from the comic stage. The passage, *Fam.* vii. 1, 1, runs thus:—

Neque tamen dubito quin tu *ex illo cubiculo tuo*, ex quo tibi Stabianum perforasti et patefecisti Misenum, per eos dies matutina tempora *lectiunculis* consumpseris.

All editors have either changed *ex* to *in* or changed *lectiunculis* to *spectiunculis*. But the ms reading as given above is right. What Cicero means is this: he had said above that the leisure of Marius (gained by absenting himself from the games) would not be rightly employed unless he did something useful. Now to take 'little dips into books' might fairly be called useful as compared with dozing over hackneyed farces. *Spectiunculis*, 'taking little peeps' at the beauties of the bay of Naples would hardly satisfy this condition; again, *spectiunculis* is against the mss; finally, the word *spectarent* would not have been used after *spectiunculis*. Accordingly, nearly all the edd., retaining *lectiunculis*, change *ex* to *in* before *illo cubiculo*. But if Cicero wrote the easy *in illo cubiculo*, why do *all* the mss give us the difficult *ex illo cubiculo*? The fact is, that in *ex illo cubiculo tuo ex quo* we have an example of that *inverse attraction* which is common in Plautus: cp.

*indidem unde* oritur facito ut facias stultitiam sepelibilem.

*Pl. Cist.* 1. 1. 63.

ego te hodie reddam madidum si vivo probe  
*tibi quoi* decretumst bibere aquam.

*Aul.* 3. 6. 38.

quid illum facere vis qui *tibi quoi* divitiae domi maximae sunt  
. . . . amicis numum nullum habes.

*Epid.* 3. 1. 8.

A familiar example in Greek of this *inverse attraction* is βῆναι κείθεν ὁθενπερ ἦκελ.—*Soph.* O. C. 1226.

I think I have now shown sufficient reason for regarding the usage of the comic stage as having an important bearing on the criticism of the letters. I have adopted this view as a principle in my recension of the text. In the criticism of Tacitus a parallelism from Virgil is almost as decisive in favour of a disputed reading as a parallel passage from the works of Tacitus himself; for it is certain that the very keynote of the prose of Tacitus is the imitation of the verse of Virgil. In the criticism of Cicero's letters we may go further, and say that to quote an analogous usage in Plautus or Terence is far more relevant than to quote an analogous usage from the Oratory or Philosophy of Cicero himself.\*

### B.

This coincidence between the letters and the stage might, as I have said, have been expected *a priori*, and we might also expect to find an extremely *delicate use of language*. When a writer has to treat of very delicate subjects at a time when there exists no secure postal transmission, he must express himself with caution, and this Cicero does with consummate skill. The difficulty of the letters is often thus greatly increased. The merest hint of the writer's thought must be confided to paper. Cicero often couches his meaning in riddles, which he fears that even Atticus may be unable to decipher. It is amazing that the cases are so few in which the ingenuity of scholars has not arrived at a solution at least plausible.

(1). Perhaps in no part of Latin literature is there such a delicate usage of the subjunctive as may be found in these letters. I have not neglected in my notes to call the attention of readers to such cases. Here I shall only quote one passage in which the joke depends altogether on the use of the subjunctive, and would vanish were the indicative substituted. He is telling (Att. vi. 1, 25) how among the goods of Vedius (which were accidentally included among the assets of Pompeius Vindullus deceased) were found images or portrait models of certain Roman ladies. This compromised the characters of these ladies, for Vedius was a notorious profligate. Among these models was one of Junia, sister of

\* We have seen that the dialogues, as might be expected, have far greater affinities with the letters, as regards the diction, than have speeches and rhetorical essays of Cicero.



Brutus, and wife of Lepidus. Neither Brutus nor Lepidus took any notice of the matter, and Brutus still kept up his intimacy with Vedius. This is Cicero's way of telling it—in *his* (*sc. rebus Vedii*) *inventae sunt quinque imagunculae matronarum, in quibus una sororis amici tui hominis Bruti qui hoc utatur, et illius Lepidi qui haec tam neglegenter ferat*, 'among which was a model of the sister of your friend Brutus (a brute part,\* indeed, to keep up the fellow's acquaintance), and wife of Lepidus (funny, indeed, to take the matter so coolly).' Here, but for the subjunctive, there would be no play on the words *Brutus* and *Lepidus*.

(2). The phrase *ita . . . ut* is very delicately employed in the letters, and it is often hard to find an exact equivalent in English for this Latin idiom. For instance, Att. i. 1, 1, *ita negant vulgo ut mihi se debere dicant*, 'their refusal generally takes the form of a statement that they are pledged to me'; Att. i. 19, 8, *ita tamen* *not so far* *his novis amicitiiis implicati sumus ut vaser ille Siculis insusurret cantilenam illam suam*, 'involved as I am in many new acquaintanceships, yet I do not let them prevent me from having constantly in my ears the refrain of the astute Sicilian'; Q. Fr. i. 1, 10, *quem scio ita laborare de existimatione sua ut . . . etiam de nostra laboret*, 'in whom I know a keen regard for his own reputation is yet compatible with as keen a regard for ours'; Att. ii. 4, 7, *magni aestimo . . . fructum palaestrae Palatinae, sed ita tamen ut nihil minus velin quam Pomponiam versari in timore ruinae*, 'I greatly value the enjoyment of my *palaestra* on the Palatine, not, however, so much as to prevent my feeling that anything is better than to keep Pomponia in constant fear of the falling of the wall.' There are other good instances in Att. ii. 21, 1; ii. 24, 2; iii. 15, 2; and in the letter of Quintus, Ep. xii. § 13.

(3). Caution often compels Cicero to use covert language when dealing with dangerous topics. Hence the enigmatic Greek in which he refers to the dishonesty of Philotimus in some letters of the 6th book to Atticus. This caution has left its impression on the *diction* of the letters in the use of the *plural* when only one person is meant, e. g. *veteres hostes novos amicos* in referring to Caesar, Fam. v. 7, 1; and in Att. i. 17, 3, *meos* means Quintus,

\* Cf. Hamlet, iii. 2: *Polonius*. I did enact Julius Caesar. I was killed in the Capitol. Brutus killed me. *Ham.* It was a brute part of him to kill so capital a calf there.

*tuos*, Pomponia; *invidorum* refers to Hortensius in Att. iii. 7, 2. So Pompeius is often referred to by a plural attribute. Somewhat like this is the *pluralis modestiae* (as Draeger calls it, Hist. Synt. i. 25), whereby a man speaking of himself in a somewhat boastful tone softens the arrogance by the use of the plural: see on Fam. v. 4, 2 (Ep. lxxxix): again, in that same letter *tuorum* refers to Clodius alone, but is made plural *invidiae minuendae causa*.

(4). The use of epistolary tenses is familiar to readers of the letters, and is commented on in the notes. For the emphatic *ego* pointing to the fact that the sentence in which it occurs is an answer to a question, see Ep. lxii. § 1.

## C.

(1). A very interesting feature in these letters is Cicero's use of *Greek words and phrases*. They were the *argot* of literary Rome. I have so treated them in translating passages in which they occur. I have done so even when I was forced to introduce a metaphor not even hinted at in the Greek word. For instance, in Att. i. 1, 2, where Cicero says *ut mihi videatur non esse ἀδύνατον Curium obducere*, I render 'that it seems to me *on the cards* to carry Curius against them.' If Cicero uses a Greek word where he could quite as easily have used a Latin, we must take this circumstance into account in translating. Greek words are also frequently used as part of the terminology of rhetoric and politics; but the most interesting point connected with this feature in the style of the letters is the fact that very often Greek words are called in to supply a deficiency in the Latin language, and that in those very cases in a number of instances our own language fails, and we are obliged to borrow from the French; so that a French word is not only the best, but the only, word to express the meaning of the Greek term in the letter. This fact is always taken notice of in the notes; but the following list may be given here of Greek words *naturalised* by Cicero to supply a want in Latin, and translatable by us only in naturalised French words:—ἀκηδία, *ennui*; ἀδιαφορία, *nonchalance*; δυσωπία, *mauvaise honte*; ὁδοῦ πάρεργον, *en passant*; μετέωρος, *dis-trait*; μείλιγμα, *douceur*; νεωτερισμός, *bouleversement*; ροιζόθεμις (?), *fracas*; σκυλμός, *émeute*; μαλ' ἀριστοκρατικῶς, *en grand seigneur*; καχέκτης, *mauvais sujet*; ἀπρακτότατος, *maladroît, fainéant*; ἀφελής, *ingénu, naïf*; ὑποσόλοικον, *a bêtise*; σφάλμα, *a faux pas*; ἀπροσδιδό-

νυσον, ἄκυρον, *mal à propos*; ὑπόμνημα, *mémoire*; περίστασις, *entourage*; πρόσνευσις, *penchant*; δύσχρηστα, *désagréments*; σύγχυσις τῆς πολιτείας, *coup d'état*; λέσχη, *causerie*; ἀνεμοφόρητα, *canards*; ἀποθέγματα, *bons mots*; ἀμφιλαφία, *embarras de richesse*; while ἀπότευγμα corresponds very nearly to the Italian *fiasco*. In all or very nearly all of these the Latin actually wants a word, and has borrowed it from the Greek, while we, to supply a like *lacuna* in our own tongue, have recourse to the French.

(2). Sometimes, as I have observed above, the Greek word answers rather to our slang or cant phrases: of this we have examples in ἀτίσια, 'impecuniosity'; ἄμορφον, 'bad form'; πολιτευμα, 'platform'; τρισαρειοπαγίτης, 'a bigwig'; ἔξοχή, 'a lead'; ἄνω κάτω, 'topsy-turvy'; ἐκτένεια, 'gush'; ἐξακανθίζειν, 'to pick holes'; ἐπίτηκτα, 'veneering'; ὀξύπεινος, 'sharpset'; θορυβοποιεῖ, 'he is an alarmist'.\* And often we find that, by a curious coincidence, Cicero borrows an expression from the Greek where we have recourse not to French or to any vernacular *argot*, but to Latin. Where we should say *de mortuis nil nisi bonum*, or more briefly *de mortuis*, Cicero invariably has οὐχ ὅσιν φθιμένοισιν,† and the proverb *ne sutor supra crepidam* (often wrongly quoted *ultra*)‡ appears in Cicero in its Greek dress as ἔρδοι τις.§ Again μηδὲ δίκην|| is

\* Modern physicians still write their prescriptions in Latin, and affect the use of Latin terms in hygienic or sanitary matters. The letters affect Greek terms in these cases. 'An attack' (of ague) is λήψις; 'paralysis' is παράλυσις; depletion is ἀφαίρεσις; 'sweating' is διαφόρησις; 'a defluxion of humours' is ἐπιφορά. In Fam. xvi. 18, 1, Cicero gives Tiro a little prescription—*ea* (valetudo tua) *quid postulet non ignoras*; πέψιν, ἀκοπίαν, περίπατον σύμμετρον, τέρψιν, εὐλυσίαν κοιλάς. So Fam. xiv. 7, 1, χολὴν ἄκρατον noctu eiici: Att. xiv. 51, ἡσίτησας, 'you were doing Banting'; and Att. x. 181, ἡντόκεσεν, 'mother and child are doing well.' Again, λιτότης is 'a low diet'; προσανατρέφειν is 'to feed up' after blood-letting; and ἐμετικὴν ἀγερεῖν is 'to be under a régime of daily emetics.' We have a better term for 'Banting' if the conjecture *πεινητικὴν* (Fam. viii. 1, 4) be accepted.

† The verse is οὐχ ὅσιν καταμένοισιν ἐπ' ἀνδράσιν εὐχετάσθαι, Hom. Od. xxii. 412. But Cic. writes φθιμένοισιν: see Att. iv. 7, 2. He makes a similar *μνημονικὸν ἀμάρτημα* in writing *Agamemno* for *Ulixes*, in *de Div.* ii. 63.

‡ The proverb is derived from the story of Apelles, who accepted the cobbler's criticism when it referred to the loop (*ansa*) of a sandal (*crepida*); but when, elated by his success, the cobbler began to criticize the leg of the statue (*cavillante circa crus*) Apelles warned him *ne super crepidam iudicaret*, 'you must not criticize higher up than the sandal,' Plin. H. N. xxxv. 36, 12. *Supra* is the word used by Valerius Maximus also in telling the same story; *ultra* has no authority, and, indeed, no meaning.

§ ἔρδοι τις ἦν ἕκαστος εἰδείη τέχνην.—Ar. Vesp. 1422.

|| μηδὲ δίκην δικάσας πρὶν ἂν ἀμφοῖν μῦθον ἀκούσῃς.—Phocylides.

*audi alteram partem*; a *lapsus memoriae* is α μνημονικὸν ἀμάρτημα; *viva voce* is ζῶσα φωνή; *seriatim* is κατὰ μίτον or κατὰ λεπτόν; *corpus* (in the sense in which we use the word in the phrase *Corpus Poetarum*) is σῶμα; and *muta persona* is κωφὸν πρόσωπον.

## D.

The following are the most characteristic uses of words:—

(1). Strange words coined to suit a momentary need, such as *Pseudo-Cato* ('Cato's ape'); *Pseudo-damasippus*; the curious verbal *facteon* formed on the analogy of φιλοσοφητέον which immediately precedes it; *Fulviaster* or *Fulciniaster* (which is often regarded as corrupt, but is defended by *Antoniaster*, *Fragm. Or. Var.* 8); desideratives like *petiturit*, 'he is keen about standing'; *Sullaturit*, 'he is bent on a *coup d'état*'; *proscripturit*, 'he is eager for a proscription': we have also *salaco*, 'a swaggerer'; *tocullio*, 'a bit of a usurer'; and strangest of all, the singular substantives *Appietas* and *Lentulitas*, meaning, 'your mere possession of the name Appius or Lentulus', in a very manly and dignified letter, *Fam.* iii. 7, 5.

Like these are strange words arising directly from the context, such as *consponsor*, *inhibitio* (remigum), *traductor* (ad plebem), *breviloquens*, *levidensis*, *tagax*; and from the fact that things are spoken of in the letters which are not likely to be mentioned elsewhere, such as *glutinator* (applied to a certain class of bookbinders), *apparitio* (the office of an *apparitor*); to which may be added strangely-formed words, such as *inconsiderantia*, *obviamitio*.

(2). A great prevalence of diminutives, such as the following, of which those printed in italics are not found amongst classical writers save in Cicero: *actuariolum*, *aedificatiuncula*, *ambulatiuncula*, *animula*, *assentatiuncula*, *atriolum*, *auricula*, *captiuncula*, *cerula*, *chartula*, *classicula*, *commotiuncula*, *contiuncula*, *deliciolae*, *deversoriolum*, *dextella*, *diecula*, *febriola*, *filiolus*, *furcilla*, *gloriola*, *laureola*, *imagunculae*, *lectiunculae*, *lintriculus*, *litterulae*, *membranula*, *memoriola*, *nauseola*, *negotiolum*, *nervuli*, *ocelli*, *oluseulum*, *oppidulum*, *pagella*, *paginula*, *plangunculae* (probably a corruption of *imagunculae*), *plebecula*, *porticula*, *possessiuncula*, *rauduseulum*, *ripula*, *rumuseuli*, *rutula*, *sedecula*, *serrula*, *simiolus*, *sportella*, *tectoriolum*, *tocullio*, *villula*, *vindemiola*, *vocula*, *vulticulus*; to which add the proper names *Atti-*

*cula*, *Tulliola*, and (if I am right in my view of Att. ii. 1, 8) *Romula*.\*

To these must be added the following adjectival diminutives:—*argutulus*, *hilarulus*, *integellus*, *lentulus*, *lignecolus*, *limatulus*, *longulus*, *maiusculus*, *minusculus*, *miniatusculus*, *misellus*, *pulchellus*, *putidiusculus*, *rabiosulus*, *refractariolus*, *subturpiculus*, *teniculus*, and the adverbial diminutive *meliuscule*.

(3). There are many ἄπαξ εἰρημένα in the letters which we may hold to be due to chance, that is, we feel that, had we larger remains from antiquity, we should probably have other instances of their employment. It would be un instructive to supply any list of such words (not elsewhere found in *classical* Latin) as *peregrinator*, *adiunctor*,† *corruptrix*, *aberratio*, *remigatio*, *consolabilis*, *petasatus*, *candidatorius*, *sanguinarius*; but the following adverbs, though to many of them what I have just said is applicable, may be set down:—*assentatorie*, *desperanter*, *furenter*, *immortaliter* (*gaudeo*), *impendio*, *inhumaniter*, *percesperi*, *turbulenter*, *vulgariter*, and *utique*, which occurs about twenty times in the letters, and only thrice in all the other works of Cicero.

(4). Moreover, nearly every adjective and adverb in the language is intensified by the prefix *per-*‡ and mitigated by the prefix *sub-*. This is to be expected, owing to the need arising in letters for conveying delicate shades of meaning. This need demands also that minute graduation of the force of a word which the use of the comparative and superlative can so well supply in Latin. Hence the extraordinary richness of the letters in comparative and superlative forms both in adjectives and adverbs, for which, see Stinner, pp. 12–15. These prefixes are rarer in the case of verbs, but we have the following: *pergaudere*, *perplacere*, *pertaedet*, *pervincere*, *subdiffidere*, *subdocere*, *subdubitare*, *subinvidere*, *subinvitare*, *subnegare*, *suboffendere*, *subringi* (= διαμυλλαίνειν), *subvereri*, *suppaenitet*, *suppudet*. Of other verbs the most strange are *cenitare*, *flaccere*, *fruticari*, *itare*, *muginari*, *pigrari*, *suppetiari*, *tricari*, *edolare*, *repungere*,

\* This list and the following are chiefly taken from A. Stinner *De eo quo Cicero in Epistolis usus est sermone*. Oppeln, Franck. 1879. The classification is my own.

† Cicero in his letter affects words in *-tor*. We have beside those already quoted the following rare examples:—*approbator*, *convector*, *ioculator* (P), *expilator*, *propagator*; to which add *corruptrix*.

‡ *Tmesis* of *per* with adjectives and verbs is found only in the comic poets and the letters and dialogues of Cicero.

*restillare, oblanguescere.* Cicero in his letters also affects rare compositions with *e, ex*, as: *eblandiri, effligere, elugere, emonere, exhilarare.*

(5). The following very rare words cannot be brought under any of the above classes. They are simply due to the caprice of the moment: *combibo*, 'a boon companion' (though we have *compotor* in Phil. ii. 42); *obiratio*; *involatus* (of a bird); *itus* (for *abitus*); *reflatus* ('a contrary wind'); *sponsus* (gen. -us for *sponsum*); *noctubundus, involgare* (?). In all these cases there were other terms quite as suitable to express the exact shade of meaning; it was merely a whim to use these very rare words.

(6). There is nothing more characteristic of the style of the letters than the extremely bold use of *ellipse*. Some commentators strain this figure in the most violent manner, and understand words which it would require not an Atticus or Caelius, but an Oedipus or Teiresias to supply. The following, however, are undoubtedly instances of *ellipse*, and are in some cases very bold indeed:—

*De illo domestico scrupulum quem non ignoras* (sc. tolle): Att. v. 13, 3. *Illa scellerunt, facilem quod putaramus* (sc. fore), Att. ix. 18, 1. *At ille adiurans nusquam se unquam libentius* (sc. fuisse), Fam. ix. 19, 1. *De Caesaris adventu, scripsit ad me Balbus non ante Kalendas Sextiles* (sc. futurum), Att. xiii. 21, 6. *Quintus enim altero die se aiebat* (sc. perventurum Romam esse), Att. xvi. 4, 1. *Quod Tullia te non putabat hoc tempore ex Italia* (sc. abiturum esse), Att. x. 8, 10. *Atticam doleo tamdiu* (sc. aegrotare), Att. xii. 6, 4. *De tertio pollicetur se deinceps* (sc. scripturum), Att. xvi. 11, 4. *Natio me hominis impulit, ut ei recte putarem* (sc. me commendare), Fam. xv. 20, 1. *Miror te nihil dum cum Tigellio* (sc. locutum esse), Att. xiii. 50, 3. *Illud accuso, non te, sed illam, ne salutem quidem* (sc. adscripsisse), Att. xiii. 22, 5. *Quintus filius mihi pollicetur se Catonem* (sc. futurum), Att. xvi. 1, 6. *Nec mirabamur nihil a te litterarum* (sc. ad nos missum esse), Fam. xvi. 7, 1. *Video te bona perdidisse; spero idem istuc familiares tuos* (sc. passos esse), Fam. ix. 18, 4.

(7). *Esse* with adverbs is justly pointed to as a characteristic feature in the style of the letters by Paul Meyer, p. 161. The following are examples:—*sic esse ut sumus*, Fam. xvi. 12, 4; *tamquam si tu esses ita fuerunt*, Q. Fr. iii. 2, 9; *Lucreti poemata ita sunt*, Q. Fr. ii. 11, 4.

So we find *esse* with *recte*, Att. vii. 17, 1; *commodissime*, Fam. xiv. 7, 2; *tuto*, Att. xiv. 20, 3; *honeste*, Fam. xiv. 14, 1; *flagitiose et turpiter*, Att. vi. 3, 9; *hilare et libenter*, Fam. xvi. 10, 2; *libenter et sat diu*, Att. xv. 3, 2.

A stranger use of *esse* with adverbs, is where the adverb is predicative, and takes the place, as it were, of an adj.: e.g., *haec tam esse quam audio non puto*, Q. Fr. i. 2, 9; *utinam tam* (sc. *integra*), *in periculo fuisset*, Att. iii. 13, 2. See also Q. Fr. ii. 13 (15a), 4, *quemadmodum me censes oportere esse . . . ita et esse et fore, auricula infima scito molliorem*.

### E.

In treating of the style of the letters of Cicero, I have in nearly every case taken my examples from the letters of Cicero himself, but the same views are broadly applicable to the ninety letters of his correspondents. I have already pointed out how inferior they are, as a rule, in style to the great master with whom it was their privilege to correspond. But even in syntax and in the use of words—in dealing with the raw material of literature—they show themselves not to be by any means so careful or exact as Cicero himself. Subjoined are examples of words and phrases not to be found in Cicero, but occurring in the letters of his correspondents:—\*

(1). In the undoubtedly genuine letter of Brutus, Fam. xi. 2, we find xi. 2, 2, *aliud libertate*, ‘different from (other than) liberty.’ This abl. of comparison is found only in Varro, R. R. iii. 16, 23, *aliud melle*; Hor. Sat. ii. 3, 208, *alias veris*; id. Ep. i. 16, 20, *aliud sapiente*; and in Phaedrus and Apuleius.

Ibid. *facultatem decipiendi nos*; cf. *spatium confirmandi sese*, Asinius Pollio, Fam. x. 33, 5.

(2). Balbus, Att. viii. 15a, 1, writes *dignissimam tuae virtutis*; for *dignus* with gen. (which is un-Ciceronian) cf. Pl. Trin. v. 2, 29.

(3). Bithynicus, Fam. vi. 16, uses *intermorigiturum*; no part of *intermori*, but *intermortuus* is found in Cicero.

(4). Caelius, Fam. viii. 2, 1, has the cognate acc. so common in comedy in *suum gaudium gauderemus*; and Fam. viii. 10, 3, the remarkable Graecism *nosti Marcellum quam tardus et parum efficax sit*.

\* I do not take into account the letter of Quintus, *de petitione consulatus*, as being really rather a rhetorical treatise than a letter; nor the Brutine correspondence, as involving a still unsettled question.

(5). Galba, Fam. ix. 30, 3, 4, has *dexterius* and *sinisterius*.

(6). Plancus, Fam. x. 8, 4, has *diffiteri*; Fam. x. 15, 4, *præcognoscere*; Fam. x. 18, 3, *sollicitiorem*; and in Fam. x. 11, 1, *ut . . me civem dignum . . . præstem*; whereas Cicero uses *se præstare* with a predicative accusative only in the case of a pronoun or adjective.

(7). Quintus Cicero, Fam. xvi. 27, 2, has *dissuaviabor*.

(8). Servius Sulpicius, Fam. iv. 5, 2, has *existimare* with genitive of price; Fam. iv. 5, 5, *perfunctum esse*.

The examples which I have adduced may seem hardly to warrant the assertion that the letters of Cicero's correspondents display a laxity as compared with those of Cicero. Yet when we remember what a large body of literature Cicero's extant works afford,\* it is strange that Brutus, for instance, in one of the two extant letters which are certainly genuine, should twice hit on an un-Ciceronian usage, and that in one of these violations there should be associated with him another of Cicero's correspondents, Asinius Pollio. Again, Cicero, we may suppose, must have had some reason for not using *dignus* with the genitive, or *existimare* with the genitive of price; this reason must have been unknown to Balbus and Sulpicius, or else deliberately rejected by them. Finally, we may be surprised not to find in the seven hundred and fifty letters of Cicero more words *ὑπερβαλόντα* in classical Latin, when in the two letters of Quintus Cicero we find one, and in the twelve letters of Plancus three.

The conclusion seems to be that the correspondents of Cicero are even less careful than he is to avoid the vulgarisms and laxities which beset the speech of daily life. A confirmation of this is to be found in their respective usage (pointed out by Lieberkühn) with regard to a phrase which occurs repeatedly in the letters. Cicero always (except in two places, Att. v. 10, 1; viii. 14, 1), writes *mihi crede*. On the other hand, *crede mihi* is the phrase of Brutus, Fam. xi. 26; Cassius, Fam. xii. 12, 4; Caelius, Fam. viii. 17, 1. According to Böckel (*Epistolæ selectæ*, 8th ed., p. 323), *crede mihi* is a vulgarism, or, at least, belongs especially to familiar speech. Such distinctions, however, are perhaps too fine-drawn to find favour out of Germany. Among such may

\* I suppose three-fourths of our Latin Dictionaries are extracts from Cice



be classed the acute observation of Wölfflin (Philol. xxxiv. p. 134), that, while in his earliest speeches and letters Cicero greatly prefers *abs te*, he gradually seems to show a growing preference for the form *a te*, which is the only form found after the year 700 (b. c. 54).

### III. CRITICAL.\*

#### § 1. SOURCES OF THE TEXT.

For the letters *ad Familiares* our mss authorities are the following:—

(1). M, the *Medicean*. This ms is of the eleventh century. It has always been held until quite lately that we owe all our knowledge of the letters of Cicero to Petrarch. It is certain that about the year 1345 he found (at Verona probably) the letters to Atticus, Q. Cicero, and Brutus. It has been generally supposed that a few years later he found at Vercelli the letters *ad Familiares*. The Vercelli ms still exists, together with a copy ascribed to Petrarch. The Verona ms is lost, and a copy of it (also ascribed to Petrarch) is our chief authority for the letters to Atticus, Quintus, and Brutus.

This opinion, which has been held since the revival of learning, has recently been vigorously and successfully (as it seems to me) assailed by Dr. Anton Viertel.† He leaves untouched the belief that Petrarch was the discoverer of the ms containing the letters to Atticus, Quintus, and Brutus. This is plain from the famous letter of Petrarch to Cicero in the other world, dated ‘*apud superos Verona, June 16th, 1345*’; that the place of finding the ms was Verona has been inferred (not on sufficient grounds) from the fact that Petrarch’s letter is dated *Verona*. The extant copy of this ms, according to Dr. Viertel, is not by Petrarch.

\* This is in effect the Introduction to the *Adnotatio Critica*, p. 275. I have written the *Adn. Crit.* in Latin, because for the treatment of critical matters one has a ready-made and very compendious conventional vocabulary. It is much shorter to write “*in animo M; corr. Lambinus*,” than to say “*inanimus is the reading of M, which was corrected by Lambinus to the reading given in the text.*” The *Adn. Crit.* is followed by a full list of the mss and edd. therein referred to.

† Die Wiederauffindung von Cicero’s Briefen durch Petrarca (Königsberg, Hartung, 1879).

But Dr. Viertel maintains that not only did Petrarch not discover the ms containing the letters *ad Fam.*, but that he did not even know of the existence of these letters. The grounds on which he rests his argument are these:—

(a). Petrarch never refers to the *Epp. ad Fam.*, though he constantly quotes from *Epp. ad Att.*, *Quint.*, *Brut.*

(b). He never mentions a second discovery in his extant letters.

(c). In the preface to his own letters, 1359, he contrasts the number of his own correspondents with the fewness of the correspondents of ancient letter-writers, referring to Brutus, Atticus, Quintus, and Cicero's son as the correspondents of Cicero.

(d). In 1372 he speaks of the letters of Cicero as comprising *tria volumina*, plainly those to Atticus, Quintus, and Brutus.

The strongest positive argument against the theory of Viertel is the statement of Blondus that Petrarch *epistolas Ciceronis Lentulo inscriptas* [i. e. the *Epp. ad Fam.*] *Vercellis reperisse se gloriatus est*. But it is not hard to believe that Blondus was in error, and ascribed the finding of the two collections to the finder of one. The words *reperisse se gloriatus est* probably refer to the first words of the letter of Petrarch to Cicero above mentioned. Blondus probably had not the letter before him, and confused the two finds.

Dr. Viertel holds that the copies of both collections which we possess were copies procured for Coluccio of Florence by Pasquino of Milan. Coluccio's letters bear witness to the fact that such transcripts were made. On the existing copy of the Atticus collection are these words:—‘*Hic liber est Pierii Colucii de Stignano.*’ It is known that Coluccio regarded Petrarch with an almost idolatrous love and veneration; so that it is next to impossible that he should have suppressed all mention of Petrarch's connexion with the letters, if he had ever even heard a report of his having been the finder of them. It seems to me that Dr. Viertel has proved his case. It was always a puzzle to me how such a scholar as Petrarch should have employed as copyists scribes nearly ignorant of Latin, as certainly were the copyists of M. The discovery of Dr. Viertel removes this stigma from the character of Petrarch, and allays many of one's doubts about the trustworthiness of ancient *codices*.

(2). The *codices Harleiani* in the British Museum. They have recently been carefully examined by Franz Rühl, who has given

the results of his inquiry in the Rhein. Mus. 1875, vol. xxx., pp. 26 ff. The best and oldest of these (Harleianus A), which I will call H<sup>a</sup>, is numbered 2682, is of folio size, on parchment, belongs to the eleventh century, and consists of twenty-five quaternions. It contains the Epp. ad Fam. ix.-xvi., together with the letter to Augustus Octavianus, the *De petitione cons.*, the Laelius, Cato Maior, De Officiis, the Philippics, the Verrines, the speeches in Sallustium, pro Milone, de Imperio Pompeii, pro Marcello, pro Ligario, and pro Deiotaro; together with some other authors, as Fulgentius *de abstrusis sermonibus*. Each book of the *Epp. ad Fam.* has a separate index. The letters and part of the speeches are corrected by two hands throughout.

H<sup>a</sup> is independent of M; as is sufficiently shown—(a) by the fact that H<sup>a</sup> omits altogether Fam. xi. 13a, which is not referred to in the index to Fam. xi. in H<sup>a</sup>. (b) The letters Fam. xii. 22-30 are lumped together as one letter in M, but are given separately in H<sup>a</sup>.

But H<sup>a</sup> and M are undoubtedly from the same archetype.

The following variants given by Rühl will enable readers to form a judgment of the relation between the two *codices* :—

	H <sup>a</sup>	M
Fam. ix. 1, 2,	infidelissimis,	infidelissimas.
„ <i>ibid.</i>	diudicetur,	dividetur.
„ ix. 2, 1,	iturum,	iterum.
„ ix. 2, 2,	linguas,	linguis.
„ ix. 2, 4,	intererit,	interit.
„ ix. 8, 1,	tui,	sui.
„ ix. 9, 2,	ulli,	nulli.
„ ix. 1, 1,	eo,	ego.

It will be observed that in all these cases H<sup>a</sup> has decidedly the better reading. But does that make it the more trustworthy *codex*? In all these eight places the reading of M has since been restored by conjecture independently of H<sup>a</sup>. May they not owe to conjecture their place in H<sup>a</sup>? On the other hand there is one passage where the usual relation between H<sup>a</sup> and M is inverted. Fam. ix. 14 shows *locatus* H<sup>a</sup>, *locutus* M. Here the true reading is certainly *iocatus*. H<sup>a</sup> preserves a reading which makes no sense, but points clearly to the archetype. M gives a

bad conjecture. I do not think that in any other of the places referred to by Rühl the same phenomenon recurs.

The following readings of  $H^a$  are certainly conjectures:—

	$H^a$	M
Fam. ix. 3, 1; 6, 6,	Caninio, Caninius,	animo, animus.
„ ix. 6, 1,	Ostiae,	optiae.
„ ix. 6, 2,	utrobique (coni. Schütz),	utar ubique.
„ ix. 15, 4,	ponor (coni. Sch.),	conor.
„ ix. 22, 1,	usurpat (coni. Nobbe),	usurpato.
„ xi. 2, 1,	nobis non scripsissemus,	nobis conscripsissemus.

In the following places the probable reading of the archetype may be arrived at by a comparison of the readings of  $H^a$  and M:—

Fam. xi. 10, 2, *hominibus honoris iniciat civitas*  $H^a$ ; *hominibus iniciat vacuitas* M: where the conjecture of Madv., *hominibus iniciat vacua civitas*, is nearly certainly right.

Fam. xi. 21, 2, *scientiam fieri*  $H^a$ ; *sententiam ferri* M: where the conjecture of Or., s.c. *fieri* (i.e. *Senatus consultum fieri*), seems certain.

xii. 2, *fin.*, *sique ad me referent*  $H^a$ ; *sive ad me referent* M: the usual reading is *sive ad me referent sive non referent*. Rühl would read *si quidem ad me referent*.

The chief *lacunae* in  $H^a$  are the omission of the whole of Fam. ix. 18, and of Fam. x. 31, 4, from *cum Lepidus* to *contrarium fuit*.

In the following places  $H^a$  supplies a lacuna in M; and here, too, the remark made above on the first eight quotations fully applies:—

	$H^a$	M
Fam. ix. 1, 1,	ut nullum,	nullum.
„ ix. 2, 1,	et tū [= tui] amantissimo,	... et amantissimo.
„ ix. 10, 2,	ne in foro quidem,	ne in foro.
„ ix. 12, 2,	mittere volui,	mittere.
„ ix. 14, 8,	exemplum. Quo facto,	exemplum facto.
„ ix. 26, 2,	tamen ne,	tamen.
„ xi. 13, 2,	itinerata fecit,	itinerata.
„ xi. 14, 3,	hi novi,	novi.

The last three readings are found as early as the edition of Cratander, and are ascribed to *codices recentes* and *codices Lallemandi* by the earliest edd.

In the following the words printed in italics are in H<sup>a</sup> alone. They seem to me to constitute its best claim to value; for they do not look like the insertions of an editor. The last two illustrate admirably a source of error in ms which might perhaps be called *parablepsy*. When two identical (or nearly identical) words occur in the same passage, it often happens that the copyist leaves out the words between the two identical words. I print the words which occur in H<sup>a</sup> only in italics. In the second and third passages I print in small capitals the words which led to the *parablepsy* of the copyist. Writers on the New Testament refer to this source of corruption in mss by the phrase *corruptio ex homoeoteleuto*:—

x. 1, 2, *magnae cum diligentiae est tuaeque curae* tum etiam fortunae.

x. 18, 2, cum collega *SENTIENTE exercitu concordi et bene de r. p. SENTIENTE* sicut milites faciunt.

xii. 14, 3, multo parcius *SCRIPSI quam re vera furere inveni. Quod vero aliquid de his SCRIPSI* mirari noli.

Here all the words between the two words *scripsi* are omitted in M, and hence do not appear in Baiter. The words supplied in H<sup>a</sup> seem to me quite genuine. The copyist, perhaps, raised his eyes from his task in writing the first *scripsi*, making a mental note that the last word he wrote was *scripsi*; but he wrongly resumed his transcription after the second *scripsi*, omitting all the intervening words.

The second of the *codices Harleiani*, H<sup>b</sup>, is numbered 2773. Rühl says it came originally from the Hospital of St. Nicolaus, at Kues. It is on parchment, folio, and in two columns. It belongs to the twelfth century. It contains from the beginning of Fam. i. 1 to the words *puto etiam si ullum spem*, Fam. viii. 9, 3. It is certainly independent of M. It wants from Fam. i. 9, 20, *non solum praesenti*, to Fam. ii. 1, *dignitate es consecutus*. There is no distinction made between the first and second books. Accordingly Book III is in H<sup>b</sup> called Book II, Book IV is Book III, and so on. There are no separate *indices* to each book of the letters, as in H<sup>a</sup>.

H<sup>b</sup> and T (The *codex Turonensis* afterwards to be described) present a remarkable agreement throughout. But they are independent: see Fam. i. 2, 4, where H<sup>b</sup> and M agree in *agatur*, while T gives *agantur*. Moreover, T's curious transposition in Fam i.

9, 17, is not in H<sup>b</sup>. Here is a list of agreements between H<sup>b</sup> and T against M:—

	H <sup>b</sup> and T	M
i. 4, 1,	ob id quod scis,	id quod scis.
i. 5 <sup>b</sup> , 1,	sint ex te,	sint ea te.
i. 9, 2,	mirificam,	mirificum.
i. 9, 13,	mirificus,	mirifica.
i. 9, 16,	cunctis ordinibus omnibus,	cunctis ordinibus hominibus.

It will be observed that in all these places H<sup>b</sup> and T agree in an *error*, while M has the true reading. The same thing is well illustrated by comparing the dealing of each *codex* with Fam. i. 9, 18:—

optarem te ordatū conde H<sup>b</sup>.  
 optarem te hortatum contendere T.  
 auctoremque hortatum contendere M<sup>1</sup>.  
 auctorem sequor, tantum contendere M<sup>2</sup>.

Cicero here refers to the advice of Pseudo-Plato given to the friends of Dion in the seventh letter (330 C–331 D), and to Perdicus in the sixth (322 A–C), though his memory has not served him very accurately.

H<sup>b</sup> divides the long letter, Fam. 9, into two letters, beginning the latter at *certiorem te per litteras*, § 4.

(3). The *Codex Turonensis*, commonly called T, is in the Library of Tours, No. 688. It was included in Haenel's *Catalogi librorum manuscriptorum qui in bibliothecis Galliae Helvetiae Belgiae Britanniae magnae Hispaniae Lusitaniae asservantur*: Lipsiae, 1829. It is a parchment quarto, in two columns. M. Charles Thurot, in a valuable pamphlet, entitled *Notice sur un manuscrit du xiv<sup>e</sup> siècle* (published by the *Bibliothèque de l'école des hautes études*: Paris, 1874), has given a full account of this ms. It has from Fam. i. to Fam. vii. 32, 1, *me conferri*; omitting from Fam. ii. 16, 4, *hac orbis terrarum*, to Fam. iv. 3, 4, *appareat cum me co*. It wants the last three and a-half letters of the second book, the whole of the third, and the first three and a-half of the fourth. Orelli believes it not to be earlier than the end of the fourteenth century, on the not very strong ground that it contains, together with the letters, some of the philosophical works of Cicero, which combination, he says, his experience teaches him to be the mark of a late *codex*. M. Thurot holds it to be of the end of the twelfth century—(a) on

the authority of M. L. Delisle, *qui est si profondément versé dans la connaissance des manuscrits des bibliothèques de Paris et des départements*. (b) The writing *a bien les caractères de l'écriture de la fin du xiii<sup>e</sup> siècle*. (c) T presents in its text a great improvement on M, and there was not enough scholarship at the end of the twelfth century to make these improvements by the exercise of conjecture. M. Thurot holds that T comes from the same archetype (A) as M, but is independent of M. He points especially to these passages to prove the independence of M and T:—

(a) Fam. iv. 6, 3:

*maior mihi ratio mihi adferre nulla potest quam coniunctio consuetudinis sermonumque nostrorum M.*

*maius mihi solatium afferre ratio nulla potest, &c. T.*

The usual *medela* of this passage is to read *levatio* for *ratio*, and *adferri* for *adferre*, omitting one *mihi*. It seems to me that T's reading is the work of an editor who saw *ratio* in *ratio*, and hence was forced to supply *solatium* as an object of *adferre*, and to correct to *maius*.

(β) Fam. vi. 1, 6:

*non debes . . . dubitare quin aut aliqua republica sis futurus qui esse debes, aut perdita non afflictiore condicione quam ceteri M.*

Here for *aliqua* T gives *recuperata*, an obvious conjecture to supply a more regular *antitheton* to *perdita*, but a conjecture which materially impairs the force of the passage.

(γ) Fam. iv. 12, 2:

*Postumius . . . mihi nuntiavit, M. Marcellum . . . pugione percussus esse . . . se a Marcello ad me missum esse, qui haec nuntiaret et rogaret uti medicos coegi M.*

*et rogaret utrum medicos ei mitterem. Itaque medicos coegi.*

This seems to me really to point to a different origin for M and T. The scribe of M, through a common *parablepsy*, left out the words between the first and second *medicos*. Perhaps there is no stronger proof of independence between two mss than when one supplies a *lacuna* in the other under these circumstances. We can see how the words between *medicos* . . . . *medicos* fell out in M, and it is immensely improbable that they should have been inserted erroneously or by conjecture in T.

I add three other places, which seem to show that T is independent of M, though Thurot does not use them for this purpose:—

(α') Fam. iv. 4, 5:

de reliquis nihil melius ipso est, *ceteri et cetera* eiusmodi ut,  
&c. M.

de reliquis nihil melius ipso est *Caesare*, *cetera*, &c. T.

Whether *Caesare* is a gloss on *ipso*, which has crept into the text, or is the real reading of A which M has corrupted to *ceteri et*, at all events it is not a conjectural emendation of T.

(β') Fam. iv. 5, 4:

de imperio *propter* tanta deminutio facta est, M.

de imperio *p. r.* T.

The conjecture of Orelli, *populi Romani*, is generally accepted; *p. r.* is an abbreviation of *propter*; in common words such as prepositions, the scribes often wrote only the first and last letters. T preserved *p. r.* of A, which also stands for *populi Romani*.

(γ') Fam. vi. 8, 1:

huic meae *rogationi potius* non responderent M.

huic meae *rationi potius quam rationi* T.

The reading of T gives a strong confirmation to the Schütz-Wesenberg conjecture, *efflagitationi potius quam rogationi*.

The remarkable agreement between T and H<sup>b</sup> has been referred to above, and it has been pointed out that they generally agree in an error against M.

The following passages bring out well the character of M and T respectively:—

(α') Fam. v. 15, 2:

quod vinculum *quas id est* nostrae conjunctionis, M.

quod vinculum *quasi* est T.

The reading of M points to the certain conjecture of Wes.: *quod viculum, quaeso, deest?* The reading of T leads us away from it by a bad attempt to patch up the sense.

(b') v. 14, 2:

*qua se levare* M.

*quas elevare* T.



The reading of T is right, but the reading of M gives the right letters wrongly divided. Its very unintelligence is the guaranty of its good faith.

The same remark may be made on v. 12, 2, *seiungere se quidem* M: *seiungeres equidem* T.

(c') v. 15, 4:

*hic tuae abesse urbe miraris in qua domus nihil delectare possit* M.  
*hic tu me abesse, &c.* T.

But M points to the true reading, *hic tu ea me abesse, &c.* The word *ea* is absolutely necessary, to account for the subjunctive *possit*: cp. v. 17, 3, *ea te republica carere in qua neminem . . . res ulla delectet*.

(d') v. 1, 1:

*me desertum a quibus minime conveniebat* M.  
*a quo quidem* T.

The plural is thoroughly characteristic of the letters. It might be called the *plural of caution*.

(e') v. 17, 3:

*neve scriberem* M.  
*neque scriberem* T.

*Neve* makes no sense, pointing, however, to *ne vere*, the probable reading of A; *neque* makes a sort of meaning, but points to nothing, and lulls the reader into false security.

(f') v. 6, 13:

*quidquid valebo . . . valebo tibi* M.  
*quidquid valebo . . . conciliabo tibi* T.

We have seen above, p. 62 (i), that the cognate acc. illustrated by *quidquid valebo* is very characteristic of the letters.

(g') i. 9, 24:

*quod deque fratris negotio* M.  
*quodque de fratris negotio* T.

The true reading is *quod de Q. Fratris negotio*.

In the following places T is right, but probably through conjecture:—

(a'') ii. 8, 2:

*quare da te homini complectetur* mihi crede M.  
*quare da te homini complectendum* mihi crede T.

Probably A had *quare da te hominini complectendum. Mihi crede, &c.*

(b'') v. 21, 5 :

tibique persuade praeter culpam et peccatum . . . homini accidere  
nihil posse quod sit *honorabile* aut *pertimescendum* M.

. . . . . quod sit *inhonorabile* T.

T is probably right. The vulgate *horribile* is certainly wrong, as being stronger than the word *aut pertimescendum*, which follows. *Inhonorabile* is ἀπαξ εἶρ. So in v. 15, 2, T has *permaxime*.

(c'') vi. 6, 5 :

quid ego praetermisi aut monitorum M.

. . . . . quo monitorum T.

T seems right ; but the reading of A was not *commonitorum*, as Thurot suggests, but *quod monitorum* ?

In i. 9, 17, the whole passage from *idque non solum par pro pari*, § 19, is transposed to ii. 10, 2, where it comes between *qui mons* and *mihi cum Bibulo*. This transposition is a strong proof that T is independent both of M and of H.

The net result of this examination seems to be that T is certainly independent of M, and on the whole presents a far more correct text. That it is of the twelfth century seems hardly to be established. As to the relative value of M, H, and T, as sources of knowledge of the letters, I have already indicated my opinion. I further refer the reader to what I have written on the subject of A and F in the next few pages. There I have explained fully what in my judgment makes a ms valuable ; and what I have said to some extent applies to H and T as well as to A and F, except that we know so very much less about A and F, their very existence being problematical.

(4). Hofmann claims an independent place for P, a *Codex Parisinus*, including from Fam. i. to *impediendi moram*, Fam. viii. 8, 6 ; and the same claim is made by some editors for one page of a Turin palimpsest, which includes Fam. vi. 9 and part of 10. Orelli, while classing the Wolfenbüttel ms with the other *codices* ultimately traceable to M, has remarked how desirable would be a thorough collation of the *codex Guelferbytanus*. R. Heine (*Jahn's Jahrb.*, 1878, Seite 784) has examined the ms, and pronounces it to

belong to the fifteenth century, and to have no value independent of M.

(5). Very important in the criticism of the letters are the *Editio Neapolitana* (1474), and the editions of Victorius, published—one in Venice, 1536, another in Florence, 1558—as well as an edition preserved in the library at Zurich, of which the time and place of publication are unknown, the last leaf of the copy being lost. This is called A by Orelli, i.e. *Editio Antiquissima*, but must not be confounded with A, the supposed archetype of M, H, and T; nor with A, the *Codex Antonianus*, containing the letters to Atticus, Quintus, and Brutus, of which I shall have presently to treat. In this edition A will mean the *Codex Antonianus*. The other two are very seldom mentioned, and when they are mentioned each will be given its full title.

For the mss of the *Commentariolum Petitionis* (Ep. xii.), see Appendix C.

For the letters to Atticus, Quintus, and Brutus, we have the following authorities:—

(6). M, the Medicean. This ms was discovered by Petrarch, perhaps at Verona, about 1345. The copy which we possess of it was probably, as I have already said, procured by Pasquino of Milan for Coluccio Salutato of Florence. In two letters of the present instalment, from the word *reperire*, Att. i. 18, 1 (Ep. xxiv.) to *visus est et talis*, nearly the last words of Att. i. 19 (Ep. xxv), we lose the guidance of M, some leaves of the ms having perished. But for Att. i. 19 we have the assistance of a *Codex Poggianus* in the Medicean Library, collated by Th. Mommsen.

(7). C. This is a name given to a ms of which we have no knowledge except from the marginal notes in Cratander's edition of 1528, which, however, show it to have been independent of M.

(8). W. Some leaves of a ms of these letters are preserved at Munich and others at Wurzburg (whence the leaves at both places are designated W): these contain portions of books xi. and xii. They coincide closely with the marginal readings in Cratander's edition, and are by some supposed to have formed a part of C.

(9). Z. The *Codex Tornaesianus*, now lost, our knowledge of which is derived from the notes of Lambinus and a few quotations by Turnebus.

In addition to these real sources of knowledge, the fabricated *codices* of Bosius were till quite lately believed in, and carefully regarded in the arrangement of the text. Just as Henri Estienne (the famous Stephanus) vitiated the criticism of Euripides by recommending his own usually excellent conjectures by the authority of imaginary mss, so this other and almost equally able Frenchman, Simeon Du Bos, a native of Limoges, born 1535, imposed on the most learned men of three centuries with his imaginary *Decurtatus* and *Crusellinus*, and his pretended or falsified citations from the really existing Z. Even Orelli was deceived by the imposture. Indeed the great critic of Zurich would probably have left little to be added by his successors had he been aware of the fictitious character of the *codices* of Bosius. And yet Bosius' own account of the manner in which he gained possession of his *vetustissimi codices* might have excited suspicion. His *Decurtatus* (commonly quoted as Y) he obtained from a private soldier who had rescued it in the sack of a monastery, in which it had been deposited. Of his *Crusellinus* (X) he does not tell his readers the source in his edition published at Limoges, 1580, but he gives the following rather vague details:—*adiutus sum praeterea codice quodam excusso Lugduni qui olim fuerat Petri Cruselli, medici apud nostrates celeberrimi; ad cuius libri oras doctus ille vir varias lectiones appinxerat, a se, ut ipse dicebat, diligentissime et summa fide e vetustissimo et castigatissimo libro Norioduni descriptas.* The imposture, however, escaped detection for nearly three hundred years, and it was not until the year 1855 that Maurice Haupt discovered that no such mss as the *Decurtatus* (Y) and *Crusellinus* (X) of Bosius ever existed. The discovery of Haupt acquired the certainty of a demonstration when Mommsen found that a ms deposited in Paris contained the rough draft of Bosius' notes for the last seven books of the *Epp. ad Att.* On comparing these with the published commentary of Bosius, Mommsen found that Bosius had frequently ascribed one reading to the mss in his first draft, and another in the published commentary. In each case he recommended his own conjecture by the authority of the fabricated ms; and in some cases he changed his view of a passage in the time intervening between the first draft and the ultimate publication, and accordingly changed his account of the reading of his ms. For instance, in *Ep. ad Att. x. 6, 2*, Bosius in his published

edition reads *De Quinto filio fit a me sedulo*; on which he states that his *Codex Decurtatus* has *de Q. F.*, and his *Crusellinus*, *de Q. filio*. In his unpublished *première ébauche*, found by Mommsen, he had given *de Q. frat.* as the reading of the *Decurtatus*, adding 'Victorius legit *de Q. filio*, quam scripturam in meis non reperiō.' Baiter certainly transcends even the asperities of the Brunckian age, but does not (at least in his own opinion) transcend that emphasis of expression which is warranted by the case, when after narrating the circumstances just referred to he adds, '*Bosium cito scelus suum morte luisse a latronibus trucidatum.*'\*

To the above sources of information may be added (10) A (*Codex Antonianus*) and (11) F (*Codex Faërninus*), in so far as their readings are reported by Malaspina; but these mss must be viewed with some suspicion. We cannot be sure that we have not in Malaspina something of the Bosius, whom he rivals in the brilliancy of his conjectures. The title of the work of Malaspina (which is extremely rare) is, *Malaspinæ emendationes et suspiciones in epistolas ad Atticum, Brutum, et Quintum fr.*; it was published in Venice in 1563, 4.

(12). The most ancient editions are the *editio Romana* (R), published at Rome in 1470, and the *ed. Iensoniana*, published in Venice

\* It is a strange coincidence that these two Frenchmen, Estienne and Du Bos—both scholars of the most profound learning, and of almost unsurpassed brilliancy in emendation—should have stooped to a fraud to establish conjectures, which in some cases were so good that they must have been almost universally accepted as certain conjectural emendations, if candidly put forth as such. It is curious, too, to observe the different way in which scholars have received the disclosure of each of these impostures. Since Haupt and Mommsen proclaimed the disingenuousness of Bosius, the subsequent editors have vied with each other to swell the chorus of obloquy, 'and none so poor to do him reverence.' We hear of nothing but 'fraus et fallacia,' 'mendacium fraudulentum hominis,' 'audacia et perfidia'; and Baiter goes so far as to say '*furca igitur expellendæ quotquot lectiones a sola Bosianorum codicum auctoritate pendent.*' But Stephanus has been more fortunate. Kirchhoff has proved the non-existence of his *veteres codices Italici* as clearly as Haupt has proved the non-existence of the X and Y of Bosius. Yet Dindorf has not a word to say about his imposture; and Mr. Paley charitably gives βέλος on Bacch. 25, as Stephanus' correction of μέλος of the mss, without hinting that he alleged for it substantive ms authority; and on v. 1060 the same justly valued editor puts forward ὅποι μόθων as the conjecture of Musgrave for ὅσοι νόθων, adding that Elmsley tells us that Porson approved ὅποι μόθων—as if Musgrave would have proposed, or Porson approved, such a reading, if they had known that μόθων was nothing more than a guess of Stephanus; that the ms to which he ascribed it never existed; and that all his statements about it, and his quotations from it, are mere fictions.

in the same year. These are founded on M, R giving generally the reading *a prima manu*, while I, as a rule, presents the marginal or superscribed corrections. For other ancient editions, see list appended to *Adnotationes Criticae*.

The estimate of the value of the mss of the letters *ad Familiares* put forward by Orelli in his masterly preface to his third volume (2nd ed., Zurich, 1845) has been largely modified by recent discoveries, as I have already shown. His estimate of the relative value of the mss of the letters to Atticus, supplemented or rather corrected by the discovery of Haupt, remains unshaken.

But there has been one distinguished recusant. Wesenberg, in his editions of the *Epp. ad Fam.* and *Epp. ad Att.*, published by Teubner in the years 1872, 1873, and in his *Emendationes Alterae* (1873), holds a view which, if he could recommend it to editors, would revolutionise the criticism of these letters. The mss on which we must depend for our knowledge of the letters to Atticus, Quintus, and Brutus, are thus placed in the order of merit by Baiter and all post-Hauptian editors—

- (1). M.
- (2). C.
- (3). W.
- (4). Zl (*i. e.* Z as reported by Lambinus, not Bosius).

Wesenberg thus estimates the respective values of the mss—

- (1). Z and v. c. ('*vetus codex*' Lambini).
- (2). C. and W.
- (3). A and F.
- (4). M.

This startling revolt from received opinion he does not defend, *hoc meum iudicium* (he writes, Epist. vol. ii. 1872) *accuratius hic confirmare necesse vix est: satis, opinor, erit lectores si qui talia curabunt ad varietatem scripturae textui a me subiectam reiecisse*. Afterwards, in the preface to his *Emendationes Alterae*, he addresses himself with a little more energy to the task of proving that A and F are more valuable authorities than M. His method is straightforward; he gives a large number of cases where *both* A and F present (in his judgment) a better reading than M; a very large number of places where *either* A or F is superior to M; and

a large number where A and F are inferior; and his conclusion is, *Apparet paucis locis, mea quidem sententia, constare Antonianum et Faërninum Mediceo postponendos, permulto pluribus illos huic anteponendos, aut certe dubium inter eos esse certamen. Meo igitur iure videor mihi duos illos codices vel cum aliis conspirantes vel solos multis locis secutus, ubi Baiterus in Medicei scriptura acquirerat* (Praef. p. iv.).

On this whole method of ratiocination it may be at once observed, that it does not really tend toward the proving of the proposition which it professes to establish. Though one were to agree with Wesenberg in every instance in his estimate of the relative values of F, A, and M, we could not be certain that the readings of F and A were not the conjectures of Malaspina or other scholars. On the same method an irrefragable case might be made for the superiority of X and Y, mss which never existed. Elmsley's *Bacchae* would contrast very favourably with the *Codex Palatinus*, but his readings have no *authority* but what they derive from the arguments by which he supports them.

However, I will accept the method of Wesenberg, and examine a few of his *loci*; to examine all would be tedious and fruitless:—

(a) Att. ii. 1, 5, *deducerem* is M; *deduceremus* FA; evidently an editorial correction.

(b) Att. ii. 22, 1, where the emended reading is *opes eorum et exercitus*, M gives *opes et vim exercitus*, FA *opes eorem et vim exercitus*. Cicero probably did write *eorum*, but this is an obvious correction: the expunging of *vim* is not so obvious, and accordingly *vim* of M is preserved.

(c) Att. iii. 23, 1, *attulisse scribis* M, *attulisse perscribis* FA. This seems to me very like a conjecture. Cicero had written a few lines before *eaque . . . perscribis*. The commonest error of an unscientific editor, or a copyist who assumes to himself the function of an editor, is to introduce into his text such uniformity of diction as this. Baiter is too much disposed to this course: see note on Ep. ix. (Att. i. 4, 3), *ea nondum vidi*: because *nondum* occurs here, Baiter insists on correcting *non* to *nondum* in *nos ea non vidimus* in the preceding letter, as if because Cicero says, 'I have not yet seen them' in one place, he should not be permitted to say, 'I have not seen them,' in another.

(d) Att. v. 4, 4, *vellet iam* M; *velis et iam* FA; *vel etiam* is probably the true reading, which M very nearly preserves, though

the words are wrongly divided. FA on the other hand have recourse to an obvious but unsatisfactory conjecture.

(e) Att. v. 21, 4, *fore venturum* M, *esse venturum* AF; the latter is certainly right; in my mind a certain correction of Malaspina.

(f) Ibid. 6, *sed mirifice abinentem* M; *sed mir. etiam abs.* AF; another conjecture, in this instance wrong, in my opinion.

(g) Ibid. 7, *erogabatur* M; *erogabitur* AF. Here again *erogabitur* is certainly right; but it is significant that this reading, as well as the two foregoing and (a), is quoted as the reading of his pretended mss by Bosius.

(h) Att. vi. 7, 2, *nisi eum graviter aegrum esse reliquissem* M: *esse* is omitted in FA; what could be a more obvious correction? Yet, as is often the case, the obvious cure is wrong. *Issi* for *esse*, the brilliant emendation of Manutius, is now generally accepted.

These passages, which are taken almost at random, being selected chiefly for their brevity, will serve for a sample of the readings adduced to show the superiority of FA over M as ms authority. To me they seem only to prove that FA have in each case reproduced the very obvious correction of an obvious blunder in M, which correction is sometimes right, sometimes wrong, but always the first that would occur to any editor or copyist who assumed the functions of an editor. And it is in my mind significant that in many cases this correction is the same as that quoted from his fictitious mss by Bosius.

The same may be said of the places in which M is excelled by either A or F, for instance:—

(a') Att. ii. 6, 1, *Romae fuisse* M; *Romae me fuisse* A; and the Bosian Y.

(b') Att. ii. 7, 3, *quod potest* M; *quoad potes* A; an easy but wrong conjecture, arising from ignorance of the impersonal use of *potest*, which is so common in the letters as quite to form a feature of their style: see note on Ep. xxxvi. (Att. ii. 9, 1) on the words *citius omnino quam potuit*, where many instances of this usage are quoted to resist the conjecture *oportuit*, which in that passage is accepted by Wesenberg.

(c') Att. iii. 8, 2, *reiectus ab illo* M; *reiectus ab Illo* F. This is a case which in one respect closely resembles the following:—

(d') In Att. i. 17, 9 M presents *Asiani*, while A is said to have



the undoubtedly correct reading *Asiam*. But *ILLO* in a ms would so closely resemble *ILIO*, and *ASIAM* would so closely resemble *ASIANI*, that if Malaspina thought of *Ilio* or *Asiam* as an emendation, he could actually persuade himself that he read it in his ms. If F really has *reiectus ab Ilio*, the brilliant conjecture of Madvig (*Adversaria Critica*, vol. i. p. 145) has in my opinion been anticipated. It seems to me that Malaspina (or perhaps Gasparinus Barziza) may have made this conjecture and feared to put it forward unsupported.

But however this may be, this is not the sort of evidence on which the proof of superior authority in a ms should be founded. It would be far better proof of its value as a ms if F presented a *vox nihili*, or some reading which proved faithful transcription without a theory as to the meaning of the words. This is the great merit of M; it adheres to the words even though no meaning emerge: hence its error guides us to the truth; as for instance when for *ieiuna tabellari legatio*,\* it gives *ieiunata bella relegatio*, or for *an epuloni* in the same passage *a neptiloni*, where A or F would probably present us with *a nebuloni*, as the marginal corrector does. *To have the right reading is not such a proof of the value of a ms as to have the wrong one, from which the right may be inferred.*†

(e') Att. iii. 12, 3, *si donatam* M; *Sidona tamen* A: there is not much to choose between obviously corrupt words and an obviously futile attempt at correction, if one is seeking only to find out what Cicero wrote; but when one is estimating the comparative value of two mss, the difference becomes important. One looks for a clue for the real words not in the mistaken correction, but in the corrupt words. The ms which gives the corrupt words without any attempt at emendation is plainly the more valuable.

(f') Att. iii. 14, 1, *et scio* M, *etsi scio* F and Y; see my commentary on this passage, where I have shown the complete futility of *etsi*. Yet this is just the correction which would recommend itself to an ambitious copyist. Indeed in this particular case *etsi* for *et* has been very generally received. But it is quite inconsistent with several other passages in the letters from exile. *Etsi* is quoted by Bosius as the reading of his pretended Y.

\* Att. ii. 7, 3.

† These observations, in my mind, apply to H and T as strongly as to A and T.

(g') Att. iv. 13, 1, two clearly corrupt readings of M, are corrected substantially in the same manner by F and by the fictitious Bosian Y, *ergo et si irata fuisse* being in both given as *ego ut sit rata, afuisse*, and again *vale sum* being in both correctly given as *valde sum*.

(h') Att. iv. 1, 15, *gratum si Utichidem tuam erga me benivolentiam cognossi iam* M; *cognosses suam* M<sup>2</sup>; *gratum si Utychides tua erga me benivolentia cognoscet iam suam* F; *cognoscet et suam* Bos. and *vulg.* Here F is very much nearer than M to the Bosian correction, which has been generally accepted, but very much further from the words which Cicero most probably wrote, if, as I think, the emendation of Bücheler is certainly to be accepted—*gratumst Utychidem tuam erga me benevolentiam cognosse et suam*.

(i') Att. v. 12, 1, *ab Ceo vicum deinde* M; *ad Cei vicum deinde* F; *ad Ceum vicum deinde* A. Since *ad Ceo* is the right reading, it seems to me that M has the best of it. The passage was admirably emended by Bosius (who alleged the authority of X and Y) thus: *ad Ceo iucunde; inde*. It will be observed that F gave *Cei* as a genitive to suit *vicum*, and A made *Ceum* to agree or stand in apposition with *vicum*, thus editing the text which M gave in its native corruptness; the copyist of M forms no theory of the meaning of the sentence—an excellent thing in copyists.

It is not necessary to go through any of the passages in which Wesenberg accords the superiority to M over AF: most of them are queried as if to hint that the supremacy is doubtful; and, truth to say, it is hard to see on what principle Wesenberg has classed his examples under one head rather than another. Indeed his list is constructed with extreme carelessness, many passages appearing under two out of the three heads. The three heads being—(1) places where both A and F are superior to M; (2) where either A or F is superior to M; (3) where A and F are inferior: we find classed under both (2) and (3) Att. ii. 6, 1; vi. 1, 25; so that in these two passages both A and F are worse than M, yet one of them is better. Again we find classed under (1) and (3) iv. 5, 1: x. 12b, 2; so that in these places both A and F are both inferior and superior to M.

To sum up in a few words my opinion on A and F, I believe that Wesenberg has not at all succeeded in shaking the pre-eminence of M. I do not think we know enough about F and A to warrant such confidence as he places in them. Malaspina was

under a great temptation to support his own conjectures by appeals to them, and even he may have found them in a very interpolated state. In reference to an interpolation in F after *existimabis* in Att. xvi. 15, 3, Malaspina himself says, *de quibus quid dicam aliud nisi eas videri mihi Gasparinum* (Barzizam, Grammaticum Saec. xv.) *redolere qui libris supplere consueverat ex suo*. In this Gasparinus may have lain hidden, for all we know, many Bosii. Wesenberg would, I think, have done well to remember two sound maxims given by Orelli in his *Historia Critica* of the letters (vol. iii. ed 2), *nec vero id magno opere nos commovebit, ubi Criticus aliquis Saec. xvi. antiquissimos Codices a se inspectos iactat* (p. xvii.) and *sic factum est ut . . . pendeamus etiam nunc a solo Medico, QUONIAM IS SOLUS PENITUS EST NOTUS*.

Except for his theory about the value of A and F, and for some flagrant instances of perverted acuteness (see for instance Ep. xxiv. § 1), the edition of Wesenberg would be perhaps the best critical edition of the letters. It is a pity that a groundless theory should mislead one who as a rule shows so many of the highest qualities of a critic.

## § 2. CORRECTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS IN THIS EDITION.

In the following Table I include the most important among my own corrections, and such conjectures of others as are not usually received, but have been adopted by me or mentioned in my notes. I have also mentioned the cases in which I have defended the ms reading against most editors, or have accepted a similar defence made by others. This I have indicated by printing the ms reading in small capitals in its own column, and adding in the last column the name of the editor who has defended the ms reading. In these cases I have recorded the name of the editor who saw the alleged objections to the ms reading, but yet defended that reading; not those who have given the ms reading suspecting no difficulty. When the ms reading is obviously corrupt, I have printed it in italics. When a conjecture of one commentator is based mainly on that of another, I have added in parenthesis the name of the editor on whom the conjecture is based.

Of course my own suggestions must, from the nature of the case, preponderate in this list. Being now put forward for the

first time, they must all come under the category of corrections which have not been generally received into the text. An examination of the penultimate column will show that I have been very cautious in altering the received text, however plausible suggestions of myself or of others might seem.

The contractions used for the names of the editors are the same as those used in the *Adn. Crit.*, except that I indicate myself by the initial T, not by *ego*, as in *Adn. Crit.* After the *Adn. Crit.* will be found an explanation of the abbreviations used in this edition, together with the titles and dates of publication of the various editions consulted. I here add an explanation of the abbreviations used in the following Table:—

Alan.	= Alanus (Henry Allen, Trin. Coll., Dub.).
Baehr.	= Baehrens.
Bent.	= Bentivoglio.
Btr.	= Baiter and Kayser's ed.
Büch.	= Bücheler.
Euss.	= Eussener.
Gron.	= Gronovius.
Hofm.	= Hofmann.
Kays.	= Kayser.
Kl.	= Klotz, ed. 2.
Lall.	= Lallemandus.
Madv.	= Madvig.
Mal.	= Malaspina.
Müll.	= Müller.
Or.	= Orelli.
Peerlk.	= Peerlkamp.
Ursin.	= Ursinus (Orsini).
Wes.	= Wesenberg.

# III. § 2. CORRECTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS. 93

Ep.	ma Reading.	Generally received Reading.	Conjecture accepted in this Edition and printed in Text.	Conjecture recorded, but not received into Text of this Edition.	Author of Conjecture, whether received or only recorded.
II. 2.	NOBIS DECESSIT.	nobis (or a nobis) discessit.	.. ..	.. ..	T.
VII. 1.	putaris id, quod.	.. ..	putaris, id quod.	.. ..	T.
VIII. 2.	NON VIDIMUS.	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	T.
IX. 1.	SENTO.	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	KL.
X. 1.	AUFIDIO.	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	T.
X. 2.	quæ cum erit absoluta sane facile eum libenter nunc ceteri consuli acciderim.	.. ..	.. ..	quæ tunc erit absoluta sane facile; eò libenter Thermum Caesari consuli acciderim.	T. (Boot.).
X. 5.	eliu anachma.	eius ἀνὰθημα.	.. ..	.. ..	T.
XII. 4.	commendando.	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	Koch.
XII. 7.	PETERE CONS. FUTUR.	p. cons. putet oportere.	.. ..	.. ..	T.
XII. 8.	optima vero censorum.	.. ..	optima verorum censorum.	.. ..	Bæhr.
XII. 8.	caupones.	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	Büch.
XII. 9.	num maiore.	.. ..	num maiore re.	.. ..	Wes.
XII. 10.	etiamsi aliis.	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	T.
XII. 10.	quirit . . . commoverit.	.. ..	quiritis . . . commoveris.	.. ..	Or.
XII. 19.	parata.	.. ..	parata.	.. ..	Euss.
XII. 22.	propositum.	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	Euss.
XII. 26.	ex animo agere.	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	Euss.
XII. 29.	quos . . . poteris, summa cura elaborato.	quos poteris sumere: cura ut.	quos . . . quod poteris, summa cura elaborato.	promptum. ex animo gratias agere.	T.
XII. 43.	si abs te non sit rogatum.	.. ..	se abs te non esse rogatum.	.. ..	T.
XII. 46.	amicorum.	.. ..	amiciorum.	.. ..	Euss.
XII. 48.	id si promittas.	.. ..	id, si promittas.	.. ..	Büch.
XII. 48.	sin autem id neges.	.. ..	sin autem neges.	.. ..	Büch.
XII. 52.	ne competitoribus.	.. ..	nova comp.	.. ..	Büch.
XV. 4.	PRÆSCRIPTIONE.	perscriptione.	.. ..	.. ..	T.

Ep.	ms Reading.	Generally received Reading.	Conjecture accepted in this Edition and printed in Text.	Conjecture recorded, but not received into Text of this Edition.	Author of Conjecture, whether received or only recorded.
xv.	ITEM.	item.	.. ..	identidem.	T.
xvi.	1. homini prudenti.	.. ..	.. hominis prudentis.	.. ..	T.
xviii.	3. ipse insanire.	.. ..	.. ..	ipsi insane.	T.
xix.	1. <i>anchora soluta.</i>	.. ..	.. ora soluta.	.. ..	Peerlk.
xix.	1. rhetorum ; pure loquuntur.	.. ..	.. ..	rhetorum pueri loquuntur.	T. (Madv.)
xix.	2. SPERES MALI.	metuas mali.	.. ..	.. ..	T.
xix.	5. includam.	.. ..	.. ..	includam.	T.
xx.	H. S. CXXXIV.	CCCCXXXVII.	.. ..	XXXIV.	T.
xx.	3. meis omnibus litteris.	.. ..	meis orationibus omnibus litteris.	.. ..	T.
xx.	4. si unquam . . . suppeditaverunt, illo tempore.	.. ..	.. ..	si unquam . . . suppeditaverunt, suppeditaverunt illo tempore.	T.
xxii.	3. tribuni non tam aerati quam, ut appellantur, aerari.	.. ..	.. ..	tribuni non tam aerarii, ut appellantur, quam aerati.	T.
xxii.	5. timebatis.	.. ..	[timebatis].	.. ..	Cobet.
xxii.	10. narra, inquam, patrono tuo.	.. ..	narra, inquam, quid patrono tuo . . . p	.. ..	T.
xxii.	13. <i>insimul cum lege alia.</i>	.. ..	insimulatum lege Aelia.	.. ..	Munro.
xxii.	13. fabam mimum.	.. ..	.. ..	fabae midam.	Brooks.
xxiii.	8. OB IUDICANDUM ACCEPISSENT.	ob rem iudicandam pecuniam acc.	.. ..	.. ..	T.
xxiii.	Asiani.	.. ..	Asiam.	.. ..	Mal.
xxiv.	1. METELLUS NON HOMO SED.	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	T.
xxiv.	2. <i>medicinam efficit.</i>	.. ..	.. ..	medicinam effudit.	T.
xxiv.	2. SPE NON CORRIGENDAE, SED SANANDAE REIP.	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	T.
xxv.	2. <i>pueri in alam.</i>	.. ..	pugnam nuper malam.	.. ..	Boot. (Alan.)

xxv. 10.	quod potius sit.	quod potius.	aliena.	T. Bent. T.
xxv. 10.	alia.	quae [mibi] asperius a	..	..
xxvi. 1.	a vobis atque, &c.	nobis, &c.	..	..
xxvii. 8.	quod potius sit.	St. Ita placuit.	Romulae faece.	T. Boot.
xxvii. 10.	ut valeas.	..	ut videas ut valeas.	T.
xxviii. 3.	ut valeas.	proferi.	Iphicratem.	T. Ursin. Mal.
xxix. 1.	perterri.	primum lictor.	..	..
xxx. 9.	..	..	..	..
xxx. 21.	ipsi item.	..	magna ex parte per te.	T.
xxx. 33.	magna ex parte.	..	..	T.
xxx. 36.	addantur.	..	velim Seepsii condicione.	Gron.
xxxi. 1.	..	..	cuius domini futurus so-	T.
xxxi. 2.	..	..	cius sit.	T.
xxxii. 3.	quid de P. Clodio fiat.	..	de cursu tuo.	T.
xxxii. 3.	quid de P. Clodio fiat.	..	..	T.
xxxiv. 1.	..	..	quia a me (or ab ea) desc-	T.
xxxiv. 2.	hominem ire cupiebam.	..	eram.	T.
xxxvi. 1.	..	orbis Reip.	ire hominem mire cupie-	Boot.
xxxvi. 1.	opportuit.	..	bam.	T.
xxxvi. 4.	audi id.	audi ad id.	..	Wes.
xxxvi. 4.	..	Τίτρον τὸν Ἀθηναίων.	..	T.
xxxvii. 1.	..	..	..	T.
xxxvii. 1.	NEGENT.	..	factum a sese.	Kays. (Or.).
xxxvii. 3.	..	iam liquata.	..	Udalbinus.
xxxvii. 3.	..	ita fac venias ut ad.	..	T.
xli. 1.	ita fac; venias ad.	ita fac venias ut ad.	at acquirarem.	T.
xli. 2.	at quam parem.	..	..	Müll.
xli. 2.	..	‘sed omitto . . . sunt.’	..	..
xli. 2.	..	O occasionem mirificam.	ut illa tu non careas.	..
xlii. 2.	..	..	..	..
xxv. 10.	quod potius sit.	quod potius.	aliena.	T. Bent. T.
xxv. 10.	alia.	quae [mibi] asperius a	..	..
xxvi. 1.	a vobis atque, &c.	nobis, &c.	..	..
xxvii. 8.	quod potius sit.	St. Ita placuit.	Romulae faece.	T. Boot.
xxvii. 10.	ut valeas.	..	ut videas ut valeas.	T.
xxviii. 3.	ut valeas.	proferi.	Iphicratem.	T. Ursin. Mal.
xxix. 1.	perterri.	primum lictor.	..	..
xxx. 9.	ipsi item.	..	..	..
xxx. 21.	magna ex parte.	..	magna ex parte per te.	T.
xxx. 33.	addantur.	..	..	T.
xxx. 36.	..	..	velim Seepsii condicione.	Gron.
xxxi. 1.	..	..	cuius domini futurus so-	T.
xxxi. 2.	..	..	cius sit.	T.
xxxii. 3.	quid de P. Clodio fiat.	..	de cursu tuo.	T.
xxxii. 3.	quid de P. Clodio fiat.	..	..	T.
xxxiv. 1.	..	..	quia a me (or ab ea) desc-	T.
xxxiv. 2.	hominem ire cupiebam.	..	eram.	T.
xxxvi. 1.	..	orbis Reip.	ire hominem mire cupie-	Boot.
xxxvi. 1.	opportuit.	..	bam.	T.
xxxvi. 4.	audi id.	audi ad id.	..	Wes.
xxxvi. 4.	..	Τίτρον τὸν Ἀθηναίων.	..	T.
xxxvii. 1.	..	..	..	T.
xxxvii. 1.	NEGENT.	..	factum a sese.	Kays. (Or.).
xxxvii. 3.	..	iam liquata.	..	Udalbinus.
xxxvii. 3.	..	ita fac venias ut ad.	..	T.
xli. 1.	ita fac; venias ad.	ita fac venias ut ad.	at acquirarem.	T.
xli. 2.	at quam parem.	..	..	Müll.
xli. 2.	..	‘sed omitto . . . sunt.’	..	..
xli. 2.	..	O occasionem mirificam.	ut illa tu non careas.	..
xlii. 2.	..	..	..	..

Ep.	ms Reading.	Generally received Reading.	Conjecture accepted in this Edition and printed in Text.	Conjecture recorded, but not received into Text of this Edition.	Author of Conjecture, whether received or only recorded.
XLII.	potuero.	usque a. d.	usque ad a. d.	potuero, ero.	Boot.
XLII.	usque ad.	..	..	..	Br.
XLIII.	φορβετας.	..	φορβετας.	..	Koch.
XLV.	haberes.	..	..	haveres.	T.
XLVI.	si neque leges neque mores.	..	si [neque] leges neque mores.	..	T.
XLVI.	NON REPUDIIO.	nunc repudio.	..	..	T.
XLVII.	PAR EST.	par sum.	..	..	T.
XLVII.	SIMUL ET.	simul ac.	..	simul sciam et.	T.
XLVII.	centiens.	..	..	centum.	Mal.
XLIX.	Pompeium Crasso urgente.	Pompeio Crassum urgente.	..	Pompeium a Crasso urgente.	T.
LI.	ea inquam.	ea quam.	..	ea, ea, inquam, quam.	T.
LII.	blaudē.	Blaudeno.	..	Blaudeno.	T.
LII.	nobilioiorem.	..	..	mobilioiorem vel molliorem.	T.
LIII.	TAM ESSE AUDIO.	..	..	..	T.
LIII.	quae sunt nonnulla sed tamen.	..	..	quaerunt nonnulla sed tamen.	T.
LIII.	QUOQVO MODO POTEST.	..	..	..	T.
LIV.	Bulliones.	..	Bullidenses.	..	Lall.
LVI.	EQUDEM.	..	..	..	Hofm.
LVIII.	illo quum pervenirem non liceret.	illo quum pervenire mihi non liceret.	..	illo quum per ventum ire mihi non liceret.	T.
LIX.	consequere.	..	consequerere.	..	Wes.
LXIII.	nec modo visurus, nec ubi modo visurus sim.	nec quo modo visurus, nec ubi dim. sim.	nec ubi visurus, nec quomodo dim. sim.	..	T.
LXIV.	ab illo.	..	ab Illo.	..	Madv.
LXIV.	nunc ad ea.	..	nunc audi ad ea.	..	Wes.
LXIV.	sed ubi nondum.	..	sed ubi? Nondum.	..	Boot.
LXV.	luctu adfectas.	..	..	luctu adfecti.	T.



LXVI.	1.	non solum vitae sed etiam dignitatis.	..	..	..	non dignitatis ac vitae.	T.
LXVI.	3.	quid imaginem.	..	..	quod imaginem.	..	T.
LXVI.	4.	miserius videtur.	..	..	miserius videtur	..	Büch.
LXVI.	7.	quum de visceribus.	..	..	quum tu de visc.	..	Wes.
LXVII.	1.	usque ad.	..	..	usque ad a. d.	..	Btr.
LXVII.	1.	SIN UT TU SCRIBIS.	..	..	..	..	T.
LXVII.	2.	vivus non amitterem.	..	..	vivus [non] amitterem.	..	T.
LXVII.	3.	quod expectem istinc magis habeo quam.	..	..	..	quod expecto istinc magis quam habeo.	T.
LXX.	1.	ET SCIO.	..	..	..	..	T.
LXXI.	1.	neque me temporis . . . moleste feram.	..	..	..	neque temporis . . . non moleste feram.	T.
LXXII.	5.	nemo despexerit.	..	..	..	nemo non despexerit.	T.
LXXIII.	2.	PURGATI.	..	..	..	..	T.
LXXIII.	5.	te cum Culleone.	..	..	..	tecum Culleonem.	T.
LXXVII.	1.	aliquid quo ipsa multa occulant.	..	..	aliquid! In quo ipso multa. Multa occultant.	..	T.
		interesset loci natura.	..	..	interesset quae esset loci natura.	..	Müll.
LXXIX.	1.	plura scripsit, cui puto.	..	..	scripsit, plura cui puto.	..	T.
LXXXIII.	4.	quod si.	..	..	..	..	T.
LXXXV.	1.	nihil posse se invitis.	..	..	nihil posse eis invitis.	..	T.
LXXXVI.	1.	a me discessum.	..	..	ad me discessum.	..	T.
LXXXIX.	2.	omnium reservandorum.	..	..	omnium Reip. reservandorum.	..	T.

To the following conjecture of L. Mendelssohn, which has appeared in the *Acta Societatis Philologae Lipsiensis*, I would here call especial attention:—

Att. ii. 5, 3, for *et quid de P. Clodio fiat, et omnia* he reads *et quid de P. Clodio. De fratre omnia*.

Thus he holds, as I do, that the reading of M, *fratre*, for *fiat et*, generally ignored by editors as an obvious error, is really the key to the true meaning of the passage. But I believe that the transposition suggested by me in my note on this passage (Ep. xxxii. § 3) is much to be preferred, because it not only preserves the words of the ms, but also explains *eius* above, which is unexplained by Mendelssohn's reading. I would certainly omit *fiat* with him. The word is not found in M, and the ellipse involved in its absence is a very normal one. See Introduction, p. 70. The sentence would then run, *Tu tamen de Curtio ad me rescribe certius, et quid de P. Clodio* (sc. *fiat*) *et fratre, et nunc quis in eius* (sc. *fratris*) *locum paretur, et omnia . . . scribe*. Metellus was the *frater* (cousin) of Clodius (see Cael. 60); and the question is, who is likely to succeed him as augur. Cicero was much interested in the appointment, and owns that 'it is the only bait by which he could be caught.'

### § 3. CONJECTURES IN HERMATHENA.

Other conjectures of mine on the letters will be found in *Hermathena*, No. i., pp. 195–209; No. iii., p. 109; No., vi., pp. 364–372; No. vii., p. 13; No. ix., p. 413; No. x., pp. 21–25. Subjoined is a Table of those already published, but not included in the present instalment:—

Ep.	ms.	Received Reading.	My Conjecture.
Att. IV. 10, Att. IV. 16,	RESPONDERE. quae erant sortita.	quae erant sorte ducta.	QUAE ERANT SORTITA (words of the decree, hence <i>sortita</i> passive, an archaism).
Att. IV. 18, Att. V. 4,	<i>lepidum quo excidat.</i> ne quis ad senatum <i>consule</i> aut <i>numera</i> .	lepidum quo excedat! ne quis ad senatum <i>consule</i> aut <i>numera</i> .	lepidum quid ne quo excidat. ne quis ad senatum consuli aiat <i>numera</i> .
Att. V. 21, Att. VI. 1,	Iulia lege transita . . . facit ut mihi excipiendus sit. quod meam <i>βαβύγηρα</i> in Appio . . . probō.	. . . . . . . . . .	Iulia lege transita . . . exceptus facit ut mihi excipiendus sit. quod meam <i>βαβύγηρα</i> . . . Appio probō.
Att. VI. 1, Att. VI. 17.	nihil habuit inscriptum nisi Cens ea statua . . . In illa autem . . . inscriptum est Cos. tu qui ais.	. . . . . ubi tu qui ais?	nihil habuit inscriptum nisi Cos ea statua . . . In illa autem inscriptum est CENS. tu quid qui ais?
Att. VI. 2, Att. VI. 5, Att. VI. 6,	<i>ἀνδ' τῆς ποσεικεμμένης ἡμέρας</i> δόσας. non dico equidem quod egerit . . . laboro.	. . . . . non dico equidem quid egerit . . . laboro.	<i>ἀνδ' τῆς ποσεικεμμένης ἡμέρας</i> δόσας. non dico equidem non quid egerit . . . laboro.
Att. VI. 8, Att. VII. 1,	pedem non plus extulit quam domo sua. ubi illae sunt densae dexterarum.	quum olim ( <i>vel</i> consul) domo sua. . . . . .	quam domi domo sua. ubi illae densae dexterarum (a quotation from some lost poet.)
Att. VII. 2, Att. IV. 2,	PUDENTIUS. vix tandem tui de mea voluntate concessum est.	prudētius. vix tandem illi <i>or</i> id ei <i>or</i> homini.	
Q. Fr. II. 3, <i>Ibid.</i>	a. d. vi. Id. IN EA.	a. d. vii. Id. in eo.	ad a. d. vi. Id.
Fam. V. 12, Fam. VII. 1, Att. IV. 13, Q. Fr. II. 10 (12), 1.	Themistocli fuga redituque. EX ILLO CUBICULO. <i>ego et si trita.</i> populi convicio.	. . . . . in illo cubiculo. . . . . . . . . . .	Them. fuga <i>Carriolani fuga</i> redituque. ego, ut sitio rem, ita. pipulo ac convicio, <i>or</i> pipulo convicio.

## APPENDIX TO INTRODUCTION.

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### A.

#### ON THE RELATIONS OF CICERO WITH CAESAR AND POMPEIUS BEFORE THE OUTBREAK OF THE CIVIL WAR.

ON pp. 31, 32 (note) above I have quoted some of the words in which a very brilliant reviewer of the first edition of this volume (*Times*, August 16, 1880), gives his view of this question. I now give the whole of the passage referred to:—

“It cannot be denied that Cicero had too little moral force for the age in which he lived. A mixture of Cato’s constancy with Cicero’s judgment and taste would have made a model statesman. But posterity would have formed a far higher opinion of Cicero if this impulsiveness and irresolution had not been noted down for ever at the moment in his letters. Charges of inconsistency and shuffling against even some of our most ‘thorough’ statesmen might, perhaps, be hard to meet if we had the chronicle of their inmost thoughts before us in black and white to use as evidence. And Cicero’s letters to Atticus must, in charity, be read by this light. It is interesting to notice Cicero’s estimate of Pompeius at different stages of his career. His real opinion of the man is contained in a curious passage in *Att.*, Bk. i. : ‘He is affectionate towards me openly ; but his dislike is sufficiently obvious. He has no courtesy, no candour, no high-mindedness in his public life, no brilliancy, no resolution, no generosity.’ Pompeius’s behaviour in face of the victorious advance of Caesar in Italy is thus described : ‘But our Gnaeus—is it not incredible and heart-breaking ?—is completely prostrate ! He has no heart, no head, no activity, no troops.’ It was indeed a cruel disappointment to one who had written to Caelius two years before that Pompeius was ‘a great citizen, and of mind and discretion adequate to all possible emergencies.’ But Cicero’s contempt for the man himself vanishes when he regards him as the representative of the *optima causa*, the champion of the Senate and the ancient constitution. He then thinks only of the dignity of Pompeius’s position ; of the many ties which bind him to himself : he calls him his dear friend, with whom he stands or falls. But did Cicero sincerely believe Pompeius to be the champion of the Republic ? This is the nutshell in which the whole question of this part of Cicero’s policy lies. If he did believe it, it was his stern duty to adhere to the Pompeians. If he did not, it was open to him either to remain neutral, or to side with whichever

leader was in his opinion best fitted to govern the State. Cicero makes no disguise to Atticus of his opinion on this point. In March of 49 he writes:—

“What both rivals seek is absolute power; they have not cared one jot for the prosperity and honour of the State. Nor, indeed, did Pompeius leave the city because he could not, defend it, nor Italy because he was driven thence; but from the beginning his design was to move every land and sea, to incite barbarian kings to bring savage nations against Italy, to assemble the largest armies he could. That is the sort of Sullan dominion which many of his suite have long been thirsting for. Do you think an arrangement might not have been come to between the two? Why, such might be framed even at this moment; but our friend (Pompeius) will have none of it; both rivals, I repeat, wish to reign.”

“Thus it is clear that Cicero knew that Pompeius was only using the Constitution as a peg on which to hang his pretensions. Possessing this knowledge, Cicero had no justification for the course he took. Professor Tyrrell is quite right in complaining of Mommsen’s and Mr. Beesly’s condemnation of Cicero for ‘taking the wrong side.’ This is refusing to take Cicero’s point of view; for how could he know that Cæsar’s was the right cause? It is easy for us who live long after the event to call Cæsar’s the ‘right’ side; to Cicero Cæsar’s supremacy was a synonym for anarchy. But Professor Tyrrell does not realize the weakness of Cicero in embracing the cause of a party-chief whom he confesses repeatedly to have had no other aim than the tyranny of Rome. If we could not have expected Cicero to join Cæsar, neither ought he, as he himself proves, to have sided with Pompeius. But patent as was that leader’s imposture, Cicero dared not follow out his conviction to its logical result—neutrality. Strictly considered, his course admits no justification; but it deserves every excuse on the score of long political association with Pompeius and the Optimates, and above all of his opinion of Cæsar and his suite. That opinion was extraordinary, and, as it turned out, unwarranted; but it was sincere. He looked on Cæsar as a Saturninus or a Catiline, a reckless adventurer, a canceller of debts, a wholesale confiscator of property. ‘He cannot plead a semblance of constitutionalism in his acts.’ ‘How can this man act otherwise than profligately?’ He calls Cæsar’s retinue *véκνια*—‘a troop of shadows,’ referring to their unsubstantial character—men who had everything to win and nothing to lose. ‘He is red-hot with fury and crime.’ It is hardly astonishing that this estimate of Cæsar’s morality should have increased his hankerings after the opposite camp.”

In answer to this I appealed above to the prevailing tone of Cicero’s letters. I now, therefore, proceed to summarise as briefly as I can the evidence afforded by the letters on this point. I shall simply present an array of quotations. This is, surely, the most direct way of settling a question like the present; yet it is strange how seldom such a course is adopted.

## I.

Cicero did not look on neutrality as at all a possible course for a man of honour:—

Quid ergo, inquis, acturus es? idem quod pecudes, quae dispulsae sui generis secuntur greges: ut bos armenta, sic ego bonos viros, aut eos quicumque dicentur boni, sequar, etiam si ruent. (Att. vii. 7, 7.)

Si erit bellum, cum Pompeio esse constitui. (Att. vii. 26, 3.)

(Depugnabo) cum bona quidem spe vel vincendi vel in libertate moriendi. (Att. vii. 9, 4.)

Si enim castris res geretur, video cum altero vinci satius esse quam cum altero vincere. (Att. vii. 1, 4.)

Sin bellum geretur non deero officio nec dignitati meae. (Att. vii. 17, 4.)

Sive enim ad concordiam res adduci potest sive ad bonorum victoriam, utriusvis rei me aut adiutorem velim esse, *aut certe non expertem*. (Att. vii. 1, 2.)

## II.

Cicero is resolved to follow Pompeius.

(1). Through gratitude and affection :—

Quia de me erat optime meritus. (Att. vii. 1, 2.)

Unus Pompeius me movet beneficio non auctoritate. (Att. viii. 1, 4.)

Cum merita Pompeii summa erga salutem meam, familiaritasque quae mihi cum eo est, tum ipsa reipublicae causa me adducit, ut mihi vel consilium meum cum illius consilio, vel fortuna cum fortuna coniungenda esse videatur. (Att. viii. 3, 2.)

Εἰ τοῖς εὐεργέταις καὶ φίλοις συγκινδυνεύτῃ ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς κἂν μὴ δοκῶσιν εὖ βεβουλευῆσθαι περὶ τῶν ὄλων. (Att. ix. 4, 2.)

Quid si non *ἐταίρω* solum sed etiam *εὐεργέτῃ*? (Att. ix. 5, 3.)

Beneficium sequor, mihi crede, non causam . . . causa igitur non bona est? immo optima: sed agetur (memento) foedissime. (Att. ix. 7, 3.)

Nec mehercule hoc facio reipublicae causa quam funditus deletam puto; sed ne quis me putet ingratum in eum qui me levavit iis incommodis quibus idem adfecerat. (Att. ix. 19, 2.)

Ego pro Pompeio lubenter emori possum. Facio pluris omnium hominum neminem. Sed non ita: 'uno in eo iudico spem de salute reipublicae.' (Att. viii. 2, 4.)

(2). As leader of the Optimates :—

¶ Si maneo et illum comitatum optimorum et clarissimorum civium desero. (Att. viii. 3, 1.)

Dabimus hoc Pompeio quod debemus. Nam me quidem alius nemo movet; non sermo bonorum qui nulli sunt; non causa quae acta timide est, agetur improbe. Uni, uni hoc damus ne id quidem roganti, nec suam causam (ut ait) agenti, sed publicam. (Att. ix. 4.)

Εἰ καὶ μὴ δοκιμάζοντα τὴν διὰ πολέμου κατάλυσιν τῆς τυραννίδος, συναπογραφτέον ὁμῶς τοῖς ἀρίστοις. (Att. ix. 4, 2.)

(3). As about to restore the Republic :—

Quando Pompeius rempublicam recuperarit. (Att. viii. 3, 2.)

Sed me movet unus vir; cuius fugientis comes, rempublicam recuperantis, videor esse debere. (Att. viii. 14, 2.)

Tali viro talem causam agenti. (Att. ix. 5, 3.)

## III.

Cicero, however, sees faults many and serious in the optimate side and Pompeius.

(1). He despises their dilatoriness, irresolution, weakness, and abandonment of principle.

Bellum nostri nullum administrant. (Att. vii. 20, 1.)

Nulla causa, nullae vires, nulla sedes quo concurrant qui rempublicam defensam velint. (Att. viii. 3, 4.)

Quem fugiam habeo, quem sequar non habeo. (Att. viii. 7, 2.) See also to end of this letter.

At ille tibi, πολλὰ χαίρειν τῷ καλῷ dicens, pergit Brundisium. (Att. viii. 8, 2.)'

Quid hoc miserius, quam alterum plausum in foedissima causa quaerere, alterum offensiones in optima? alterum existimari conservatorem inimicorum, alterum desertorem amicorum. (Att. viii. 9, 3.)

Nihil fieri potest miserius, nihil perditius, nihil foedius. (Att. viii. 11, 4.)

(2). He fears that they will inflict a terrible vengeance on their enemies.

Iovi ipsi iniquum. (Att. viii. 15, 2.)

Homini magis ad vastandam Italiam quam ad vincendum parato. (Att. viii. 16, 2.)

Bellum crudele et exitiosum suscipi a Pompeio intellegebam. (Att. ix. 6, 7.)

Mirandum in modum Gnaeus noster Sullani regni similitudinem concupivit . . . (causa) agetur . . . foedissime. (Att. ix. 7, 3.)

Huius belli genus fugi, et eo magis quod crudeliora etiam cogitari et parari videbam. (Att. ix. 10, 3.)

Bellum . . . comparat non iniustum ille quidem sed cum pium tum etiam necessarium, suis tamen civibus exitiabile nisi vicerit, calamitosum etiam si vicerit. (Att. x. 4, 3.)

(3). He fears that Pompeius and the Optimates strive for tyranny as well as Caesar.

De sua potentia dimicant homines hoc tempore, periculo civitatis. (Att. vii. 3, 4.)

Ex victoria cum multa mala tum certe tyrannus exsistet. (Att. vii. 5, 4.)

Si viceris tamen servias. (Att. vii. 7, 7.)

Uterque regnare vult. (Att. viii. 11, 2.)

Quorum utrique semper patriae salus et dignitas posterior sua dominatione . . . fuit. (Att. x. 4, 4.)

## IV.

Caesar's side he will not, cannot, join.

(1). He looks on Caesar as a leader of revolutionists, and regards his as *the wrong side*.

Omnes damnatos, omnes ignominia adfectos, omnes damnatione ignominiaque dignos illac facere. (Att. vii. 3, 5.)

Nec in caede principum clementiorem hunc fore quam Cinna fuerit, nec moderatiorem quam Sulla in pecuniis locupletum. (Att. vii. 7, 7.)

Numquam improbi cives habuerunt paratiorem ducem. (Fam. xvi. 11, 3.)

Χρεῶν ἀποκοπὰς, φυγάδων καθόδους, sescenta alia scelera moliri. (Att. vii. 11, 1.)

Mirus invaserat furor non solum improbis sed etiam his qui boni habentur ut pugnare cuperent. (Fam. xvi. 12, 2.)

Foedissima causa. (Att. vii. 9, 3.)

Qui hic potest se gerere non perdit? *Vetant* vita, mores, ante facta, ratio suscepti negotii, socii, vires bonorum aut etiam constantia? (Att. ix. 2a, 2.)

Ardet furore et scelere . . . nec iam recusat sed quodammodo postulat ut, gemadmodum est, sic etiam appelletur tyrannus. (Att. x. 4, 2.)

(2). Caesar is called *perditus civis* (Att. vii. 13); *perditissimus* (Att. viii. 2); *tyrannus* (Att. vii. 20, and *passim*). His conduct is *furor* (Att. vii. 14), and *scelus* (*passim*).

(3). He could not face the odium of such a course.

αἰδέσθαι Τρῶας, nec solum civis sed etiam amici officio revocor. (Att. vii. 12, 3.)

Audio . . hanc cunctationem nostram non probari, multaque in me et severe in conviviis tempestivis quidem disputari; cedamus igitur (Att. ix. 1, 3.)

Nec enim ferre potero sermones istorum quicunque sunt—non sunt enim certe ut appellantur boni. (Att. ix. 2a, 3.)

(4). To join Caesar would be *dishonourable*.

Fac posse tuto; multi enim hortantur. Num etiam honeste? Nullo modo. (Att. vii. 22, *fin.*)

Cautior certe est mansio; honestior existimatur traiectio. Malo interdum multi me non caute, quam pauci non honeste, fecisse existiment. (Att. viii. 15, 2.)

Quid rectum sit apparet; quid expediat obscurum est. (Fam. v. 19, 2.)

Ab illis est periculum, si peccaro; ab hoc, si recte fecero. (Att. x. 8, 5.)

## V.

As Cicero is not blind to the weaknesses of Pompeius and his side, so he clearly discerns the strong points in Caesar's conduct and character, as, for instance, his tolerance and wise moderation.

Si mehercule neminem occiderit, nec cuiquam quidquam ademerit, ab his qui eum maxime timuerant maxime diligitur. (Att. viii. 13, 1.)

So that it was not through a mere recoil from Caesar that Cicero threw himself into the cause of Pompeius.

Max Budinger, in an able article on *Cicero und der Patriciat*, which will afterwards be referred to at greater length, has shown what cordial feelings existed both before and after the outbreak of the civil war between Cicero and Caesar, not as politicians, but as men of the world. A few references will be sufficient here. For a favourable view of Caesar



see *Orat de prov. cons.* (delivered 698 = 56), § 40 ff.; in *Vatin*, §§ 16, 22 (delivered same year); *pro Sest.*, §§ 16, 132 (delivered same year); *Fam.* iv. 4, §§ 3 & 4 (written 707 = 47); *Fam.* iv. 6, 3 (written 709 = 45); *Fam.* vi. 6, §§ 8, 9, 10, 13 (written 708 = 46). See also the fine eulogy in *Phil.* ii. § 116. Caesar dedicated the *De Analogia* to Cicero (*Brut.* § 253).

In *Att.* vii. 20, 2, Cicero writes that the considerations which urge him to fly from Rome to the camp of Pompeius are 'his friendship with Gnaeus, the Optimate cause, the shamefulness of making common cause with a tyrant, about whom one could not be sure whether he was destined to prove a Phalaris or a Pisistratus.' A reference to a letter of Cicero to Sulpicius (*Fam.* iv. 4, 3 and 4) will show how conspicuously Caesar proved himself to be not a Phalaris, but a Pisistratus, and something far more than a Pisistratus.

Accordingly, the whole state of Cicero's mind before the outbreak of the civil war may thus be summed up:—What Cicero hoped for was an arrangement (*compositio, concordia*). Anything should be surrendered rather than have war.\* War will bring the *tyrannis*. Therefore Cicero hesitates, and does not openly join Pompeius, whose flight from Italy he condemns, while he despises the incapacity, dilatoriness, cowardice (almost) of his supporters. Moreover, peace is what Cicero most desires: now peace Pompeius will not have:† he even fears it.‡ Yet Cicero hopes he will be able to influence Pompeius.§ On the other hand, Caesar is very powerful, very active, and very conciliatory. But Cicero says 'he is running a-muck' (*ruit*); he is *perditus*; he is a *tyrannus*; his acts are *furor, scelus*. If war is unavoidable, Cicero *must* join Pompeius; not to do so would be inglorious, dishonourable, ungrateful. Yet, again, to think of the recklessness of the Optimates and the violence which would follow their victory. No matter: Pompeius alone *moves* Cicero; the acts of him and his side have been a tissue of blunders; but his side is the right one. 'Mihi σκάφος,' he writes, *Att.* vii. 3, 5, 'unum erit quod a Pompeio gubernabitur.'

\* Ego is sum qui illi concedi putem utilius esse quod postulat, quam signa conferri. (*Att.* vii. 5, 5.)

† Quod quaeris ecquae spes pacificationis sit quantum ex Pompeii multo et accurato sermone perspexi, *ne voluntas quidem est*. (*Att.* vii. 8, 4.)

‡ Non modo non expetere pacem istam *sed etiam timere* visus est. (*Att.* vii. 8, 5.)

§ Ipsum Pompeium separatim ad concordiam hortabor. (*Att.* vii. 3, 5.)

## B.

## CICERO AND TIRO.

Having touched upon the lesser stains which have been deemed to tarnish the character of Cicero, it would be inconsistent not to notice a passage in the letters of Pliny, in which he seems to be charged with that crime which it is a shame even to speak of. It is very remarkable how this passage has been ignored by the biographers of Cicero. With one accord they hold him up as an example of purity of life quite singular in his licentious age. 'Il ne mérite pas moins d'éloges,' says Boissier, 'pour avoir été honnête et rangé dans sa vie de famille. C'étaient encore là des vertus dont ses contemporains ne lui donnaient pas l'exemple.' Such is the unanimous verdict of the writers about Cicero, and such is my own opinion on the subject. But surely such an opinion needs to be reconciled with the testimony of Pliny. As I think, it can be so reconciled. Here is the letter, the evidence of which is by some (*e.g.* Mr. Allies, *Formation of Christendom*, Pt. i. p. 100) held to be incompatible with a belief in the purity of 'Rome's least mortal mind':—

'Ais legisse te hendecasyllabos meos; requiris etiam, quemadmodum coeperim scribere, homo, ut tibi videor, severus, ut ipse fateor, non ineptus. Nunquam a poëtica (altius enim repetam) alienus fui; quinetiam quatuordecim natus annos Graecam traegodiam scripsi. Qualem? inquis. Nescio: traegodia vocabatur. Mox cum, e militia rediens, in Icaria insula ventis detinerer, Latinos elegos in illud ipsum mare ipsamque insulam feci. Expertus sum me aliquando et heroico: hendecasyllabis nunc primum; quorum hic natalis, haec causa est. Legebantur in Laurentino mihi libri Asinii Galli de comparatione patris et Ciceronis: incidit epigramma Ciceronis in Tironem suum. Dein, cum meridie (erat enim aestas) dormiturus me recepissem, nec obreperet somnus, coepi reputare, maximos oratores hoc studii genus et in oblectationibus habuisse et in laude posuisse. Intendi animum, contraque opinionem meam, post longam desuetudinem, perquam exiguo temporis momento id ipsum, quod me ad scribendum sollicitaverat, his versibus exaravi:

Cum libros Galli legerem, quibus ille parenti  
ausus de Cicerone dare est palmamque decusque,  
lascivum inveni lusum Ciceronis, et illo  
spectandum ingenio, quo seria condidit, et quo  
humanis salibus multo varioque lepore  
magnorum ostendit mentes gaudere virorum.  
Nam queritur, quod fraude mala frustratus amantem  
paucula caenato sibi debita savia Tiro  
tempore nocturno subtraxerit. His ego lectis,  
Cur post haec, inquam, nostros celamus amores,  
nullumque in medium timidi damus? atque fatemur  
Tironisque dolos, Tironis nosse fugaces  
blanditias, et furta, novas addentia flammās?

Transii ad elegos; hos quoque non minus celeriter explicui: addidi alios, facilitate corruptus. Deinde in urbem reversus, sodalibus legi. Probaverunt. Dein plura metra, si quid otii, maxime in itinere, tentavi. Postremo placuit exemplo multorum unum separatim hendecasyllaborum volumen absolvere: nec paenitet.'—*Plin. Epp.* vii. 4.

It cannot be denied that the natural sense of this passage is that ascribed to it by Mr. Allies, and all the commentators on Pliny and his translators, except perhaps the French translator in Didot's series. But how can this view of the meaning of the passage be reconciled with everything else that we know about Cicero?

Cicero carried on a long correspondence with Tiro. He had no anticipation that this would ever be published. Yet we do not find a hint of any improper relation subsisting between the correspondents. It is true that, if Tiro was the editor, compromising letters would probably have been omitted. But there remains the whole tone of the correspondence, which distinctly reveals the enlightened patron who is keenly alive to the literary merits of his freedman, and his invaluable qualities as a critic,\* perhaps even a *collaborateur*. The letters to Tiro are mainly reiterated adjurations that he should take care of his health, which seems to have been weak, and which was so indispensable to the due execution of Cicero's literary projects. These repeated cautions were, apparently, fruitful in result, for we are told that Tiro attained an age of more than 100 years. *Innumerabilia tua sunt in me officia, domestica, forensia, urbana, provincialia, in re privata, in publica, in studiis, in litteris nostris: omnia viceris, si, ut spero, te validum videro*;†—this is a fair sample of the tone of Cicero towards Tiro. On the occasion of the manumission of Tiro (about 700) Quintus congratulates his brother on having lost in Tiro a slave, and gained a friend to the whole family, and adds, *si enim mihi Statii fidelitas et frugalitas est tantae voluptati, quanti esse in isto haec eadem bona debent, additis litteris et sermonibus et humanitate, quae sunt iis ipsis commodis potiora*.‡ In another place§ Cicero addresses a letter to him headed *Tullius Tironi Sal.* This omission of the *praenomen* was a mark of close intimacy and familiarity.|| Tiro seems to have taken exception to the phrase as unsuited to their respective positions. Cicero replies, *quid igitur? non sic oportet? equidem censeo sic; addendum etiam 'Suo.'* *Sed, si placet, invidia vitetur.* Surely this passage reveals clearly in what a deferential and graceful manner Tiro received the generosity of Cicero,

\* Qui *καὶ* esse meorum scriptorum soles.—*Fam.* xvi. 17, 1.

† *Fam.* xvi. 4, 3.

‡ *Fam.* xvi. 16, 2.

§ *Fam.* xvi. 18, 1.

|| See *Fam.* vii. 32, 1, quoted and commented on in Introduction II. § 1.

shown in according to his freedman his intimacy. In another passage Tiro appears as a sort of *majordomo*, whose duty it is to see that the guests are suitable to each other, *de triclinio cura, ut facis; Tertia aderit, modo ne Publius rogatus sit*.\*

In fine, there is not in the whole extant correspondence a single phrase which even the most perverted ingenuity could misconstrue, unless we regard as impure a passage in a letter from Quintus\* (Fam. xvi. 27, 2) to Tiro, in which, in urging Tiro to come to Rome, Quintus says *tuosque oculos, etiamsi te veniens in medio foro videro, dissuaviabor*. But this phrase should not for a moment excite our suspicion, when we remember the differences of manner between ancient and modern times. If a sovereign should now receive a victorious general on his return with a kiss, it would excite some astonishment; yet when the victorious Agricola returned from Britain, the subject of general remark was, not that the Emperor kissed him, but that the kiss 'was but a slight one' (*exceptus brevi osculo*). Because the kiss was not such a kiss as Quintus here promises to Tiro, the reception of Agricola was held to be cold, and the displeasure of Domitian was inferred.

Another strong reason for not accepting the received interpretation of Pliny's words is the absolute want of ancient testimony in support of the charge. It is very significant that Pseudo-Sallust, in the *Invectiva in Ciceronem*, though he runs through the whole gamut of opprobrium, ascribing to Cicero in due rhetorical fashion all possible and impossible impurities and enormities, never hints at any improper relations with Tiro. And this omission is as marked and as significant in the long tirade against Cicero which Dio Cassius puts into the mouth of Q. Fufius Calenus (xlv. 1-28).

Moreover, Cicero never speaks of the crime but in terms of abhorrence.† In *pro Mil.* 9, he records as a signal instance of justifiable homicide a case in which a private soldier slew his superior officer for attempting it.

I believe, therefore, that in view of these facts we should reject the received interpretation of the letter of Pliny, and take one of two courses to

\* Fam. xvi. 22, 1, *Tertius* and *Publius* are, I think, imaginary characters. 'Mrs. Brown will not come, if Mr. Jones is invited.' However the passage is very obscure, and susceptible of various interpretations.

† Certain passages in Cicero (e. g. *De Officiis* I. 144, and *De Natura Deorum* I. 79) speak of boyish beauty in a tone which would not now be held to be in good taste. In the latter passage Cicero seems to say he was, to a certain extent, influenced by his dramatic and antiquarian sense in making philosophers discourse on such subjects. But passages like these cannot for a moment turn the scale against a passage like that in the *pro Milone* referred to in the text.

explain it otherwise :—we may (1) suppose Pliny to refer to an assignation in which Cicero was forestalled by Tiro. Even for such an episode in the life of Cicero one is hardly prepared ; but how infinitely less would such a feature mar one's whole mental portrait of the man. The last lines would then mean ' Why do we conceal our amours, and cautiously give none of them to the world (*nullum sc. amorem*), and yet confess that we are familiar with the *ruses* of Tiro, his stolen (and therefore short, hasty) dalliance (with another's mistress) and stealthy joys that were the more *piquant* for being stealthy ? ' \* But there is (2) another means whereby to reconcile the passage from Pliny with the purity of Cicero. The Ciceronian epigram referred to may have been merely playful, as the French translator of Pliny in Didot's series seems to regard it. Perhaps Asinius Gallus, in comparing his father with Cicero, followed the absurd practice of the ancient rhetoricians, and heaped all charges, however improbable, on him, above whom he wished to exalt his father. Among other absurd accusations, he may have impugned Cicero's intercourse with Tiro. Such a statement would merely have been looked on as a fitting ingredient in a rhetorical theme, not more absurd and not more groundless than the abuse of Pseudo-Sallust or Dio Cassius. Cicero could afford to jest on such a theme, and perhaps on some occasion on which Tiro had broken some business appointment, he wrote an epigram in which he affected to regard Tiro as a faithless mistress—an epigram which was possibly misunderstood by Pliny : however, the letter is not inconsistent with the theory that he viewed the epigram in its proper light as a *jeu d'esprit*. Indeed one can well conceive how Cicero, familiar as he was with Plato,† should use language which might well be misunderstood by one living under the Roman Empire, when, as we know, this hideous moral disease spread far and wide.‡

If Cicero had no purity to save him from this contamination, surely his *respectability* would have prevented him from owning it. He is essentially *gravis*. In Att. ii. 1, 5, he apologises for an indecent joke. *Invidia vitetur* (quoted above) was the golden rule which divided the conduct of Cicero, even where principle and respect for the *honestum* did not rule his desires.

\* I should prefer to read *nosce* with the best mss, and to connect *atque fatemur* with the foregoing words.

† For instances of erotic language applied to men, and for a thoroughly masterly view of the whole subject of Platonic love, see Thompson's *Phaedrus*.

‡ Of the first fifteen Emperors, fourteen were stained with this vice ; Augustus, Titus, Trajan, were in this respect no higher than Nero or Caligula. The exception was the weak pedant, the husband of Messallina.

## C.

## THE COMMENTARIOLUM PETITIONIS.

The *brochure* on the duties of a candidate for the consulship, usually styled the *De petitione Consulatus Liber*, is not so called by any writer before the date of the mss in which it is preserved. The author of the Essay himself seems to have wished it to be known by the title *Commentariolum Petitionis* (by which name I shall therefore designate it), and to have hoped that his work, though primarily intended for the guidance of one particular candidate, would be regarded as a compact and convenient handbook of electioneering tactics by future aspirants to office in Rome. It takes the form of a letter. In no ms has it an inscription inconsistent with the character of a letter; the epigraph of by far the best ms, the *Codex Erfurtensis* (called D by Orelli, and E by Baiter), is *Q. M. Fratri S. D.* This ms was collated by Wunder, who assigns it to the fourteenth century, but Bücheler agrees with Meynke in placing it in the end of the eleventh century, or the beginning of the twelfth. E may, indeed, almost be called the only *codex* of the *Commentariolum*. The Italian mss collated by Lagomarsini, and the *Parisini* of Voss, are (with perhaps unnecessary warmth) designated as a *sterquilinium* by Bücheler. One of these unsavoury mss (L 38 of Lagomarsini) strangely ascribes the authorship to the great Marcus, and makes the treatise a letter to his brother Quintus: other Lagomarsinian mss take the ordinary view, and ascribe the letter to Quintus; while one (L 117) has this inscription:—*De petitione Consulatus ad Q. aut M. Ciceronem Fratrem. Quod opusculum pars M. Ciceronis, pars Quinti esse volunt. Phrasis autem et ratio Quinto adiudicant, nam solus Marcus consulatum gessit.*

That the *Commentariolum* was a letter written by Quintus to his brother Marcus during his candidature for the consulship is the verdict of every editor from Valerius Palermus to Bücheler. But Eussner not only refuses it the name of a letter, but holds that it is a *cento* from certain works of Cicero, compiled by some learned man, much given to logical division, but quite destitute of grace or force of style, who, on account of his accurate familiarity with the details of the period of Cicero's candidature, and by reason of his considerable acquaintance with the style of the Ciceronian Age, must be held to have flourished about the end of that period.\*

\* 'Qui, cum et earum rerum, quae Cicerone petente consulatum agebantur, admodum gnarus sit, et ab eo, qui illa aetate vigeat, sermone non alienus esse videatur, tempore ab ipsa Ciceronis aetate proximo floruisse putandus est.'—*Eussn. Comm. Pet.*, p. 22.

One cannot but agree, to some extent, with Eussner's view as to the lack of literary merit in the *brochure*. It derives its interest neither from grace of style, nor from its matter and contents. It owes its interest chiefly, if not altogether, to one circumstance—the very circumstance on which Eussner grounds his view. It is this. The *Commentariolum* has two or three vigorous attacks on the competitors of Cicero, clothed (notably in one instance) in powerful and original phrase. These reappear almost word for word in the fragments of Marcus Cicero's *Oratio in Toga Candida* preserved in the Commentary of Asconius. To account for this phenomenon only two theories are possible (for the coincidence cannot be accidental), either (1) M. Cicero borrowed from the author of the *Commentariolum*, or (2) the author of the *Commentariolum* borrowed from M. Cicero. The latter is the opinion of Eussner, who fancies that he can detect in the *Commentariolum* not only plagiarisms from the *Oratio in Toga Candida*, but from the *pro Plancio*, the *pro Murena*, and the first letter of Marcus to his brother Quintus, on the Duties of a Provincial Governor (Q. Fr. i. 1). As the speech *pro Plancio* was written A. U. C. 700 (b. c. 54), the *Commentariolum* must, on this hypothesis, be posterior to the consulship of Cicero by about ten years. The theory is of course, at the very outset, confronted by the difficulty (which Eussner does not attempt to meet), that it represents the author of the *Commentariolum* as keeping up an elaborate parade of ignorance, and carefully concealing his knowledge of the issue of the contest and other such matters, of which knowledge not a vestige appears in the *Commentariolum*. For instance, the author speaks of Catiline, not Antonius, as Cicero's most formidable opponent. Now, surely, the compiler postulated by Eussner would not thus have neglected the chances of the ultimately successful candidate, and in so doing depreciated his counsel, by betraying his want of political foresight; the more especially as he might have estimated never so highly the chances of Antonius' success without at all betraying his knowledge of the issue. When the author of the *Commentariolum* speaks of Catiline as Cicero's most formidable opponent, surely the natural inference is that the tract was written in the beginning of the year 690 (b. c. 64), when Catiline's prospects actually did look bright, or at least before the month of June, when his excesses had begun to swell the ranks of Antonius' supporters; unless Eussner is prepared to maintain that his compiler of set purpose introduced statements falsified by the issue, so as to conceal the posterior origin of the *brochure*, and to impart to it the appearance of having been the work of Quintus, under whose name he wished to recommend to posterity his own Essay. But it will not be necessary to apply such tests to demonstrate the unsoundness of Eussner's theory, if

it can be shown (as I think it can) that he has altogether failed to establish any such coincidences between the *Commentariolum* and any work of Cicero (save the *Oratio in Toga Candida*), except merely fortuitous coincidences in words, such as might exist between any two works of the same period.

Before, therefore, I examine these supposed plagiarisms from the *pro Plancio*, *pro Murena*, and the first letter to Quintus, I shall briefly advert to the *positive* arguments for the authorship of Quintus, and weigh Eussen's objections against the same.

The *Commentariolum* cannot have been written before 690 (b. c. 64), as Bücheler has shown, because, of the six candidates mentioned by Asconius as competing with Cicero, only two are deemed worthy of consideration. Now, we know from Att. i. 1, that in July, 689 (b. c. 65), it was not certain even who would come to the poll; so that we must allow some time for the waxing and waning of the candidature of four other competitors. Moreover, the verdict in the trial of Catiline, which took place probably about November of 689 (b. c. 65), is spoken of as not a very recent event. The date of the Essay, therefore, cannot have been earlier than the beginning of 690 (b. c. 64). But it must have been written before June, 690 (b. c. 64), for Catiline's chances are preferred to those of Antonius; but we know that about June the supporters of Catiline began signally to fall away. Therefore the date of the Essay may be placed in the beginning of 690 (b. c. 64). The positive arguments, then, for the authorship of Quintus are these:

(1). At this period Quintus would have had abundant leisure for the composition of his Essay, for he had just laid down his aedileship. And now, too, the treatise would have been particularly well timed, if looked on in the proper light, namely, as an attempt to point out the tactics of a really able canvass, which, however, should in nowise conflict with the law; for the five years immediately preceding the candidature of Cicero were singularly fertile in laws regulating the procedure at elections, and in prosecutions for infringement of the same. Now, the *Commentariolum* preaches a rigorous purism in keeping within the letter of the law: for instance, *nomenclatores* are not recommended, as they were forbidden by a recent, but universally neglected, enactment.\* Quintus, therefore, might have conferred on his brother a really solid benefit in mastering the recent legislation on the subject of *ambitio*, and pointing out how far he could

\* Lange, ii. 666. It was probably a clause in the law of Aurelius Cotta, 684 (b. c. 70). Καὶ νόμου γραφέντος ὅπως τοῖς παραγγέλλουσι εἰς ἀρχὴν ὀνοματολόγοι μὴ παρῶσι, χιλιάρχων (*tribunatum militum*) μετιῶν, μόνος ἐπείθετο (v. l. ἐπέθετο) τὸν νόμον.—Plut. Cat. Min. ch. 6.



avail himself of the arts of electioneering without coming into collision with the law. This task would have demanded the leisure which Quintus had and Marcus lacked.

(2). This Essay is a *libellus isagogicus* on the model of the treatise in which Varro had recently, 684 (b. c. 70), given instructions to Pompeius how to hold a senate as Consul. We are told by Gellius (xiv. 7) that this treatise was afterwards lost, and that Varro subsequently treated the same subject in a letter to Oppianus. May not the *Commentarium isagogicum* of Varro have suggested to Quintus his *Commentariolum petitionis*, and may not the form chosen by Quintus have suggested to Varro, in the second edition, the idea of throwing his tractate into the shape of a letter?

(3). From Q. Fr. iii. 1, 23, we may infer that Quintus was familiar with the precepts of Epicharmus. Now in Comm. 39 we have the words *quamobrem* Ἐπιχάρμειον *illud teneto* 'nervos atque artus esse sapientiae non temere credere,' a maxim afterwards quoted by Marcus (Att. i. 19, 8) in its Greek and metrical form,

ναφε, καὶ μέμνασ' ἀπιστεῖν ἄρθρα ταῦτα τῶν φρενῶν.

(4). In Att. ii. 3, 3, Cicero says to Atticus, 'Θεοφράστου περὶ φιλοτιμίας *affer mihi de libris Quinti fratris:*' Quintus, therefore, had in his library a work which may have suggested to him the treatise, or at least aided him materially in its execution.

(5). The whole letter of Marcus to Quintus on the subject of the Duties of a Provincial Governor (Q. Fr. i. 1) reads as a companion-essay to the *Commentariolum*; it is a practical expression of the degree to which Marcus appreciated the sympathy of his brother at a critical time; and probably would never have been written but for the *Commentariolum*, with which it about coincides in length. Moreover, it contains many expressions which seem directly to refer to the essay of Quintus: for instance, *Quod si ut amplissimum nomen consequeremur unus praeter ceteros adjuvisti* (Q. Fr. i. 1, 43); and again, *idcirco et tua longissima quaque epistola maxime delector, et ipse in scribendo sum saepe longior* (*ibid.* 45). To this be it added, that we learn from the letters of Marcus to Quintus *passim*, that Marcus habitually in all important affairs sought from his younger brother and gratefully acknowledged such practical counsels as form the staple of the *Commentariolum*. Other arguments which might be adduced as positive evidence for the authorship of Quintus will more fitly fall under the answers to Eussner's objections against the same, which I now proceed to consider.

(1). The first objection of Eussner to the belief in Quintus' authorship is, that the author of the *Commentariolum* begins not with the very

beginning of Cicero's *petitio*, in the middle of July, 689 (b. c. 65), when Cicero *prensandi initium facere cogitabat in campo comitiis tribuniciiis* (Att. i. 1, 1), but at a considerably later period, when his only formidable rivals were Antonius and Catiline. Now this circumstance seems to me to point unmistakably to an inference directly contrary to that which Eussner draws. Surely the compiler postulated by Eussner would have begun from the very beginning, and thus given artistic completeness to his Essay; Quintus, on the other hand, writing in the beginning of 690 (b. c. 64), omits the past, for which counsel is now unavailing, and addresses himself to the task of advising his brother under the circumstances which actually surround him.

(2). Again, Eussner argues that Quintus, who had held no office but aedileship, must have been quite unqualified to instruct his brother, who had already distinguished himself as praetor, quaestor, and curule aedile. The coincidences between the *Oratio in Toga Candida* and the *Commentariolum*—coincidences which I fully admit—would, in the mind of Eussner, show Marcus in the light of a base plagiarist, if Quintus were the author; *fac* (says Eussner) *tam humilis atque abiecti animi fuisse Marcum hominem eloquentissimum, ut quod ipsi emendandum esset commendatum fratris opusculum expilaret*. But this is an utterly false point of view on the part of Eussner. The letter was written by Quintus in order to bring together under the view of his brother, and in an organized shape, maxims of procedure which were no doubt familiar to him, but which it might be convenient to have by him reduced to a system, *non ut aliquid ex iis novi addisceres, sed ut ea quae in re dispersa atque infinita viderentur esse, ratione et distributione sub uno aspectu ponerentur* (Comm. 1). This Quintus had abundant leisure to do, having just laid down his aedileship; *haec sunt quae putavi non melius scire me quam te, sed facilius his tuis occupationibus colligere in unum locum posse et ad te perscripta mittere* (Comm. 58). Marcus was at liberty to use (as he did in his *Oratio in Toga Candida*) some vigorous expressions taken from his brother's letter in denunciation of his rivals, as much as he was at liberty to act on the practical precepts therein enjoined; nor is he open to the charge of undue appropriation in the one case more than in the other. Nay more; suppose it to be granted for a moment that it would have been a dishonest act to have made use in his speech of these expressions found in his brother's letter, not even so would the character of Marcus suffer, for we learn from Comm. 58,\* that

\* *Quae tametsi ita sunt scripta ut non ad omnes qui honores petant, sed ad te proprie et ad hanc petitionem tuam valeant, tamen tu, si quid mutandum esse videbitur, aut omnino tollendum, aut si quid erit praeteritum velim hoc mihi dicas*. From these words Tydeman argues that Quintus cannot have been at Rome when he wrote the *Comm.*

Quintus submitted his work to the criticism of Marcus, requesting him to curtail, enlarge, and modify it as he thought fit, and hinting that if it met his brother's approval, he might publish it as a guide to future candidates, though an incomplete one (he owns), as having primary reference only to Marcus and his election. These expressions, then, in which the *Oratio in Toga Candida* and the *Commentariolum* coincide, may have been inserted by Marcus, in accordance with his brother's request.\*

As to the unfitness of Quintus to offer counsel to Marcus, we need only observe that such unfitness was not felt by Marcus. He says afterwards of Quintus, *ut amplissimum nomen consequeremur unus praeter ceteros adiuvisti* (Q. Fr. i. 1, 43), and in the same letter, *quid enim ei praecipiam quem ego in hoc praesertim genere intelligam prudentia non esse inferiorem quam me, usu vero etiam superiorem?* (Q. Fr. i. 1, 18). Moreover, all the letters of Marcus to Quintus afford everywhere proofs that Marcus sought and found a valuable counsellor in Quintus in all the most important of his affairs, and fully appreciated his worth as an adviser. Nor did Marcus despise his brother's literary gifts; afterwards, in speaking of a poem, probably the *Annales* referred to above, which Quintus submitted to him, just as he submitted the *Commentariolum*, for correction and revision, the prince of stylists did not think it humiliating to say, *sine ulla mehercule epoveia loquor; tibi istius generis in scribendo priores partes tribuo quam mihi* (Q. Fr. iii. 4, 4). In truth, that it would be undignified in the great and distinguished Marcus to ask or accept literary aid from the humble Quintus, is a point of view far more likely to occur to a modern German than to an ancient Roman, especially such a Roman as the gentle, refined, and high-minded M. Cicero.†

(3). The *Commentariolum* is, according to Eussner, below the style of Quintus, as described by his brother, and unlike the four letters from Quintus found in the correspondence of Cicero, Fam. xvi. 8, 16, 26, 27.

*tariolum*, as in that case he would in a personal interview have asked his brother to criticise his Essay, instead of embodying the request in the Essay itself. Bücheler draws the opposite inference because Quintus writes *velim hoc mihi dicas* instead of *velim hoc mihi scribas*. I agree with Tydeman; *dicere* is used constantly for a communication made by letter. Eussner sees in the absence of date and address an argument for the fictitious character of the letter. So Sergeant Buzfuz maintained that it was 'a circumstance in itself suspicious' that the second communication of Mr. Pickwick to Mrs. Bardell bore no date.

\* So afterwards Quintus requests his brother to correct and edit his *Annales*, *Q. frater me rogat ut Annales suos emendem et edam* (Att ii. 16, 4). Marcus readily complied with his brother's request.

† For other expressions of Marcus, eulogistic of the literary merit of his brother, see Q. Fr. iii. 1. 19; Q. Fr. iii. 6, 7; De Orat. 10.

But Eussner does not allow for the kindliness so strongly characteristic of Cicero, which led him to overstate his brother's merits. We have seen above that Marcus pronounces his brother superior to himself in poetry. Now it seems to me that Cicero's *Aratea*, and other poetical fragments, not excepting the much-decried *O fortunatum*, &c., will well bear comparison with the twenty hexameters of Quintus, *De XII. signis*, which may be taken as typical of the poetry of Quintus, if the four surviving letters may be looked on as sufficient basis for a judgment on his prose style. To me it seems that the *Commentariolum* is worthy of the letters, nor does it differ from them in tone and style more than a practical treatise cast in an epistolary mould would naturally differ from a familiar letter—than the letter of Marcus on the duties of a Provincial Governor (Q. Fr. i. 1) differs from those jocular letters of gossip and chit-chat which we meet so often in his private correspondence.

Eussner and Bücheler greatly exaggerate the imperfection of the style of the *Commentariolum*, though, of course, both it and the letters of Quintus are incomparably below the standard of Marcus. Many of these supposed defects would pass quite unnoticed if the work had been attributed to Marcus; indeed, many of them can actually be paralleled in the writings of the great orator. For instance, the frequent use of *quoniam* in the *Commentariolum* is severely animadverted on by Bücheler and Eussner: this conjunction is used seven times in Q. Fr. i. 1, and but eight times in the *Commentariolum*. That *anaphora* that is so offensive to Bücheler and Eussner in the *Commentariolum* passes unnoticed, or is a pleasing figure in the hands of Marcus, when he writes *nullum te signum, nulla pictura, nullum vas, nulla vestis, nullum mancipium, nulla forma cuiusquam, nulla condicio pecuniae* (Q. Fr. i. 1, 8); and at least half a dozen other instances of *anaphora* may be found in that letter. The writer of the *Comment.* is guilty of vile taste in allowing the *v*-sound to recur so often in a sentence (*Comment.* 54), *in tot hominum cuiusque modi vitiis tantisque versantem vitare offensionem, vitare fabulam, vitare insidias*, but Marcus goes unproved when he writes *vix videmur summam vituperationem posse vitare* (Q. Fr. i. 1, 41). Again, the frequent use of the phrases *cura ut, cogita ut, fac ut*, is condemned in the *Comment.*, but passes unnoticed in Q. Fr. i. 1. In both letters these phrases occur with unusual frequency; but this is because both letters are didactic expositions addressed to a single individual. But everywhere what would be called happy boldness in Marcus is tasteless affectation in Quintus.

What in the *Consul's* but a choleric word,  
That in the *Aedile* is flat blasphemy.

Eussner even ascribes a post-Ciceronian origin to the *Commentariolum*, because we find in *suffragatorius*, § 26, a ἀπαξ εἰρημένον. Not to mention ἀπαξ εἰρημένα in Marcus, we have only to turn to one of the four admittedly genuine letters of Quintus to find *dissuaviabor* (Fam. xvi. 27, 2). If in four short letters we find a ἀπαξ εἰρημένον, we need not be startled at finding another in an essay about ten times as long as the four letters together.

(4). The *Comment.* does not reflect the character of Quintus, as described by Marcus. We find no traces of the *iracundia*, which was his besetting sin. This, in my mind, strongly *disproves* the authorship of Eussner's supposed compiler, who would most certainly have attempted to make his work seem an authentic letter by introducing some traits or expressions in keeping with the character of Quintus, as described by his brother in many places, and especially in that very letter which was supposed to be one of the sources of the compiler's *cento*, namely, the letter (Q. Fr. i. 1) on the Duties of a Provincial Governor. Here I may observe that Eussner was unfortunate in selecting the works of Marcus from which was patched up the forged letter. Among them, it will be remembered, was the *Oratio pro Murena*, which (as we shall see), in Eussner's opinion, the compiler must have studied very closely. Now, in this speech (*Or. pro Mur.* 30), Cicero expressly says, *cum duae essent artes quae potuerunt locare homines in amplissimo gradu dignitatis, una imperatoris, altera oratoris boni*. Is it not strange that, though in this speech, so closely studied by the compiler, it is laid down that there are two roads to the highest office, military distinction and forensic preëminence, yet he should have dwelt on the latter alone in the *Commentariolum*, and completely passed over the former?

These are the main supports of Eussner's argument, which chiefly rests on the supposed plagiarisms in the *Commentariolum*, not only from the *Orat. in Tog. Cand.*, but from the *Orat. pro Plancio* and *pro Murena*, and from Q. Fr. i. 1—plagiarisms which, in his opinion, show the treatise to be a mere piece of patchwork from the writings of M. Cicero.

I shall now point out the remarkable coincidences between the *Commentariolum* and the *Oratio in Toga Candida*, and then examine the grounds on which the author of the *Commentariolum* is deemed by Eussner to have availed himself, not only of the *Oratio in Toga Candida* in framing his literary forgery, but also of the letter of Marcus to Quintus on the Duties of a Provincial Governor, the *Oratio pro Murena*, and the *Oratio pro Plancio*. The coincidences between the *Comment.* and the *Or.*

in *Toga Candida*\* are found only in the part of the *Comment.* which deals with the denunciation of Cicero's rivals. These are as follow:—

Writing of *Antonius*, Quintus says:—

(a). Vocem audivimus iurantis se Romae iudicio aequo cum homine Graeco certare non posse. (*Comm.* 8.)

Of the same, Marcus says:—

(a). In sua civitate cum peregrino negavit se iudicio aequo certare posse. (*Orat. in Tog. Cand.*)

In describing the murder of Marius Gratidianus by Catiline, Quintus says:—

(b). Quid ego nunc dicam petere eum consulatum qui hominem carissimum populo Romano, M. Marium, inspectante populo Romano . . . ceciderit . . . collum . . . secuerit. (*Comm.* 10.)

Marcus says of the same deed:—

(b). Populum vero, cum, inspectante populo, collum secuerit hominis maxime popularis, quanti fecerit ostendit. (*Or. in Tog. Cand.*)

Again, Quintus:—

(c). Vivo spiranti collum gladio sua dextera secuerit . . . caput sua manu tulerit. (*Comm.* 10.)

Marcus:—

(c). Quod caput etiam tum plenum animae et spiritus . . . manibus ipse suis detulit. (*Or. in Tog. Cand.*)

In touching on the incest of Catiline with Fabia, a Vestal virgin, Quintus says:—

(d). Qui nullum in locum tam sanctum et tam religiosum accessit, in quo non, etiam si alia culpa non esset, tamen ex sua nequitia dedecoris suspicionem relinqueret. (*Comm.* 10.)

Marcus:—

(d). Cum ita vixisti ut non esset locus tam sanctus quo non adventus tuus, etiam cum culpa nulla subesset, crimen adferret. (*Or. in Tog. Cand.*)

Quintus, in speaking of the chances of the election of Antonius and Catiline, says:—

(e). Quis enim reperiri potest tam improbus civis qui velit uno suffragio duas in rempublicam sicas destringere. (*Comm.* 12.)

\* It may be useful here to observe that Asconius never mentions the *Commentarium*, and seems not to have been aware of its existence.

Marcus—

(e). Qui posteaquam illo ut conati erant Hispaniensi pugiunculo nervos incidere civium Romanorum non poterant; duas uno tempore conantur in rempublicam sicas destringere. (*Or. in Tog. Cand.*)

In addition to these remarkable coincidences of expression, we find a marked coincidence of treatment; we learn from Asconius that, in denouncing Catiline, Marcus dwelt on his having put to death certain Roman knights, especially Q. Caecilius; adverted to his profligacies, his malversation of Africa, the depositions at the trial, and the verdict; and we learn that he upbraided Antonius with the public sale of his goods: now all these topics find place, and in the same order, in the *Commentariolum*. But, of course, coincidences of treatment might be accidental; not so the remarkable coincidences of expression just adduced. We may observe, too, how Marcus, in adopting the topic or the expression of his brother, adds some additional force or point to the words adopted. This is especially observable in (b) and (e), while in (d) the same subject is treated by each writer exactly as befits the case of each. The allusion in the passage is to the case of Fabia, a Vestal, who was accused of an intrigue with Catiline, tried for unchastity, and acquitted. This Fabia was the sister of Terentia, the wife of Marcus, and Terentia took refuge with her afterwards in the Temple of Vesta when Cicero fled from Rome (*Fam. xiv. 2, 2*). It is this connexion with his own family that makes Marcus careful to add *etiam cum culpa nulla subesset*; Quintus, in the words *etiam si alia culpa non esset*, does not quite so emphatically acquit Fabia.

In the face of these remarkable coincidences, it is strange that Eussner should persuade himself that he has made out his case that the pseudo-Quintus had availed himself of the *Orat. pro Murena* and *pro Plancio*.

It would occupy too much space were I to give in full the supposed plagiarisms from the *Orat. pro Mur.* and from Q. Fr. i. 1. There are fifteen imputed coincidences between the *Commentariolum* and the *pro Mur.*, and seventeen between the *Comment.* and Q. Fr. i. 1. If anyone desires to see the whole list set out in full, he may consult *Hermathena*, No. v., pp. 53–57, where there is a Paper by me, of which the above remarks are an abstract. The reader who does not feel disposed to take this step must take my word for it, when I say, that between the *Comm.* and the *pro Mur.* there is not a single real coincidence but one; and in this case it seems to me very probable that Marcus in his speech availed himself of a reminiscence of his brother's Essay which he had perhaps been editing very recently. It is this:—*pro Mur. 43, nescio quo pacto semper hoc fit, neque in uno aut altero animadversum est, sed iam in pluribus; simul atque*

*candidatus accusationem meditari visus est, ut honorem desperasse videatur*; Comm. 56, *atque haec ita volo te illis proponere non ut videre accusationem iam meditari*. Even here we have not a very striking coincidence. But what is to be said of this:—pro Mur. 48, *cum tu populum Romanum in eum metum adduxisti*; Comm. 23, *adducenda amicitia in spem*? Surely it is an insult to the understanding of his readers, when Eussner quotes a sentence as a plagiarism because it has a word or a construction in common with another sentence. And here are some of the plagiarisms which prove that the *Comment.* was patched up out of bits of Q. Fr. i. 1:—Ep. 7, *cuius natura talis est ut . . . videatur moderata esse potuisse*; Comm. 9, *quum semper natura tum etiam aetate iam quietum*. Ep. 10, *quid ego de Gratidio dicam*; Comm. 10, *quid ego nunc dicam*? Ep. 37, *praetermittendum esse non puto*; Comm. 10, *mihi non praetermittendum videtur*. Ep. 38, *nihil . . . te fieri posse iucundius*. Comm. 16, *carum et iucundum esse maxime prodest*.

The *Orat. pro Plancio* Eussner omits to examine in detail, ‘*cum non ita multi loci cum Commentariolo consentiant*.’ I fancy it would be easy to construct a large list of coincidences as close as those cited from Q. Fr. i. 1, and the *Orat. pro Murena*.

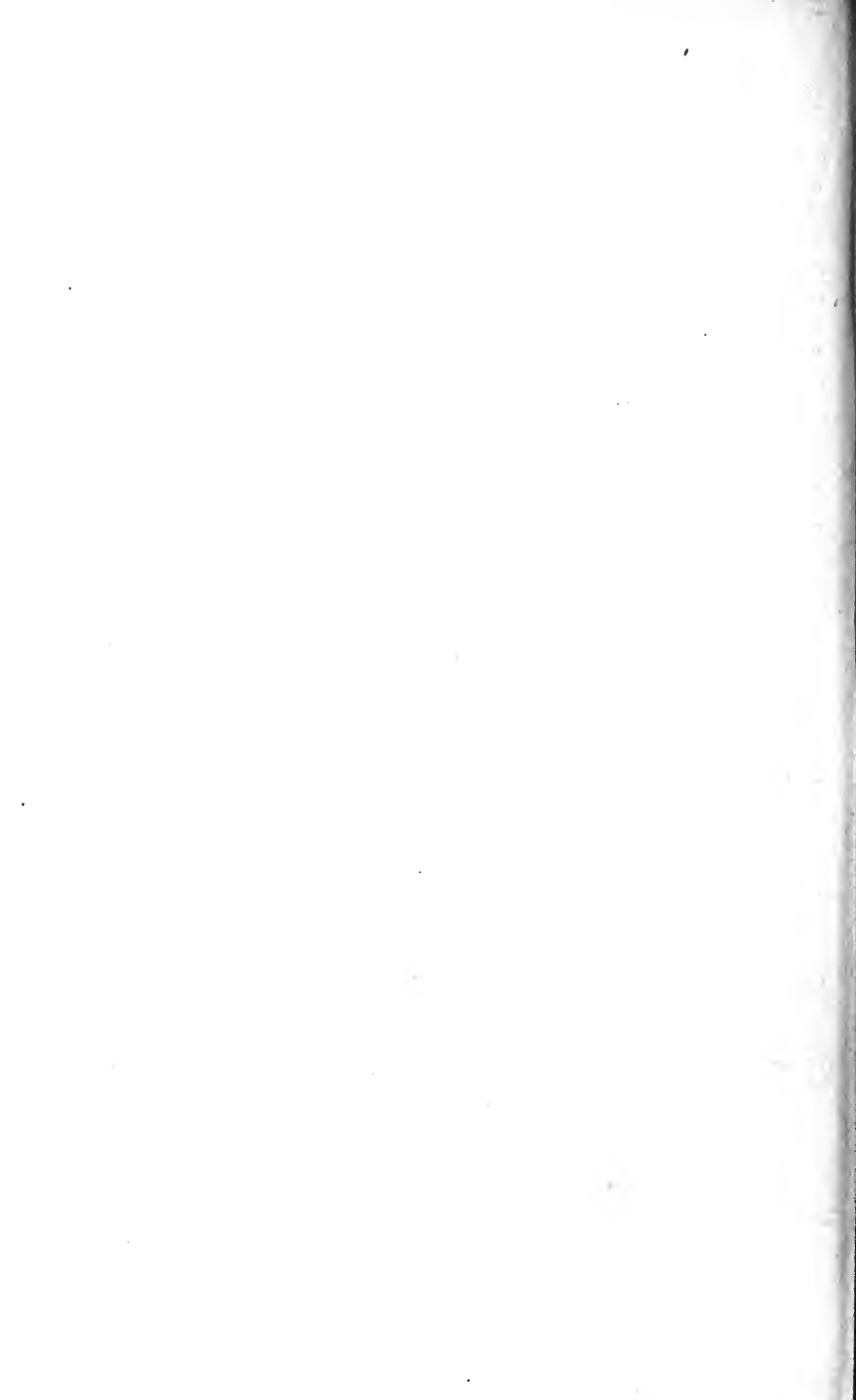
So much for Eussner’s attempt to disprove the authorship of Quintus. If coincidences such as those which he adduces were really sufficient basis for such a theory, I should have very little hesitation in undertaking to prove that Macaulay’s History was the work (let us say) of Mr. Gladstone. But what would be a sufficient ground on which to base the disproof of the authorship of Quintus? It would be sufficient to point to some event mentioned in the Essay which occurred after the death of Quintus, or to show that ignorance is betrayed of some fact of which Quintus must have been cognizant. No attempt has been made to allege the existence of any allusion in the letter to any event subsequent to the time of Quintus. On one point, however, Eussner has attempted to fix an inaccuracy on the author of the *Commentariolum*. It is this—*Nam hoc biennio* (says Quintus), *quattuor sodalitates hominum ad ambitionem gratiosissimorum tibi obligasti, C. Fundanii, Q. Gallii, C. Cornelii, C. Orchivii* (Comm. 19). On the words of Cicero, *alter induxit eum quem potuit ut repente gladiatores populo non debitos polliceretur* (*Orat. in Tog. Cand.*), Asconius has this note: *Q. Gallium, quem postea reum ambitus defendit, significare videtur. Hic enim, cum esset preturae candidatus, quod in aedilitate quam ante annum gesserat, bestias non habuerat, dedit gladiatorium sub titulo patri se id dare*. Asconius, therefore, places the trial of Q. Gallius subsequent (*postea*) to the *Oratio in Toga Candida*, therefore in 690 (b. c. 64), at the earliest: on the other hand, the author of the *Commen-*



*tariolum* (as understood by Bücheler and Eussner) places the trial two years back, that is, in 688 (b. c. 66). Now be it remarked, in the first place, that it is by no means necessary that we should understand *hoc biennio* to mean *two years ago*: the words might as well mean that all those trials by which Marcus had won so much influence had occurred *in the course of the last two years*.\* But even granting that *hoc biennio* should be understood to mean *two years ago*, there is not the least ground for charging Quintus with inaccuracy. Quintus is probably right, and Asconius wrong. Such is the view of Bücheler, who shows that, in the matter of the gladiators at least, Asconius has blundered, in ascribing to Gallius what was the act of Catiline, as we know from the distinct testimony of Cicero himself. If, then, Asconius erred about the gladiators, may he not have erred about the date of the trial of Gallius? Bücheler says *yes*; Eussner says *no*; however, Eussner offers no reason for his belief, but will not give up the only inaccuracy which he has been able to allege against his fancied compiler, who, writing at least ten years after the time of Cicero's candidature, has not (if this allegation be abandoned) incurred even the suspicion of a mistake.

In my opinion, therefore, the *Commentariolum petitionis* was written about the beginning of 690 (b. c. 64); the author was Q. Cicero; it was intended primarily to be of practical service to M. Cicero in his candidature, but the author hoped that after it had undergone the revision of his eminent brother, it might be deemed to have a substantive value as a manual of electioneering tactics. Whether Marcus ever actually did undertake the work of revising his brother's Essay we cannot be certain. We know that in the case of the *Annales* Marcus promptly complied with a like request, *ego te libenter, ut rogas, quibus rebus vis adiuvo, et tibi versus quos rogas, γλαῦκ' εἰς Ἀθήνας, mittam* (Q. Fr. ii. 16, 4). On the other hand, we see that the Essay still labours under that incompleteness which its author owns, *ita sunt scripta ut non ad omnes qui honores petant, sed ad te proprie et ad petitionem hanc valeant* (Comm. 58). Marcus, however, would hardly have employed his editorial authority in divesting the letter of its primary and special application to his glorious consulship. The letter did not, probably, find its way into the earliest collections of the correspondence of Cicero made immediately after his death, for Asconius seems to have been ignorant of the existence of the *Commentariolum*.

\* For other examples, see Roby, § 1182.



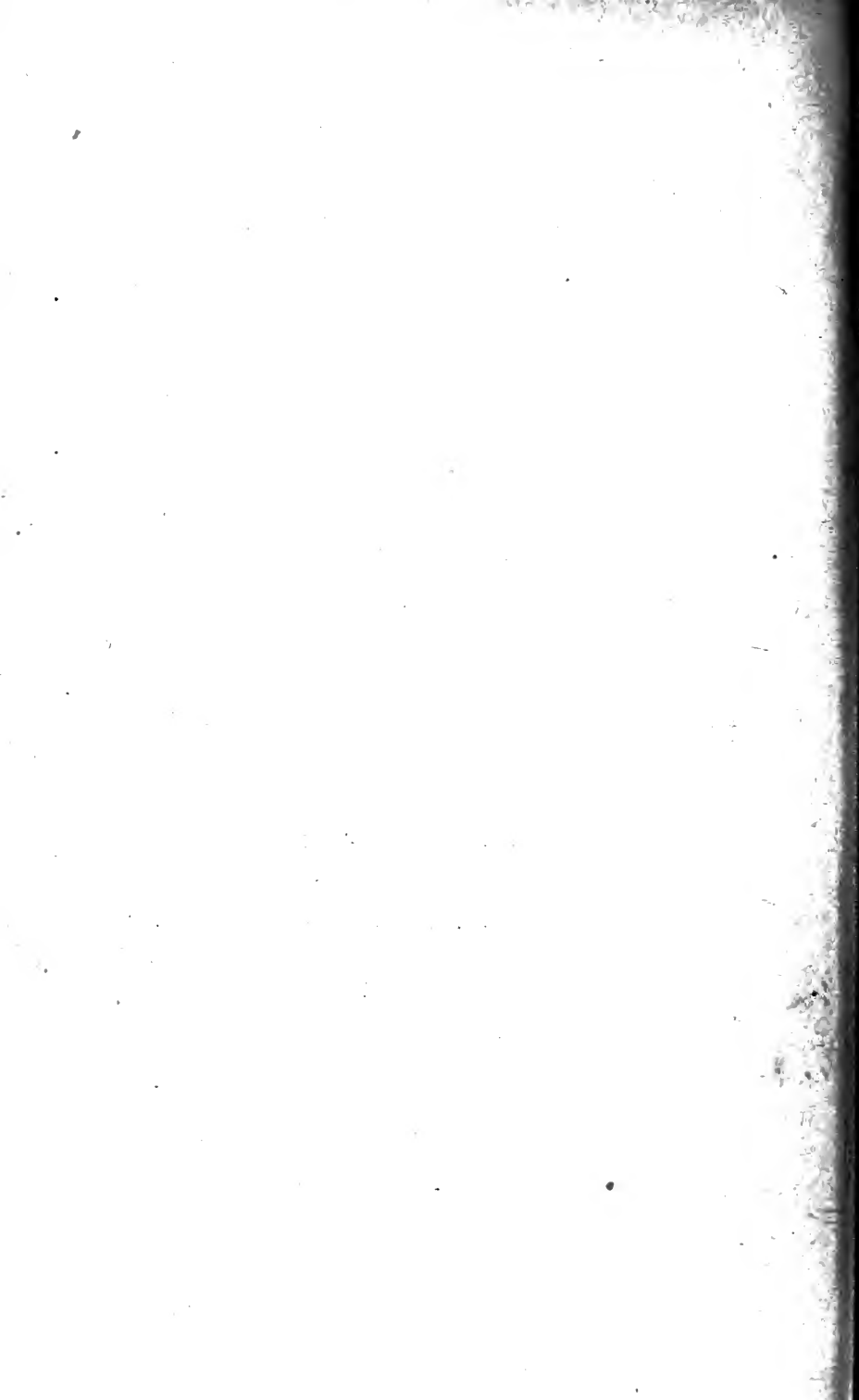
## PART I.

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### LETTERS WRITTEN BEFORE CICERO'S CONSULSHIP.

#### EPP. I.-XII.

A. U. C., . . . . .	686-690
B. C., . . . . .	68-64
AET. CIC., . . . . .	38-42



## PART I.

### CICERO'S EXTANT CORRESPONDENCE COMMENCES

B. C. 68; A. U. C. 686.

CICERO was now 38 years of age. Ten years before he had returned from his travels in Greece and Asia, and shortly after his return (aged about 29) had married Terentia. At the age of 17 he had served under Cn. Pompeius Strabo in the Marsic War. He had filled the quaestorship at the age of 31 (679, b. c. 75), and had distinguished himself by his speech for P. Quintus (673, b. c. 81), and by his daring defence of Sex. Roscius Amerinus and an Arretine woman (674, b. c. 80), against the power of Sulla. He had afterwards, in his defence of Q. Roscius Comoedus (678, b. c. 76), more clearly shown his great qualifications for the Bar. But it was not until he was 36 years old (two years before the date of these letters) that his public life may be said to have begun with the prosecution of Verres (684, b. c. 70). The year after this famous prosecution he became curule aedile, and while holding that office defended A. Caecina, and made the speech for M. Fonteius, charged with misgovernment in Gaul. Except the treatise 'De Inventione Rhetorica' (668, b. c. 86), Cicero had contributed to literature only translations from the Greek, most of which he afterwards retouched, as, for instance, the 'Prognostica' of Aratus. Of these translations we preserve only fragmentary remains.

LETTERS OF THE FIRST YEAR OF CICERO'S CORRESPONDENCE.  
EPP. I.-III.

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A. U. C. 686 ; B. C. 68 ; AET. CIC. 38.

COSS. L. CAECILIUS METELLUS, Q. MARCIUS REX.

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THE year of these letters was marked (in Cicero's private life) by the death of his cousin Lucius and probably (see Ep. II. *note*) of his father. It must have been a little before this time that his brother Quintus married Pomponia, the sister of Atticus.

# CICERO'S CORRESPONDENCE.

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## I. TO ATTICUS, AT ATHENS (ATT. I. 5).

ROME, A. U. C. 686 ; B. C. 68 ; AET. CIC. 38.

De L. Ciceronis fratris patruelis morte, de Q. fratris animo in uxorem suam, Attici sororem, et placando et regendo, de intermissione litterarum, de negotio Acutiliano, de Lucei offensione lenienda, de re Tadiana, de Epirotica emptione Attici, de ornando Tusculano, de Terentiae valetudine et humanitate.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Quantum dolorem acceperim et quanto fructu sim privatus et forensi et domestico Lucii fratris nostri morte in primis pro nostra consuetudine tu existimare potes. Nam mihi omnia, quae iucunda ex humanitate alterius et moribus homini accidere possunt, ex illo accidebant. Qua re non dubito quin tibi quoque id molestum sit, cum et meo dolore moveare et ipse omni virtute officioque ornatissimum tuique et sua sponte et meo sermone amantem, adfinem,

1. *fructu*] *Fructu* is not *enjoyment* simply, but *enjoyment with profit*. The latter idea predominates here. 'What a loss I have sustained both in public and in private life.' Lucius was the *cousin* of Cicero. In *Fin.* v. 1 he expresses the relationship more accurately in calling him 'fratrem, cognatione patruelem, amore germanum.' Lucius, according to Asconius, travelled in Sicily with Cicero, to aid him in collecting evidence against Verres. This explains *forensi*.

*humanitate et moribus*] 'his kindly disposition': a very mitigated specimen of the ἐν διὰ δυνόν so common in the poets

and in Tacitus. Cf. *pro Cluent.* 111, *mores eius et adrogantiam*, and *Att.* i. 12, 3, *servatum et eductum*, 'brought out safely.'

*omni . . . ornatum*] 'graced by every charm of character and manner.' Cf. *summo officio ac virtute virum praeditum*, 2 *Verr.* i. 135, 'a most obliging fellow.'

*adfinem*] Rather loosely used here; properly speaking, Q. Cicero only was the *adfinis* of Atticus, being the husband of Atticus' sister, Pomponia; not even Marcus, the brother of Quintus, still less Lucius the cousin, was *adfinis* to Atticus in strictness of speech.

amicumque amiseris. 2. Quod ad me scribis de sorore tua, testis erit tibi ipsa quantae mihi curae fuerit, ut Quinti fratris animus in eam esset is, qui esse deberet. Quem cum esse offensivorem arbitrarer, eas litteras ad eum misi, quibus et placarem ut fratrem et monerem ut minorem et obiurgarem ut errantem. Itaque ex iis, quae postea saepe ab eo ad me scripta sunt, confido ita esse omnia, ut et oporteat et velimus. 3. De litterarum missione sine causa abs te accusor. Numquam enim a Pomponia nostra certior sum factus esse cui dare litteras possem, porro autem neque mihi accidit ut haberem qui in Epirum profisceretur nequedum te Athenis esse audiebamus. 4. De Acutiliano autem negotio quod mihi mandaras, ut primum a tuo digressu Romam veni, confeceram, sed accidit ut et contentione nihil opus esset, et ut ego, qui in te satis consilii statuerim esse, malletm Peducaeam tibi consilium per litteras quam me dare. Etenim cum multos dies aures meas Acutilio dedissem, cuius sermonis genus tibi notum esse arbitror, non mihi grave duxi scribere ad te de illius queri-

2. *de sorore tua*] For an admirable account of the pettishness of Pomponia, see Att. v. 1, 2. Cicero appears afterwards to completely absolve his brother from blame in his unhappy domestic relations.

*minorem*] Q. was probably about four years younger than M. Cicero—about 34 years of age at the date of this letter.

3. *missione*] *Bombus* conjectures *intermissione*, and this is accepted by Baiter, who compares Fam. vii. 13, 1, where Cic. uses the phrase *intermissionis epistolarum*, but that supplies no reason why we should impugn here *missione* of the mss. The phrase may be rendered exactly, 'You have no right to complain of me as a correspondent': quite similarly in Att. iv. 16, 1, Cicero says, '*De epistolarum frequentia te nihil accuso*,' 'I bring no charge touching your regularity as a correspondent,' which is quite as natural a way of speaking as if he had said *infrequentia, irregularity*. So here he might have said *intermissione*, but did say (quite as correctly) *missione*. Cf. Att. v. 10, 3, *ut meum consilium saepe reprehendam quod non . . . emersem*, where *consilium* really means 'my want of prudence.' Cp. Hor. Sat. ii. 4, 85, *haec . . . reprehendi iustus illis*, where *haec* and *illis* are both pregnant, 'their absence can be more justly found fault with than the

absence of those things which,' &c. This usage is common in Greek.

4. *De Acutiliano negotio*] See Att. i. 4, 1, and Att. i. 8, 1. As the latter letter was written in 687 (b. c. 67), the business must have been unfinished at the end of two years. Well might Cicero say *accidit ut contentione nihil opus esset*, 'it so happened that there was no need of any great haste.'

*confeceram*] Perhaps this may be best taken here as the *epistolary pluperfect*. If not writing a letter, he would have used the *imperf. conficiebam*, 'I meant to finish the business, but,' &c. In a letter, *conficiebam* would mean, 'I am finishing,' so he is forced to use the *pluperf.*, just as in Att. v. 14, *Nunc iter conficiebamus pulverulenta via. Dederam Epheso pridie. Has dedi Trallibus*. See Roby, § 1468.

*duxi*] One would at first sight expect *duxissem*, which Malaspina conjectures, and Bosius pretended to have found in one of his fabricated mss. But *duxi* is quite right. Cicero is defending himself from the charge that he neglected to write, so as to escape the trouble of it. 'Seeing that I endured to listen to Acutilius for several days, I did not think it a great task to write you an account of his complaints, when I made so light of listening to them, which was somewhat a bore.' We should rather have expected a word enhancing



moniis, cum eas audire, quod erat subdiosum, leve putassem. Sed abs te ipso, qui me accusas, unas mihi scito literas redditas esse, cum et otii ad scribendum plus et facultatem dandi maiorem habueris. 5. Quod scribis, etiam si cuius animus in te esset offensior, a me recolligi oportere, *teneo* quid dicas, neque id neglexi, sed est miro quodam modo adfectus. Ego autem, quae dicenda fuerunt de te, non praeterii: quid autem contendendum esset ex tua putabam voluntate statuere me oportere: quam si ad me perscripseris, intelliges me neque diligentiores esse voluisse, quam tu esses, neque negligentiores fore, quam tu velis. 6. De Tadiana re, mecum Tadius locutus est te ita scripsisse, nihil esse iam quod laboraretur, quoniam hereditas usu capta esset. Id mirabamur te ignorare, de tutela legitima, in qua dicitur esse puella, nihil usu capi posse. 7. Epiroticam emptionem gaudeo tibi placere. Quae tibi mandavi et quae tu intelliges convenire nostro Tusculano, velim, ut scribis, cures, quod sine molestia tua facere poteris. Nam nos ex omnibus molestiis et laboribus uno illo in

the meaning of *odiosum*, than a proposition which mitigates as *sub*. Cicero affects words compounded of *sub* in this sense.

*unas*] *unas litteras*, 'one letter,' there being no ambiguity; but *duae litterae* would be 'two letters of the alphabet.' Two, three letters (epistles), &c., must be expressed by the *num. distrib. binae, trinae, &c.*

→ 5. *Quod scribis, &c.*] 'You write that even if somebody is a little offended with you, my part ought to be to bring about a better feeling: I see what you mean; and I did my best to that end; but he feels the matter very deeply. I did not fail to say all that was useful about your case, but how far I should go in my efforts, I thought I should regulate by your wishes, which when you have communicated to me, you will see that I did not care to be more busy than you were yourself, and that on the other hand I shall not be more remiss than you would wish me to be.'

The reference is to Luceius. He mentions the name plainly afterwards (i. 11, 1, &c.; i. 14, 7). It is, however, possible that *cuius animus* might be explained as a reference to some general proposition in Att.'s letter. 'I have a right to look to you to mitigate any offence that may

be taken.' See Ep. xiii. 3. *Teneo* was inserted by Orelli. It might well have fallen out after *-tere*, the last syllable of *oportere*, and it is idle to suppose that the want of a verb here could be accounted for as a justifiable ellipsis. The old commentators defended the ellipsis as a *loquendi genus comicum*, and this would have great weight if it could be proved, for we shall find many coincidences between Cicero's letters and the comic drama. It is natural that there should be close resemblances between the language of familiar letter-writing and the language of familiar dialogue. See Introduction, ii. 2.

6. *De Tadiana re*] Tadius had somehow got into his hands the property of an heiress who was still a ward. He had held her property for the two or more years which would give a right to prescriptive ownership. When the property was claimed for the girl by her lawful guardians, Tadius, by the advice of Atticus, pleaded his prescriptive right. Cicero expresses his surprise that Atticus should not know that no prescriptive right can be acquired to the property of a ward under the care of her statutory guardians. X

7. *Epiroticam*] Near Buthrotum, often mentioned afterwards.

loco conquiescimus. 8. Q. fratrem cotidie exspectamus. Terentia magnos articulorum dolores habet. Et te et sororem tuam et matrem maxime diligit; salutemque tibi plurimam ascribit, et Tulliola, deliciae nostrae. Cura ut valeas et nos ames et tibi persuadeas te a me fraterne amari.

## II. TO ATTICUS, AT ATHENS (ATT. I. 6).

ROME, A. U. C. 686; B. C. 68; AET. CIC. 38.

De mutuo litterarum commercio, de domo Rabiriana Neapoli a M'. Fonteio empta, de animo Q. fratris in Pomponiam, de patris morte, de Tusculano ornando.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Non committam posthac ut me accusare de epistolarum neglegentia possis. Tu modo videto in tanto otio ut par mihi sis. Domum Rabirianam Neapoli, quam tu iam dimensam et exaedicatam animo habebas, M'. Fonteius emit HS CCCXXX. Id te scire volui, si quid forte ea res ad cogitationes tuas pertineret. 2. Q. frater, ut mihi videtur, quo volumus animo est in Pomponiam, et cum ea nunc in Arpinatibus praediis erat et secum habebat hominem *χρηστομαθῆ*, D. Turranium. Pater nobis decessit

8. *articulorum dolores*] 'rheumatism.'

1. *Domum Rab.*] 'Rabirius' house at Neapolis which you had already laid out and completed in your mind's eye, M'. Fonteius has bought for 130,000 sesterces (£1100). For the Roman system of reckoning, see Roby's Latin Grammar, vol. i., Appendix D, §§ i. ii. viii., pp. 440, 441, 447. *Domum Rabirianam* implies that it was the family mansion; *domum Rabirii* would merely express that it was his dwelling.

2. *Arpinatibus*] The name of the estate of Quintus in Arpinum was *Arcanum*. *χρηστομαθῆ*] 'an adept in *belles lettres*,' 'a man of excellent polite learning.'

*Pater nobis d.*] This is a *locus vexatissimus*. Madvig, Boot, and others read *decessit* on the ground that Cicero would not have been so unfeeling as to announce his father's death in such curt terms. Boot urges that he is deeply moved at the death of his slave, Sositheus (Att. i. 12, 4): he might also have noticed Cicero's almost

exaggerated expressions of grief for Lentulus (Att. iv. 6). But if we read *decessit*, we must also read *pater noster decessit*, 'my father left,' instead of *pater nobis decessit*, the ethical dative implying serious loss to oneself. Unless, indeed, we make a further change, and read *a nobis decessit*; and even then it is not probable that Cicero would write, 'my father has left' without mentioning whither he went, or why he thought the fact worth recording. But the chief argument against *decessit* is the alleged evidence of Asconius that Cicero's father did not die till the year 690 (b. c. 64). The passage of Asc. is, however, highly suspicious. In enumerating the competitors of Cicero for the consulship, Asc., in his commentary on the *Or. in Toga Cand.*, writes:—'Duos patricios P. Sulp. Galbam, L. Sergium Catilinam; quattuor plebeios, ex quibus duos nobiles, C. Antonium, L. Cassium Longinum; duo qui tantum non primi ex suis familiis magistratum adepti erant, Q. Cornificium et C. Licinium Sacerdotem.

A. D. IIII. Kal. Decembris. Haec habebam fere quae te scire vellem. Tu velim, si qua ornamenta γυμνασιῶδῃ reperire poteris, quae loci sint eius, quem tu non ignoras, ne praetermittas. Nos Tusculano ita delectamur, ut nobismet ipsis tum denique, cum illo venimus, placeamus. Quid agas omnibus de rebus et quid acturus sis fac nos quam diligentissime certiores.

### III. TO ATTICUS, AT ATHENS (ATT. I. 7).

ROME, A. U. C. 686; B. C. 68; AET. CIC. 38.

De matre Attici Caecilia, de pecunia L. Cincio constituta, de signis mittendis, de bibliotheca ab Attico conficienda.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Apud matrem recte est, eaque nobis curae est. L. Cincio HS xxcd constitui me curaturum Idibus Februariis. Tu velim ea,

Solus Cicero ex competitoribus equestri erat loco natus, *atque in petitione patrem amisit.* Could anything be more abrupt or irrelevant than the words in italics? I believe the passage of Asc. is unsound. Very possibly Asc. wrote *omisit*, as Mr. Harrison, of St. John's College, Cambridge, has suggested to me. It may have been customary in the *professio* to give the father's name with one's own. Cicero may have excited comment by omitting this customary formality. If then, as I think, we may dismiss the testimony of Asconius, there is no urgent reason for doubting that *decessit* is right, and means 'died.' Yet we may acquit Cicero of want of feeling; thus: let us suppose that he had already communicated the death of his father, in a letter to Atticus, now lost; that Atticus in a subsequent letter asked Cicero 'What did you say was the precise date of your father's death?' and that Cicero here replies *pater nobis decessit* A. D. iv. Kal. Dec. 'The date of my poor (nobis) father's death was the fourth day before the kalends.' *Nobis* is itself a tender expression. Cp. ure *mihī*, Prop. iv. 7, 78. Editors do not sufficiently keep before their minds the fact that much that is difficult in these letters arises from the loss of the replies of Atticus.

Prof. A. Palmer has acutely suggested to me a difficulty which besets my attempt to explain *decessit*, 'died,' in a way compatible with Cicero's filial affection. If Cicero writes 'four days before the kalends of Dec.,' he is, of course, referring to Nov. 28 of the year 686, in which he is writing. Now, it is impossible that a letter could have come from Att. between that date and the end of the year. Either, therefore, my explanation is impossible, or this letter should be referred to the year 687. I do not see any reason against adopting the latter course. The question between *discesserat* and *decesserat* rises again in Fam. v. 14, 1, but there *discesserat* has the mss on its side.

γυμνασιῶδῃ] '*objets d'art*,' 'articles of *virtu*.' γυμνάσιον was the name given by the Greeks to the places where philosophers gave lectures. Cicero loved to lay out in the neighbourhood of his villas such places for philosophic discussion or for general conversation. These *gymnasia* consisted of a hall with seats called *exedrae*, and a colonnade (*xystus*), or a walk planted with trees for those who preferred to walk during the disquisition or conversation.

1. *Apud matrem*] 'Your mother and her household are getting on very well.' HS xxcd] This very sum, 20,400

quae nobis emisse te et parasse scribis, des operam ut quam primum habeamus, et velim cogites, id quod mihi pollicitus es, quem ad modum bibliothecam nobis conficere possis. Omnem spem delectationis nostrae, quam, cum in otium venerimus, habere volumus, in tua humanitate positam habemus.

sesterces (£173 8s.), is expressed by quite different symbols in Att. i. 8. It should not surprise us to find such latitude in letters. So the horizontal stroke indicating thousands of sesterces has often to be supplied or not, according to the context. Thus in an English letter if we met the expression 'I gave 100 for a horse,' we should guess it meant £100, not 100 shillings; but if we found 'I gave 1000 for a horse,'

we might not feel quite sure whether the word written was *house* or *horse*. This being so, I follow the practice of those editors who do not supply in the text the horizontal stroke (which is not found in the mss), but leave the symbol as it is found in the mss, adding an explanation, if requisite, in the foot notes.

*conficere*] 'secure.'

LETTERS OF THE SECOND YEAR OF CICERO'S CORRESPONDENCE.

EPP. IV.-VII.

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A. U. C. 687; B. C. 67; AET. CIC. 39.

COSS. C. CALPURNIUS PISO, M'. ACILIUS GLABRIO.

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THIS was the year in which the tribune L. Roscius Otho assigned special seats in the theatre to the equites, and in which the Lex Gabinia gave such large powers to Pompeius to act against the pirates.

## IV. TO ATTICUS, AT ATHENS (ATT. I. 9).

ROME, A. U. C. 687; B. C. 67; AET. CIC. 39.

De litteris crebrius ab Attico ad se dandis, de signis sibi mittendis.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Nimium raro nobis abs te litterae adferuntur, cum et multo tu facilius reperias qui Romam proficeantur quam ego qui Athenas et certius tibi sit me esse Romae quam mihi te Athenis. Itaque propter hanc dubitationem meam brevior haec ipsa epistola est, quod, cum incertus essem ubi esses, nolebam illum nostrum familiarem sermonem in alienas manus devenire.

2. Signa Megarica et Hermas, de quibus ad me scripsisti, vehementer exspecto. Quidquid eiusdem generis habebis, dignum Academia tibi quod videbitur, ne dubitaris mittere, et arcae nostrae confidito. Genus hoc est voluptatis meae: quae γυμνασιώδη maxime sunt, ea quaero. Lentulus naves suas pollicetur. Peto abs te, ut haec diligenter cures. Thyillus te rogat et ego eius rogatu Εὐμολπιδῶν πάτρια.

1. *devenire*] 'find its way by chance,' cf. Brut. 157, *consideranti ad quos ista non translata sint, sed nescio quo pacto devenerint*.

2. *Signa Megarica*] of the Megarian marble called κογχίτης λίθος.

*Academia*] the name given by Cicero to his gymnasium in his Tusculan villa.

*arcae*] *Ex arca solvere* means to pay in money, not by a draft on a banker; but there is no evidence that *arca* implies a ready money payment. In Q. Fr. ii. 12, 5, Cicero says, '*nihil esse quod posthac arcae nostrae fiducia conturbaret*,' it will be his own fault if he should fail through any reliance on my purse,' where there is surely no allusion to ready money. The real *antitheton* to *arca* is *sacculus* or *loculi*. *Arca* is the rich man's purse, or perhaps

rather *safe*, or *strongbox*; while *sacculus* is the poor man's money-bag, Juv. xi. 26, *Ignoret quantum ferrata distet ab arca Sacculus*. The words *sacculus* and *loculi* are combined in Mart. v. 39, 7, *excussi loculosque sacculumque*. The word for paying by draft is *scribere nummos*: see on Ep. lxvi. § 7.

*Genus, &c.*] 'This is the line my fancy takes' (Pretor.)

*Thyillus*] Thyillus, a poet, who afterwards thought of making Cicero's consulship the subject of a poem (Att. i. 16, 15). He now asks Atticus for a description of the 'ritual of the Eumolpidae,' priests of the Eleusinian Ceres at Athens. Doubtless Thyillus wished to introduce into some poem an account of the ritual of the Eleusinian mysteries.

## V. TO ATTICUS, AT ATHENS (ATT. I. 8).

ROME, A. U. C. 687; B. C. 67; AET. CIC. 39.

De matre Caecilia, de controversia Acutiliana, de negotio Tadiano, de Lucecio Attico etiam nunc irato, de pecunia L. Cincio curata, de signis, quibus maximo opere delectetur, mittendis, de Tullioli munusculum flagitante.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Apud te est, ut volumus. Mater tua et soror a me Quintoque fratre diligitur. Cum Acutilio sum lœutus. Is sibi negat a suo procuratore quidquam scriptum esse et miratur istam controversiam fuisse, quod ille recusarit satis dare AMPLIUS ABS TE NON PETI. Quod te de Tadiano negotio decidisse scribis, id ego Tadio et gratum esse intellexi et magno opere iucundum. Ille noster amicus, vir mehercule optimus et mihi amicissimus, sane tibi iratus est. Hoc si quanti tu aestimes sciam, tum quid mihi elaborandum sit scire possim. 2. L. Cincio HS. CCXXX CCXXX CCCC pro signis Megariis, ut tu ad me scripseras, curavi. Hermae tui Pentelici cum capitibus aëneis, de quibus ad me scripsisti, iam nunc me admodum delectant. Qua re velim et eos et signa et

➤ 1. *Apud te est*] 'With your people all is as we wish': Cic. refers to the household of Quintus, where Pomponia was the ruling spirit.

➤ *Is sibi negat*] 'He says he has received no communication from his agent, and expresses his astonishment that that quarrel between you should have arisen from his refusing to give you a guaranty that there would be no further claim on that head.'

PETI.] The present PETI is used technically in legal transactions: see Fam. xiii. 28, 2, and Ver. ii. 60, *iudicatum solvi satis datorios esse dicebant*. But *petiturum* is found, when the accusative before the verb is expressed; cf. Rosc. Com. 35, *Quid ita satis non dedit amplius a se neminem petiturum*, and Brut. 18, *non solvam nisi prius a te cavero amplius eo nomine neminem, cuius petitio sit, petiturum*. In Fam. xiii. 28, 2, Klotz gives the whole passage thus: *sunt duo quae te nominatim rogo: primum ut, si quid satis dandum erit, amplius eo nomine*

*non peti cures, ut satis detur fide mea, deinde, &c.* Thus *cures* is made to govern *peti*. I would read *primum ut, si quid satis dandum erit AMPLIUS EO NOMINE NON PETI, cures ut satis detur fide mea*: 'I beg, first, if any security is to be given guaranteeing the party sued from any further claim on the part of the present claimant, that you will make me responsible for that security.' I print the words in small capitals to draw attention to the fact that the phrase is a legal formula. The low Latin word for a receipt is *apocha*.

*decidisse*] 'to settle a matter out of court.'

*amicus*] sc. Lucecius.

2. HS. CCXXX CCXXX CCCC] See Ep. iii. (Att. i. 7, 1), note.

*curavi*] 'raised.'

*Pentelici*] Of marble from Pentelicus (Mendeli).

*iam nunc*] 'already, even before I have seen them.'

cetera, quae tibi eius loci et nostri studii et tuae elegantiae esse videbuntur, quam plurima quam primumque mittas et maxime, quae tibi gymnasii xystique videbuntur esse. Nam in eo genere sic studio efferimur, ut abs te adiuvandi, ab aliis prope reprehendi simus. Si Lentuli navis non erit, quo tibi placebit imposito. Tulliola, deliciolae nostrae, tuum munusculum flagitat et me ut sponsorem appellat. Mihi autem abiurare certius est quam dependere.

## VI. TO ATTICUS, AT ATHENS (ATT. I. 10).

TUSCULANUM A. U. C. 687; B. C. 67; AET. CIC. 39.

De tempore litterarum dandarum angusto, de Luceio iam a se placando, de signis aliisque ornamentis ab Attico sibi curandis, de bibliotheca Attici a se emenda, de Q. fratris animo, de comitiis suis, de Tulliola de munusculo diem dante.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Cum essem in Tusculano—erit hoc tibi pro illo tuo 'Cum essem in Ceramico,'—verum tamen cum ibi essem, Roma puer a sorore tua missus epistolam mihi abs te adlatam

↗ *eius loci*] 'any articles of *vertu* which may seem suitable to my Academy, my enthusiasm for such things, and your own taste.'

*gymnasii xystique*] See on Att. i. 6, 2.

*quo tibi placebit*] 'put them on board any vessel you please.'

↗ *Tulliola*] 'My darling little Tullia is eager for the gift you promised her, and duns me as your representative. I am determined rather to repudiate than to pay for you.' *Dependere* is a *vox propria* for paying as a representative of another, as is shown by Boot, who compares Fam. i. 9, 9, *dependendum tibi est quod mihi pro illo spopondisti*. Tullia was at this time probably not more than nine years of age. In a letter written the next year (Att. i. 3), Cicero tells of her betrothal, but the matter may have been in prospect now, and this may have been a gift promised by Atticus as a betrothal present. Pliny (Epp. v. 11, 1),

in a passage, perhaps copied from this letter, writes to a friend: *libera tandem hendecasyllaborum meorum fidem qui scripta tua communibus amicis spoponderunt: appellantur quotidie et flagitantur: ac iam periculum est ne cogantur ad exhibendum formulam accipere* ('receive a summons to produce'). Pliny, in some hendecasyllabic verses, had pledged himself that certain compositions of his friend should appear. There was a special action called *actio depensi* granted to *sponsores* who had paid money against those whom they had paid it for.—Sandars' *Justinian*, p. 354.

1. *Cum essem*] '*Being in Tusculanum*—there you have a beginning to correspond with your *being in Ceramicus*—being there, however, I received a letter.'

*verum tamen*] resumes after the parentheses as δ' οὐν and δὴ in Greek, as well as γὰρ (for which Shilleto has so brilliantly vindicated this resumptive force in a note on the *Paraprosbeia*). *Sed*,



dedit nuntiavitque eo ipso die post meridiem iturum eum, qui ad te proficisceretur. Eo factum est, ut epistolae tuae rescriberem aliquid, brevitate temporis tam pauca cogere scribere. 2. Primum tibi de nostro amico placando aut etiam plane restituendo polliceor. Quod ego etsi mea sponte ante faciebam, eo nunc tamen et agam studiosius et contendam ab illo vehementius, quod tantam ex epistola voluntatem eius rei tuam perspicere videor. Hoc te intellegere volo, pergraviter illum esse offensum, sed quia nullam video gravem subesse causam, magno opere confido illum fore in officio et in nostra potestate. 3. Signa nostra et Herme-raclas, ut scribis, cum commodissime poteris, velim imponas, et si quod aliud *οἰκεῖον* eius loci, quem non ignoras, reperies, et maxime, quae tibi palaestrae gymnasiique videbuntur esse. Etenim ibi sedens haec ad te scribebam, ut me locus ipse admoneret. Praeterea typos tibi mando, quos in tectorio atrioli possim includere, et putealia sigillata duo. 4. Bibliothecam tuam cave cuiquam despondeas, quamvis acrem amatorem inveneris: nam ego omnes meas vindemiolas eo reservo, ut illud subsidium senectuti parem. 5. De fratre confido ita esse, ut semper volui et elaboravi. Multa signa sunt eius rei, non minimum, quod soror praegnans est. 6. De comitiis meis et tibi me permisisse memini et ego iam pridem hoc communibus amicis, qui te exspectant, praedico, te non modo non arcessi a me, sed prohiberi, quod intellegam multo magis interesse tua te agere, quod agendum est hoc tempore, quam mea te adesse comitiis. Proinde eo animo te velim esse, quasi

*igitur* are also resumptive particles in Cicero, as *equidem cum audio socrum meam Laeliam (facilius enim . . . didicerunt) sed eam sic audio*, de Or. iii. 45; *recta effectio* (*κατόρθωσιν enim ita appello, &c.*), *recta igitur effectio*, Fin. iii. 45. Boot shows that *tamen* has this force in Fam. ix. 16, 2 (but there it is joined with *sed*), and in Brut. 101—where *tamen* introduces the parenthesis as well as resumes the narrative. So *ergo, autem*.

2. *amico*] Luceius.

*fore in officio et in nostra potestate*] 'that he will be complaisant, and will put himself in my hands.'

3. *scribebam*] 'I am writing,' epistolary imperf. See Roby, § 1468.

▷ *typos*] 'bas-reliefs for insertion in the plaster walls of my antechamber' (Pretor).

*putealia sigillata*] 'embossed well-covers.'

4. *Bibliothecam*] 'Do not on any account betroth your library to anyone, no matter how eager a suitor for it you find. I am hoarding up all my gleanings (savings) to buy it as a support (resource) for my old age.'

6. *De comitiis meis*] For the praetorship, which he filled, A. U. C. 688, B. C. 66. *tibi me permisisse*] 'I do not forget that I gave you free permission' (i.e. to stay away). Cf. *neque discessisset a me nisi ego ei permissem*, Fam. xiii. 71.

*Proinde*] 'I should wish you to feel in this matter just as if I had sent you on my own business to the place you are in. And you will find (and hear from our common friends) that my feelings towards

mei negotii causa in ista loca missus esses. Me autem eum et offendes erga te et audies, quasi mihi, si quae parta erunt, non modo te praesente, sed per te parta sint. Tulliola tibi diem dat, sponsorem me appellat.

## VII. TO ATTICUS, AT ATHENS (ATT. I. 11).

ROME, A. U. C. 687; B. C. 67; AET. CIC. 39.

De Luceio praeter expectationem nondum placato, de signis mittendis, de bibliotheca sibi conservanda, de ceteris rebus iam deterioribus.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Et mea sponte faciebam antea et post duabus epistolis tuis perdiligenter in eandem rationem scriptis magno opere sum commotus. Eo accedebat hortator adsiduus Sallustius, ut agerem quam diligentissime cum Luceio de vestra vetere gratia reconcilianda. Sed, cum omnia fecissem, non modo eam voluntatem eius, quae fuerat erga te, recuperare non potui, verum ne causam quidem elicere immutatae voluntatis. Tametsi iactat ille quidem illud suum arbitrium et ea, quae iam tum, cum aderas, offendere eius animum intellegebam, tamen habet quiddam profecto quod magis in animo eius insederit, quod neque epistolae tuae neque nostra adlegatio tam potest facile delere, quam tu praesens non modo oratione, sed tuo vultu illo familiari tolles, si modo tanti putaris, id quod, si me audies et si humanitati tuae constare voles, certe putabis. Ac ne illud mirere, cur, cum ego antea significarim tibi per litteras me sperare illum in nostra potestate fore, nunc idem videar diffidere, incredibile est quanto mihi videatur illius voluntas obstinatio et in hac iracundia obfirmatio: sed haec aut sanabuntur, cum veneris, aut ei molesta erunt, in utro culpa

you are the same as if any success I may attain (at the election) were attained not only in your presence, but through your instrumentality.

→ Tulliola] 'My little Tullia is for having the law of you, and is dunning me as your representative.'

1. *illud suum arbitrium*] 'that arbitration case (decided by you against him) which he is always harping on.' It is

a very uncritical expedient to read *tuum* against the mss.

*nostra adlegatio*] 'the mission to him that I have undertaken.' *Adlegatio* is private; *legatio*, public.

*idem*] 'yet,' the *nom. masc.*

*ei molesta*] 'he will smart for it who deserves it.' Cp. *id ipsum utrum libebit*, De Sen. 58. A rather unsympathising sentiment.

erit. 2. Quod in epistola tua scriptum erat, me iam arbitrari designatum esse, scito nihil tam exercitum esse nunc Romae quam candidatos omnibus iniquitatibus, nec quando futura sint comitia sciri. Verum haec audies de Philadelpho. 3. Tu velim quae Academiae nostrae parasti quam primum mittas. Mire quam illius loci non modo usus, sed etiam cogitatio delectat. Libros vero tuos cave cuiquam tradas. Nobis eos, quem ad modum scribis, conserva. Summum me eorum studium tenet, sicut odium iam ceterarum rerum: quas tu incredibile est quam brevi tempore quanto deteriores offensurus sis, quam reliquisti.

2. *arbitrari*] The subject of *arbitrari* is omitted by Cicero, as it would no doubt be easily supplied by the reader. We are not forced to suppose with Zumpt that *arbitrari* is here passive. Yet the position of *me*, as well as the *sciri* following, would seem to point to a passive *arbitrari*. The dictt. quote more than one instance of *arbitrari* passive in Cicero's orations, e. g. 2 Verr. v. 106 (where, however, the reading is doubtful); and *pro Mur.* 34, where there is no ms variation. *Arbitrari* is found passive in the comic drama, but there we meet the active form *arbitrare* more than once.

*nihil tam*] 'let me tell you the can-

didates are harassed to an unprecedented degree with all sorts of unreasonable demands.'

3. *Mire quam*] = θαυμαστός ὥς. This is a usage common in the comic drama, as *admodum quam*, Pl. Amph. 541. We find *sane quam*, Q. Fr. ii. 4, 5; *valde quam*, Fam. xi. 13, 3. Livy, xxxvi. 25, has *oppido quam*.

*quas tu . . . reliquisti*] 'you can hardly believe what a great and sudden change for the worse from the state in which you left them you will find in public affairs.' *Quam brevi tempore* is 'in how short a time,' *quam reliquisti* (*deteriores*) is 'worse than you left them.'

LETTERS OF THE THIRD YEAR OF CICERO'S CORRESPONDENCE.  
EPP. VIII., IX.

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A. U. C. 688 ; B. C. 66 ; AET. CIC. 40.

COSS. M. AEMILIUS LEPIDUS, L. VOLCATIUS TULLUS.

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THIS was the year of Cicero's praetorship. While holding that office he defended A. Cluentius Habitus in a very able speech. But the year of his praetorship is rendered memorable chiefly by his speech in favour of the Manilian Law, which gave to Pompeius a commission to carry on the war against Mithridates, with the government of Pontus, Cilicia, and Bithynia. This was his first great political speech. In it he spoke the sentiments of the moderate Optimates, who thought that it was the true policy of the senate to endeavour to make Pompeius the champion of their class.

In this year Cicero's daughter, Tullia, was betrothed to C. Piso. She cannot have been more than ten years of age at this time.

## VIII. TO ATTICUS, AT ATHENS (ATT. I. 3).

ROME, A. U. C. 688 ; B. C. 66 ; AET. CIC. 40.

De morte aviae Attici, de Attico Romae expectato, de signis ab eo missis, de Luceio nondum Attico placato, de Tullia C. Pisoni Frugi desponsa.

## CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Aviam tuam scito desiderio tui mortuam esse et simul, quod verita sit ne Latinae in officio non manerent et in montem Albanum hostias non adducerent. Eius rei consolationem ad te L. Sau-

1. *Aviam*] Does Cicero here seriously announce to Atticus the death of his grandmother, and then pass to jest, and say that her death was due to regret for the long absence of Atticus, adding (in ridicule of the lady, whom we must, with Manutius, conjecture to have been 'too religious') that her death was hastened by a doubt whether the Latin festival would 'come up to time,' and have the due procession of the victims for sacrifice to the sacred mount? Or are we with Mr. Pretor, to regard the whole statement as a piece of pleasantry—'let me tell you that regret for your prolonged absence has been the death of your grandmother'? I hold the former view for these reasons: (1). There is no objection to it. It conflicts with modern notions of good breeding to announce the death of a relative in such a tone: but would a modern letter-writer announce the betrothal of his daughter in the laconic fashion which Cicero adopts in this letter? Cicero knew that Atticus would not feel any real grief for her death, and there existed then no code of taste which ordained that he should affect to believe that Atticus would be grieved. (2). The jest would be intolerably poor on Mr. Pretor's hypothesis, and Cicero would have rather said, 'let me tell you your grandmother will not long survive your protracted absence,' *mortuam esse* not *mortuam esse*. I must again differ from Mr. Pretor in his view that the word understood after *Latinae* is *civitates*, not *feriae*. *Latinae* is used for *Latinae feriae* in Q. Fr. ii. 6, 4, and twice in Cicero's poem on his Consulship, preserved in De Div. i. 18. It is a sort of joke to say of a superstitious

and nervous old woman that her death was due to a doubt whether the Latin festival would come up to time, and duly perform its rites. The personification of the festival, and the attributing to them conscious action, is the matter of the joke such as it is. Make *Latinae* agree with *civitates* and you will have a more regular subject for *manerent* and *adducerent*, but you will also have a serious statement, and not the joke, which lies in the incompatibility of the expression. One may, however, get the meaning which I prefer without personifying *feriae*: the adj. *Latinae* may agree with *mulieres*, the women who would celebrate the Latin festival. Then we should have a regular subject for *manerent*, *adducerent*. Mr. Strachan-Davidson, of Balliol College, Oxford, takes *Latinae* with *civitates*, and explains in a way which certainly saves the joke. The old lady, according to his view, must have been going back to her memory of the Social War, when the fear, *ne Latinae (civitates) in officio non manerent*, must have caused much anxiety. When Cicero wrote, it would be like an alarm 'that Bonaparte was coming' in (say) 1840.

The *Latinae* were celebrated at uncertain periods, as they belonged to the *feriae*, called *conscriptivae* because the magistrate had to appoint (*conscriptum*) the time of their celebration. This was a powerful weapon in the hands of a magistrate, who could, by proclaiming the *feriae Latinae*, suspend public business for a week. See Introduction, i. § 1.

*Eius rei*] 'Saufeius (a follower of the Epicurean school who held that death was no evil) will I suppose send you the

feium missurum esse arbitror. 2. Nos hic te ad mensem Ianuarium exspectamus, ex quodam rumore an ex litteris tuis ad alios missis: nam ad me de eo nihil scripsisti. Signa, quae nobis curasti, ea sunt ad Caietam exposita. Nos ea non vidimus: neque enim exeundi Roma potestas nobis fuit: misimus qui pro vectura solveret. Te multum amamus, quod ea abs te diligenter parvoque curata sunt. 3. Quod ad me saepe scripsisti de nostro amico placando, feci et expertus sum omnia, sed mirandum in modum est animo abalienato: quibus de suspicionibus, etsi audisse te arbitror, tamen ex me, cum veneris, cognosces. Sallustium praesentem restituere in eius veterem gratiam non potui. Hoc ad te scripsi, quod is me accusare de te solebat: at in se expertus est illum esse minus exorabilem, meum studium nec sibi nec tibi defuisse. Tulliolam C. Pisoni L. F. Frugi despondimus.

appropriate consolation for the event.' Saufeius (as we learn from Att. ii. 8, 1) was only too glad to preach a sermon on any text. So Cicero says, 'I shall not deprive him of his theme; I shall leave to him the task of offering you consolation.' All this shows clearly that (as Boot says) Cicero knew very well that Atticus did not need much consolation.

2. *Nos hic te*] 'I am expecting your arrival here by January from some flying rumour, I suppose—or is it from some letter of yours to someone else, for you did not mention it in any letter to me?' Madv. on Fin. ii. 104, *Simonides an quis alius*, has an excellent note on this use of *an*. His conclusion is that comparison of places where it occurs (Fam. vii. 9, 3; Att. i. 3, 2; ii. 7, 3; vii. 1, *fin.*) shows that the phrase is not used for a disjunctive question, *dubium Simonides an quis alius*, but for a direct statement, to which is appended an expression of hesitation about its truth.

3. *Nostro amico*] Luceius.

→ *Sallustium praesentem*] 'I failed to bring about their former friendship between him and Sallustius, though the latter was on the spot (not absent, as you are).

I mention this because Sallustius used to upbraid me with my failure in your case. But he has now found in his own case how sullen Luceius is, and that no good offices of mine were spared either in his own case or in yours.'

*Nec sibi nec tibi*] *Meum studium nec tibi defuisse* is the ms, 'that my good offices were not wanting to you either.' This is defensible; but it is a very slight change to read, with Klotz (2nd ed.), *nec sibi nec tibi*. This is much better than the reading of Graevius, *nec tibi nec sibi*, for it supplies a reason for the corruption: the copyist had written the first *nec*, then he raised his eyes and went on after the second *nec*. This is a common cause of error in mss—the next most common to dittography. The term *parablepsy* might conveniently be used to describe this particular case of it. Boot's suggestion for this passage is very good: 'Hoc ad te scripsi quod is *qui* me accusare de te solebat, in se expertus illum esse minus exorabilem, meum studium *negat* tibi defuisse.' This sounds more like Cicero. Perhaps *negabit* would be still better; *NEC TIBI* might easily have taken the place of *negabit tibi*.

L. F.] Lucii filio.

## IX. TO ATTICUS, AT ATHENS (ATT. I. 4).

ROME, A. U. C. 688 ; B. C. 66 ; AET. CIC. 40.

De Attico ad comitia Q. fratris et ad Acutilianam controversiam transigendam expectato, de condemnatione C. Macri, de signis, ornamentis, libris aut emptis aut emendis.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Crebras expectationes nobis tui commoves. Nuper quidem, cum iam te adventare arbitraremur, repente abs te in mensem Quintilem reiecti sumus. Nunc vero sentio, quod commodum tuo facere poteris, venias ad id tempus, quod scribis : obieris Q. fratris comitia, nos longo intervallo videris, Acutilianam controversiam transegeris. Hoc me etiam Peducaeus ut ad te scriberem admonuit : putamus enim utile esse te aliquando eam rem transigere. Mea intercessio parata et est et fuit. 2. Nos hic incredibili ac singulari populi voluntate de C. Macro transegimus. Cui cum aequi fuisset, tamen multo maiorem fructum ex populi existimatione illo damnato cepimus, quam ex ipsius, si absolutus esset,

1. *reiecti*] 'put off till.'

*sentio*] This is the ms reading, changed by Lambinus to *censeo*. Klotz, in ed. 2nd, rightly restores *sentio*, which is a far more courteous expression than *censeo*.

Q. *fratris comitia*] For the curule aedileship to which he was elected the next year.

2. *Nos hic*] 'I have settled the case of C. Macer, and gained thereby such marked approbation as you would hardly have believed possible. *Though I might have taken a lenient view of the case (might have let him down easily)*, I gave sentence against him, and have reaped much greater benefit from the popular approbation thereof, than I could have gained from his good offices had he been acquitted.'

This was the historian, C. Licinius Macer, who, as *repetundarum reus*, came before Cicero as praetor, and was condemned. This discreditable sentiment has

been mitigated by the edd. from Manutius to Merivale, by a mistranslation of *aequus*. Merivale renders 'I have done him strict justice, yet,' &c., thus confounding *ius* and *aequum*. *Aequus* means *favourable*, *friendly*, as in 'uni *aequus* virtuti atque eius amicis,' '*aequa* Venus Teucris Pallas *iniqua* fuit,' '*aequi* boni facit,' and other places. Casaubon first corrected the mistranslation of *aequi*, but he took *fuisset* as if it were *fuimus*. Boot renders as above, quoting Abeken, 'though I might have let him slip through my fingers.' The subjunctive *fuisset* is both concessive and (elliptically) conditional : 'though I might have taken a lenient view (had I so willed)'. I shall have something to say about another form of elliptical conditional sentence on Ep. xxvii. § 3. The view of the passage which I have given was originated by Tunstall, and is accepted by Boot.

gratia cepissimus. 3. Quod ad me de Hermathena scribis, per mihi gratum est. Est ornamentum Academiae proprium meae, quod et Hermes commune omnium et Minerva singulare est insigne eius gymnasii. Qua re velim, ut scribis, ceteris quoque rebus quam plurimis eum locum ornes. Quae mihi antea signa misisti, ea nondum vidi. In Formiano sunt, quo ego nunc proficisci cogitabam. Illa omnia in Tusculanum deportabo. Caietam, si quando abundare coepero, ornabo. Libros tuos conserva et noli desperare eos me meos facere posse. Quod si adsequor, supero Crassum divitiis atque omnium vicos et prata contemno.

➤ 3. *Est ornamentum*] 'It (the Hermathena) is an ornament appropriate to my Academy, because Hermes is the usual decoration of all such places, and the Minerva is peculiarly suited to mine.'

Athena is (strangely) called by her Latin name, though Hermes is Greek, as well as Hermathena. Does he mean to imply that the peculiar appropriateness of the Hermathena to his *gymnasium* lies *not* in the fact that his Academy takes its name from the *Athenian* Academy, but in the fact that his *gymnasium* was used *solely* for mental not bodily exercise; and does he therefore avoid *Athena*, as suggesting Athens, and use Minerva as pointing to the *intellect*? Of course *Athena* is not found in Latin for *Minerva*, but one might have expected it here, after *Hermathena*. I have not followed Boot in omitting *insigne*, as he is wrong in saying that it rests *only* on the authority of Bosius. It is not found in M, but is in Z, and that not *teste Bosio*, but *teste Lambino*. See Introduction, iii., On the Sources of

the Text.

*ea nondum vidi*] Merely because *nondum* occurs here, Baiter would read *nos ea nondum vidimus* in the preceding letter—a vicious principle; as if because Cicero says, 'I have not yet seen them,' in one letter, he should not say, 'I have not seen them,' in another, more especially as *nondum* is quite necessary here, contrasted as it is with two other points of time, in the words 'quae mihi antea misisti,' and 'quo ego *nunc* proficisci cogitabam.'

*Caietam*] This is the ms reading, usually changed to *Caietanum*; but Klotz justly observes that Cicero may have preferred rather to call his villa *Caieta* than *Caietanum*.

*Crassum*] Crassus is the typical *millionaire* of Roman literature: see Fin. iii. 75; Plin. H. N. xxxiii. 47; Tertull. Apol. ii.

*vicos et prata*] 'I envy no man's manor and demesne': see Font. 19; Fam. xiv. 1, 5.



## LETTERS OF THE FOURTH YEAR OF CICERO'S CORRESPONDENCE.

EPP. X., XI.

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A. U. C. 689 ; B. C. 65 ; AET. CIC. 41.

COSS. L. AURELIUS COTTA, L. MANLIUS TORQUATUS.

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THIS year Cicero devoted chiefly to his canvass for the attainment of the consulship two years thence, 691 (b. c. 63). He could not legally become consul till he was 43 years of age. He offered to defend Catiline, in hopes that Catiline might make common cause with him against the other candidates. He had set his heart on the consulate, and he neglected no means which might achieve success. He refused to defend the uncle of Atticus in a just cause against Caninius Satyrus, whose influence he thought might be useful in his candidature. His son Marcus was born this year. This was the year of the speeches for C. Cornelius.

## X. TO ATTICUS, AT ATHENS (ATT. I. 1).

ROME, A. U. C. 689; B. C. 65; AET. CIC. 41.

Cum M. Ciceronis tempus iustum petendi consulatus appropinquaret, primum Attico exponit rationem petitionis suae et ea ipsa petitionis causa sese excusat, quod Caeilio, Attici avunculo, contra A. Caninium Satyrum in iudicio adesse noluerit.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Petitionis nostrae, quam tibi summae curae esse scio, huius modi ratio est, quod adhuc coniectura provideri possit. Prensatur unus P. Galba: sine fuco ac fallaciis, more maiorum, negatur. Ut opinio est hominum, non aliena rationi nostrae fuit illius haec praepropera pensatio. Nam illi ita negant vulgo, ut mihi se debere dicant. Ita quiddam spero nobis profici, cum hoc percrebrescit, plurimos nostros amicos inveniri. Nos autem initium pensandi facere cogitamus eo ipso tempore, quo tuum puerum cum his literis proficisci Cincius dicebat, in campo, comitiis tribuniciis, A. D.

1. *Petitionis*] 'About the prospects of my candidature, in which I know you are deeply interested, the case stands thus, as far as surmises go—Galba is the only one who is actively making interest for himself. He receives for answer a plain, unvarnished, old-fashioned no. This premature canvass of his, as common report goes, has not been a bad thing for my interests; for their refusal generally takes the form of a statement that they owe their support to me. So I fancy my cause is being served, now that the report gets wind that my supporters are found to be in the majority.' In using the word *petitio* here, Cicero does not imply that he is now engaged in any *petitio*. He only says the prospects of his candidature (when he shall become a candidate) are improved by the *praepropera pensatio* of Galba, who should have waited for the *comitia tribunicia*, the first election in the year, and the time at which *etiquette* prescribed that the *pensatio* should begin. Cicero had not yet begun *pensare*, 'to make interest,' much less *petere*, 'to stand,' for the consulship.

*sine fuco ac fallaciis*] The alliteration is doubtless fortuitous. If it were designed, the phrase might be rendered 'clean and clever.' Cf. for the sentiment, Plaut. Truc. prol. 6:

En mehercle in vobis resident mores pristini  
Ad negandum ut celeri lingua utamini.

*ita . . . ut*] These particles are used with great delicacy by Cicero: see *Introd.*, p. 65. A paraphrase like that in the rendering given above is often necessary to bring out the force of the particles. Cf. *Att. vi. 9, ita se domi ex tuis audisse ut nihil esset incommodum*, 'that the account which he had from your people was incompatible with the idea of anything being wrong.' For *profici*, cp. *Plin. Ep. ix. 40, 2, memoriae . . . proficitur*.

*cogitaramus*] is virtually an imperf., as *cogitavi* (ἐγνώκα) is virtually a present, 'I have made up my mind' = 'I purpose;' but here it is an epistolary tense: hence the pluperf. may here be fairly rendered by the English present, 'I was intending when I wrote,' that is, 'I intend.'

*in campo*] sc. Martio.

xvi. Kalend. Sext. Competitores, qui certi esse videantur, Galba et Antonius et Q. Cornificius. Puto te in hoc aut risisse aut ingemuisse. Ut frontem ferias, sunt qui etiam Caesonium putent. Aquilium non arbitramur, qui denegat et iuravit morbum et illud suum regnum iudiciale opposuit. Catilina, si iudicatum erit meridie non lucere, certus erit competitor. De Aufidio et Palicano

*qui certi esse videantur*] 'to take only those who are certain to stand.' Cp. *quod exstet litteris*, Tusc. i. 38. *Qui modo* is more usual in this case, but *quod meminerim* is common. Boot, who apparently sees something in *qui . . . videantur* not parallel to *quod provideri possit* above, would (with R.), read *videbantur*, the epistolary imperf.

*Puto*] 'I can fancy your smile or sigh as you come to this piece of news. But here is something *à faire frémir*; some think Caesonius will actually stand.' In *hoc* refers to the whole sentence, 'you will smile or sigh (according to the point of view from which you regard the news) when you hear there are no candidates with stronger claims than these.' *Ingenere* really means to groan or growl; a modern English letter-writer would say, 'I fancy you will smile or else swear.' The *groan* is essentially southern: still more, 'the smiting of the forehead.' None of the men had as yet achieved any such personal distinction as would warrant their standing. Q. Cicero, in the *Comment. Pet.* 7, says of these rivals of his brother, especially of Galba, 'vides igitur amplissimis ex familiis homines, quod sine nervis sunt, tibi pares non esse.'

*Ut frontem*] Cp. Brutus, 278, nulla perturbatio animi, nulla corporis, *frons non percussa*, non femur; pedis, quod minimum est, nulla suppositio. Cp. also *imo de pectore cruciabilem suspiratum ducens dextra saeviente frontem replaudens*, Apul. Met. i. 7.

*iuravit*] 'has excused himself on the plea of ill-health, and his unquestioned sway in the law courts.' The position of Aquilius as a *iuris consultus* was really deserving of the term *regnum*; see the eloquent eulogy of him in *pro Caecina* 77; he was the colleague of Cicero in the praetorship. It is to be noticed, then, that a distinguished Roman felt that he was bound to allege some excuse for his conduct, if he did not, having been praetor, aim at the consulship. For the expression *regnum iudic.*, cp. *amisso regno*

*forensi*, Fam. ix. 18, 1. Cic. uses *excusare morbum* in the same sense in Phil. ix. 8, with which cp. *excusare laborem*, Hor. Ep. i. 7, 67.

*Catilina*] Catiline was charged by Clodius with misappropriation of public moneys. Therefore he could not stand for the consulship unless acquitted, that is only 'if the jury bring in a verdict that the sun does not shine at noonday.' The reference is not to the trial of Cat. for extortion as propraetor in Africa; for that trial occurred immediately after Catiline's return from Africa in 688 (b.c. 66). —Reid *pro Sulla*, Introd., § 7.

*Aufidio*] T. Aufidius, mentioned as a jurist in Brut. 179; he had been praetor in Asia, *pro Flacco*, 45. Orelli has changed this reading to *Auli filio*, and has been almost universally followed by the editors; wrongly, as I think I can show: *Aufidio* is the reading of all the mss, and there is no reason why he should not have aspired to the consulship, having been praetor, as well as Palicanus, who had only been tribune, and who was a man of bad character, Val. Max. iii. 8, 3. But Orelli observed that in Att. ii. 3, 1, the ms has *Atilio*, which should be, doubtless, corrected to *A. filio*, i.e. *Auli filio*, i.e. Afranio. Therefore, here he changes Aufidio to *Auli filio*. On Att. i. 4, 3, I have already adverted to the uncritical character of this method. But here is a far more serious case, for above *nondum* might have stood in both places, here *A. filio* cannot stand. For why should Afranius be here called 'the son of Aulus'? In Att. ii. 3, 1, the correction is right, for Cicero is purposely using covert language; he says, 'it is said that a certain acquittal is due to the influence of the son of Aulus, and that Pompeius (whom also he covertly calls *Epiërates*) has been going it strong.' Afranius was well known as a *protégé* of Pompeius, and Atticus would understand what he meant. Besides, at that time Afranius was consul, and Cicero might think it dangerous to criticise him except in covert

non puto te exspectare dum scribam. 2. De iis, qui nunc petunt, Caesar certus putatur. Thermus cum Silano contendere existimatur: qui sic inopes et ab amicis et existimatione sunt, ut mihi videatur non esse ἀδύνατον Curium obducere. Sed hoc praeter me nemini videtur. Nostris rationibus maxime conducere videtur Thermum fieri cum Caesare. Nemo est enim ex iis, qui nunc petunt, qui, si in nostrum annum reciderit, firmior candidatus fore videatur, propterea quod curator est viae Flaminiae:† quae cum erit absoluta, sane facile eum libenter nunc ceteri consuli acciderim.†

phrase. In Att. i. 16, 12, he first calls Afranius *A. filius*, but then he is referring to a matter well known to Atticus. In Att. i. 18, 5, where also he calls Afranius *A. filius* (a letter also written in 694, b. c. 64, the year of Afranius' consulship), the context proclaims who is meant by *Auli filius*. But here (1) there is no objection to *Aufidio* of the mss; (2) there is no occasion for any covert allusion to Afranius; (3) Atticus could not have understood what he meant by *A. filio*. Mr. Watson honestly says, 'Afranius is said to have been called *Auli filius* on account of his own insignificance; *quasi terrae filius*, says Drumann; but it seems a strange expression.' But if it referred to his insignificance, it ought to imply that any little lustre he had was reflected from his father Aulus; now Aulus was quite obscure. Moreover, there are more insignificant men mentioned here, e.g. Palicanus. No: he is never called *Auli filius* until Cicero feared to criticise him unless covertly, and then the context leaves it unmistakable who is meant by the son of Aulus. In Att. i. 18, 5, we have, 'Metellus is an excellent consul; not so Aulus' son'—of course the other consul. There is no reference to insignificance. Having once given him this name in Att. i. 16, 12, Cicero afterwards frequently applies it to him.

2. *De iis qui*] 'Of those who are now canvassing for the year 690 (b. c. 64), Caesar is sure to be elected. It is thought the real struggle will be between Thermus and Silanus, who are so poor in friends and character that it seems to me on the cards to carry Curius against them.'

*et existimatione*] So the mss; Boot and Baier insert *ab* before *existimatione*. Klotz rightly adheres to the mss: *inops ab amicis* is found in *or de domo sua*, 58, and *inops verbis*, Brut. 247. Each of these constructions finds a parallel here.

*Curium*] Boot suggests *Turium*, which is found in the margin of the Med. He thinks Curius was of too bad a character to have had a chance, but this is hardly sufficient ground for abandoning the Med., which should be a lamp unto our path in these letters.

*Nostris . . . acciderim*]. The meaning of the passage is this: 'it would suit my interests best that Thermus should be elected with Caesar (who is certain), for Thermus would be the most formidable rival to me, if left over for my year, because he is commissioner for the repairing of the Flaminian road, and when that is completed his influence will be greatly strengthened' (though it is not great now, as we see above, *qui sic inopes*, &c.).

In the text I have given the unintelligible reading of Med. The best conjecture is perhaps that of Manutius, who gives *quae tunc erit absoluta sane facile: eum libenter nunc Caesari consulem addiderim*; which, I would suggest, might be improved thus: '*quae tunc erit absoluta sane facile: eo libenter Thermum Caesari consulem acciderim*.' The last word is suggested by Boot, but is rejected as being found only in Plautus. But this is in its favour: see Introduction, pp. 59-64. My objection to Manutius' reading is, that it is a mere repetition. Read, therefore, *eo accordingly*, which suits the repetition, 'and that is why I would wish to solder together Thermus and Caesar in the consulship.' Draeger, Hist. Synt., gives no example of *eo* 'accordingly' without correlatives *quo, ut*; but see Fam. vi. 20, 1, *dederam triduo ante . . . litteras ad te: eo nunc ero brevior*; and de Div. ii. 46, *frater es: eo vereor*. *Libenter Thermum for libenter nunc* is a case of dittography—*ter* was left out before *ther*, and this is confirmed by the reading of Z and M; for Z (*teste Lambino*) reads *libenter nunciteri consuli acciderunt*, and

Petitorum haec est adhuc informata cogitatio. Nos in omni munere candidatorio fungendo summam adhibebimus diligentiam et fortasse, quoniam videtur in suffragiis multum posse Gallia, cum Romae a iudiciis forum refrixerit, excurremus mense Septembri legati ad Pisonem, ut Ianuario revertamur. Cum perspexero voluntates nobilium, scribam ad te. Cetera spero prolixa esse, his dumtaxat urbanis competitoribus. Illam manum tu mihi

the margin of M has *nuntiteri* for *nunc ceteri*. Bosius made a very ingenious guess (which of course he fortified by fabricated mss), that there is here a play on the word *Thermum*, which in Greek is *θέρμων*, a lupine, and the word *cicer*, a vetch. The way in which he works out his idea is bad, for it conflicts with the context: but the suggestion recommends itself to those who remember that Cicero can hardly resist a play on a name. Could Cicero have written *eo libenter Thermum ciceri consulem obduxerint*, therefore (when the Flaminian way is finished) they will gladly enough run Thermus against Cicero, the lupine against the vetch.' Or better, if we suppose that *ciceri* could be meant as a pun on *Caesari*, not *Ciceroni*, one might read *eo libenter Thermum ciceri consulem accuderim*, 'therefore I would be glad to pound up together (Thermus and Caesar) the lupine and the vetch in the consulship.' Bosius says he found *libenter nunc ciceri* in XY, which he changes to *libenter Thermum ciceri*: but he might have spared himself here his appeal to his non-existent *codices*, for we may almost say that Z and M have this very reading, so very frequent is the confusion between *c* and *t*, so that *nunciteri* and *nuntiteri* would very probably have been written by a copyist who found *nunciteri*. Koch's and Kayser's reading, suggested by Corradus originally, *libenter municipia consulem accipient* (*acceperint*), is very wide of the mss; and, as Boot observes, '*consulem accipere non erat civium*.' Wesenberg reads *eum Caesari consulem accidere viderim*, a reading chiefly founded on the conjecture of I. F. Gronovius. In favour of making *ciceri* a pun on *Caesari*, it may be mentioned that there is a play on *Sosia* and *socius* in Plaut. Amph. i. 1, 227, 228. However, against this theory it is a strong objection that *ciceri* would more naturally be a play on *Ciceroni*.

The great Roman roads, such as the

Appia, Flaminia, &c., were called *viae praetoriae* or *consulares*, and were overseen by *curatores*; the smaller roads which intersected them were called *viae vicinales*, and were under the charge of *magistri pagorum*.—Momm. St. R. ii. 650.

*informata*] 'in outline,' *ἔσκιαγραφημένα* (Plato); *ὑπογεγραμμένη ὑποτετυπωμένη* (Aristotle).

*Gallia*] Gaul, i. e. Gallia Cispadana, had great influence on elections at Rome. Cicero says of Gaul, cf. *a qua nos . . . tum petere consulatum solebamus*, Phil. ii. 76.

*cum Romae*] 'when the heat of business begins to cool down in the courts I shall take a run to Piso, not returning later than January.'

Piso was consul 687 (b. c. 67), and since had been governor of Gallia Narbonensis. He was afterwards defended by Cicero on a charge of *repetundae*. The *legatio libera* is here referred to. It was a sort of unofficial embassy, which enabled a senator to leave Rome on his own private affairs at the expense of the State. Cicero speaks strongly against the institution, *de Legg.* iii. 18. The last four months of the year were so occupied by holidays and festivals that there was hardly any law business then in Rome.

*Cetera spero*] 'The rest I hope will be plain sailing, provided I have only to deal with the candidates who are now in the city,' or 'with my civilian rivals.' In *pro Mur.* 19, the profession of the jurists is called *urbanam militiam respondendi, scribendi, cavendi*, which, perhaps, rather favours the latter view.

*Illam manum*] 'You, as you are nearer, must guarantee me the support of the following of P.' Some of those who were now with Pompeius in Asia might have returned to Rome before Cicero's election, or, if absent, they might write to their friends in his favour. But perhaps he only means 'you must see that they do not stand against me.'

cura ut praestes, quoniam propius abes, Pompeii, nostri amici. Nega me ei iratum fore, si ad mea comitia non venerit. Atque haec huius modi sunt. 3. Sed est quod abs te mihi ignosci pervelim. Caecilius, avunculus tuus, a P. Vario cum magna pecunia fraudaretur, agere coepit cum eius fratre A. Caninio Satyro de iis rebus, quas eum dolo malo mancipio accepisse de Vario diceret. Una agebant ceteri creditores, in quibus erat L. Lucullus et P. Scipio et is, quem putabant magistrum fore, si bona venirent, L. Pontius. Verum hoc ridiculum est de magistro. Nunc cognosce rem. Rogavit me Caecilius, ut adessem contra Satyrum. Dies fere nullus est quin hic Satyrus domum meam ventitet. Observat L. Domitium maxime: me habet proximum. Fuit et mihi et Q. fratri magno usui in nostris petitionibus. 4. Sane sum perturbatus cum ipsius Satyri familiaritate tum Domitii, in quo uno maxime ambitio nostra nititur. Demonstravi haec Caecilio: simul et illud ostendi, si ipse unus cum illo uno contenderet, me ei satis facturum fuisse: nunc in causa universorum creditorum, hominum praesertim amplissimorum, qui sine eo, quem Caecilius suo nomine perhiberet, facile communem causam sustinerent, aequum esse eum et officio meo consulere et tempori. Durius accipere hoc mihi visus est quam vellem et quam homines belli

3. *Sed est quod*] 'But there is a matter for which I am very anxious to bespeak your kind indulgence. Caecilius, your uncle, having been defrauded of a large sum of money by Varius, has taken an action against A. Caninius Satyrus, the cousin of Varius, for some property which he says was fraudulently made over to him by Varius. All the other creditors made common cause with Caecilius, among whom were Lucullus, Scipio, and Pontius, who, they expect, will act as salesmaster if there is an auction of the goods of Varius. However, it is absurd to talk about who will be salesmaster at present. Now, perpend (*i.e.* mark the matter for which I want your pardon):—Caecilius has asked me to appear for him against Satyrus. Hardly a day passes without Satyrus coming to my house. He is most attentive to Domitius, and next to me.'

*diceret*] 'By a carelessness of expression, the verb of saying or thinking is sometimes put in the subjunctive instead of the thing said. So especially *diceret*,' Roby, 1746. See also Roby, 1722, 1744,

and cp. *cum diceret*, Att. i. 16, 2 (Ep. xxii.) This is what Dr. Kennedy calls the 'virtual oblique.' Cp. also Fam. vii. 16, 3, *quod negent te respondere = quod, ut dicunt, non respondeas*; Att. iv. 1, 6, *quod tuto se negarent posse sententiam dicere = quod, ut dicebant, non possent*: see also note on *reliquisset*, Ep. xxvii. 12. Mayor on Phil. ii. 7 compares the negligent expression in English, 'he went away because he said it was late,' = 'because it was late, as he said.'

4. *perhiberet*] 'without the aid of a lawyer specially retained by Caecilius on his own account.' The word *perhiberet* here bears a very unusual sense. Perhaps Cic. wrote *praehiberet*. Archaic terms are often found in connexion with legal transactions.

*aequum esse*] 'it was fair that Caecilius should consider my obligations (to Satyrus) and my position' (as candidate for consulship). For *tempori*, see Q. Fr. i. 1, 15, note.

*quam homines belli*] 'than is usual in polite society.'

solent et postea prorsus ab instituta nostra paucorum dierum consuetudine longe refugit. Abs te peto, ut mihi hoc ignoscas et me existimes humanitate esse prohibitum, ne contra amici summam existimationem miserrimo eius tempore venirem, cum is omnia sua studia et officia in me contulisset. Quod si voles in me esse durior, ambitionem putabis mihi obstitisse. Ego autem arbitror, etiam si id sit, mihi ignoscendum esse: ἐπεὶ οὐχ ἱερήιον, οὐδὲ βουεῖην. Vides enim in quo cursu simus et quam omnes gratias non modo retinendas, verum etiam acquirendas putemus. Spero tibi me causam probasse, cupio quidem certe. 5. Hermathena

et prorsus] 'and completely dropped our intimacy, which was only of a few days' standing.'

ne contra amici] 'from appearing against a friend in a matter involving his political existence, and in the hour of his greatest need.' A conviction for *dolus malus* would have been followed by *infamia*.

putabis] 'pray, regard it as'; this is the polite future, like opt. with *ἔν* in Greek, e.g., *χαροῖς ἂν εἶσω*.

ἐπεὶ οὐχ ἱερήιον] See II. xxii. 159, 'It is for no paltry prize I am striving.' Cp. Virg. A. xii. 794.

5. *Hermathena*] 'I am wonderfully charmed with the statue you have sent me, and it is so happily placed that you would fancy my school to be an offering at its feet.' Thus has Mr. Pretor, with his usual elegance (and with a skill which so far as it is possible conceals the absurdity of the words here ascribed to Cicero), rendered Klotz' correction of the obelized words, viz.: *ut totum gymnasium eius ἀνάθημα esse videatur*. If anyone can believe that Cicero wrote these words, let him not read the rest of this note. I believe what Cicero wrote to be ἡλίου ἄναμμα, 'the sun's upkindled orb.' The reading of M. is *eliu anaθma*. Here, as often, the Greek words are written in Latin characters. But it is singular that M. is here reported to have a Greek θ, while the other characters are Roman. How does this happen? I have little doubt that this is a case of misreading of the ms. The Roman M in mss was very like a θ lying on its side. The word should therefore be read *anamma*, not *anathma*; ἀνάθημα has no ms authority, but it was supposed that the writer of *anaθma* must have meant ἀνάθημα. *Anamma*, if I am right in my theory, has actually the authority of the

only ms of whose evidence record is preserved. Cicero says, 'the *Hermathena* is so happily placed, that the whole gymnasium (looks most brilliant) seems to have got new life and light.' The ἄναμμα is common in the Stoic philosophy, with which Cicero was very familiar. The sun was described by the Stoics as ἄναμμα νοερόν ἐκ θαλάττης. This phrase is used by Stobaeus to describe Heraclitus' theory of the sun; cp. οἱ δ' ἄστέρες ἐκ θαλάσσης μετὰ τοῦ ἡλίου ἀνάπτονται, Chrys. ap. Plut. *Sto. rep.* 41. For the words ἄναμμα and ἔξαμμα as common Stoic words, see Zeller, *Stoics*, p. 194 (Eng. Trans.) Cicero might have expressed quite the same idea if he had said *ut toti gymnasio sol additus esse videatur*, just as in Att. iv. 8a, 2, he writes *postea vero quam Tyrannio mihi libros deposuit, mens addita videtur meis aedibus*. Light and brilliancy were regarded by the Romans as the best qualities in a house. In Plaut. *Most.* iii. 1, 105-110, Tranio tells Theopropides that Philolaches has bought a house; Theopropides asks, what kind of a house; Tranio replies, *speculiclaras clarorem merum*, 'mirror-bright, brilliancy itself,' to which the answer is *bene hercle factum*. Cp. also *algentem rapiat cenatio solem*, Juv. vii. 182; To me, *claror merus* applied to a house seems a very similar expression to ἡλίου ἄναμμα as used here. I hold that *eius ἀνάθημα* has no meaning; that ἡλίου ἀνάθημα cannot mean 'a shrine of the sun,' or 'a place (or thing) consecrated to the sun'; and that a room could not be described as 'an Elean offering.' In the passage from Pl. *Most.*, I have given *speculiclaras* (the conjecture of Ellis) for *speculo claras*. Prof. Palmer would read *speculoclarus* as a characteristic instance of wrong composition in an O. L. poet. *Speculo claras* can hardly be right.

tua valde me delectat et posita ita belle est, ut totum gymnasium † *eliu anaθma* † esse videatur. Multum te amamus.

## XI. TO ATTICUS, AT ATHENS (ATT. I. 2).

ROME, A. U. C. 689; B. C. 65; AET. CIC. 41.

Exponit M. Cicero de filio sibi nato, de Catilina defendendo, de Attici adventu ad hominum nobilium voluntatem sibi conciliandam a se expectato.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. L. Iulio Caesare C. Marcio Figulo consulibus filiolo me auctum scito salva Terentia. Abs te tam diu nihil litterarum? Ego de meis ad te rationibus scripsi antea diligenter. Hoc tempore Catilinam, competitorem nostrum, defendere cogitamus. Iudices habemus, quos volumus, summa accusatoris voluntate. Spero, si absolutus erit, coniunctiorem illum nobis fore in ratione petitionis: sin aliter acciderit, humaniter feremus. 2. Tuo adventu nobis opus est maturo: nam prorsus summa hominum est opinio tuos familiares, nobiles homines, adversarios honori nostro fore. Ad eorum voluntatem mihi conciliandam maximo te mihi usui fore video. Qua re Ianuario mense, ut constituisti, cura ut Romae sis.

1. L. Iulio Caesare] 'Julius Caesar and Marcus Figulus having been elected consuls, let me tell you that on the same day I was blessed with a son, and that Terentia is doing well.' Cicero refers to the day on which the result of the election was declared; these men were only *consules designati* until the next year.

*summa accusatoris voluntate*] He hints that the accuser, P. Clodius, was in collusion with Catiline, and exercised his right of *reiectio*, 'challenging,' against such jurors as were unfavourably disposed to the accused, a case of *prævaricatio*.

*humaniter feremus*] 'with resignation,' i. e. as part of the 'chances and changes of this mortal life,' ἀνθρωπίνως. Cf. Tusc. ii. 65, *morbos toleranter atque humane ferunt*. The meaning is not 'like a man' (ἀνδρεως)—as Mr. Pretor has it. Plautus affects adverbs in *-ter*, even from

adj. in *-us a, um*, such as *saeviter, blanditer*; the only adverbs in *-ter* in the letters derived from adjectives of three terminations are *humaniter, inhumaniter* (Q. Fr. iii. 1, 21, but *inhumane*, Off. iii. 30, and 2 Verr. i. 138), *turbulenter*, Fam. ii. 16, 7. Adverbs in *-ter* not from adjectives of three terminations, and peculiar to the letters, are, *desperanter, furenter, immortaliter*.

2. *tuos familiares nobiles*] Perhaps Hortensius, Crassus, and Lucullus, who do not seem to have been very friendly to Cicero. He constantly sneers at them in his subsequent letters. But perhaps he refers to the whole class of the *nobiles* who may have been prejudiced against a *homo novus*: cf. Sallust, Cat. 23, *nobilitas quasi pollui cons. credebatur si eum quamvis egregius homo novus adeptus foret*. The latter theory is confirmed by Q. Cic. *Comm. pct.* 4; and the former by Att. i. 19, 6.



LETTER OF THE FIFTH YEAR OF CICERO'S CORRESPONDENCE.  
EP. XII.

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FROM QUINTUS CICERO TO HIS BROTHER MARCUS.

(Commonly called *De Petitione Consulatus Liber*, but more correctly called  
*Commentariolum Petitionis*.)

A. U. C. 690 ; B. C. 64 ; AET. M. CICERONIS, 42.

COSS L. JULIUS CAESAR C. MARCIUS FIGULUS.

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FOR my reasons for including this work in an edition of Cicero's Correspondence, see Introduction, p. 110, *Appendix C*.

M. Cicero's speeches for this year were the *Oratio in Toga Candida*, and the speech for Q. Gallius.

## XII. FROM QUINTUS CICERO TO HIS BROTHER MARCUS, AT ROME.

A. U. C. 690 ; B. C. 64 : AET. M. CICERONIS, 42.

Cum tempus instaret, quo tempore M. Tullius Cicero consulatum ex lege annali petere posset, scripsit ad eum Q. frater hunc libellum, quo docere fratrem suscepit quo modo et quibus artibus consulatum, cuius petitionem proxime suscepturus erat consequi certo posset.

Q. M. FRATRI S. D.

I. 1. Etsi tibi omnia suppetunt, quae consequi ingenio aut usu homines aut intelligentia possunt, tamen amore nostro non sum alienum arbitratus ad te perscribere ea, quae mihi veniebant in mentem dies ac noctes de petitione tua cogitanti, non ut aliquid ex iis novi addisceres, sed ut ea, quae in re dispersa atque infinita viderentur esse, ratione et distributione sub uno aspectu ponerentur. [Quamquam plurimum natura valet, tamen videtur in paucorum mensium negotio posse simulatio naturam vincere.] 2. Civitas quae sit cogita, quid petas, qui sis. Prope cotidie tibi hoc ad forum descendenti meditandum est : ‘*Novus sum, consulatum peto, Roma est.*’ Nominis novitatem dicendi gloria maxime sublevabis. Semper ea res plurimum dignitatis habuit. Non potest, qui dignus habetur patronus consularium, indignus consulatu putari. Quam ob rem quoniam ab hac laude proficisceris, quidquid es, ex hoc es, ita paratus ad dicendum venito, quasi in singulis causis iudicium de omni ingenio tuo futurum sit. 3. Eius facultatis adiumenta, quae tibi scio esse seposita, ut parata ac prompta sint cura, et saepe, quae de Demosthenis studio et exercitatione scripsit De-

1. *consequi . . . possunt*] The letter begins with a *hyperbaton*, which is a marked feature in its style throughout : see §§ 12, 24, 32, 33.

*ut ea quae in re*] ‘to bring together into one focus by a logical arrangement (*hendiadys*) points that in themselves (i. e. in your case) are isolated and without system.’

[*Quamquam . . . vincere*] These words have been rightly transposed to § 42, after

*facere videare.*

2. *dignitatis*] ‘political consideration.’  
*proficisceris*] ‘have this reputation to start with.’

*quasi in singulis*] ‘as if in every case the issue to be tried was, your own character as a man of ability.’

3. *seposita*] ‘your special gifts.’  
*quae de Demosthenis*] See de Div. ii. 96, where the remark of Demetrius Phalereus is given *ut Demosthenem scribit Phalereus*,

metrius, recordare, deinde *vide* ut amicorum et multitudo et genera appareant. Habes enim ea, quae *non multi homines* novi habuerunt: omnes publicanos, totum fere equestrem ordinem, multa propria municipia, multos abs te defensos, homines cuiusque ordinis, aliquot collegia, praeterea studio dicendi conciliatos plurimos adolescentulos, cotidianam amicorum adsiduitatem et frequentiam.

4. Haec cura ut teneas commonendo et rogando et omni ratione efficiendo, ut intellegant, qui debent tua causa, referendae gratiae, qui volunt, obligandi tui tempus sibi aliud nullum fore. Etiam hoc multum videtur adiuvere posse novum hominem: hominum nobilium voluntas et maxime consularium. Prodest, quorum in locum ac numerum pervenire velis, ab iis ipsis illo loco ac numero dignum putari. 5. Hi rogandi omnes sunt diligenter et ad eos adlegandum est persuadendumque iis nos semper cum optimatibus de re publica sensisse, minime populares fuisse: si quid locuti populariter videamur, id nos eo consilio fecisse, ut nobis Cn. Pompeium adiungeremus, ut eum, qui plurimum posset, aut amicum in nostra petitione haberemus aut certe non adversarium. 6. Praeterea adolescentes nobiles elabora ut habéas, vel ut teneas studiosos quos habes: multum dignitatis adferent. Plurimos habes: perfice ut sciant quantum in iis putes esse. Si adduxeris, ut ii, qui non nolunt, cupiant, plurimum proderunt.

II. 7. Ac multum etiam novitatem tuam adjuvat, quod eius modi nobiles tecum petunt, ut nemo sit qui audeat dicere plus illis nobilitatem quam tibi virtutem prodesse oportere. Iam P. Galbam et L. Cassium summo loco natos quis est qui petere consu-

*cum* Rho dicere nequiret, exercitatione fecisse ut planissime diceret.

*non multi homines*] is supplied by Baier from Fam. v. 18, 1. See Adn. Crit.

*propria*] cf. § 35, 'attached to you personally.' The conjecture *praeterea* is unnecessary.

4. *ut intellegant*] 'that it be clearly perceived by those who owe you a service, that this is the time, and no other, for paying their debt: and by those who desire to do you a service that this is the time, and no other, for laying you under an obligation.'

5. *adlegandum*] *adlegare* is used of a private agent, *legare* of a public.

*populares*] 'demagogues.'

7. *quis petere cons. putet*] 'who could look on them as candidates for the consulate?' Kayser's *oportere* after *petere* is not required. Moreover, it weakens the expression, which is intended to be very vehement: cf. or. in tog. cand., *te vero, Catilina, consulatum sperare aut cogitare non prodigium atque portentum est?* Galba seems to have been very poorly supported. See Att. i. 1, 1, and *pro Mur.* 17, *mihi accidit ut cum duobus patriciis, altero improbissimo atque audacissimo, altero moderatissimo atque optimo viro, peterem. Superavi tamen dignitate Catilinam, gratia Galbam.* L. Cassius seems to have been one of the most desperate of the conspirators with Catiline: he is often mentioned in the *Cat. oratt.* and in the

latum putet? Vides igitur amplissimis ex familiis homines, quod sine nervis sunt, tibi pares non esse. 8. At Catilina et Antonius molesti sunt. Immo homini navo, industrio, innocenti, deserto, gratioso apud eos, qui res iudicant, optandi competitores, ambo a pueritia sicarii, ambo libidinosi, ambo egentes. Eorum alterius bona proscripta vidimus, vocem denique audivimus iurantem se Romae iudicio aequo cum homine Graeco certare non posse, ex senatu eiectionem scimus optima verorum censorum existimatione, in praetura competitorem habuimus amico Sabidio et Panthera, quod

*pro Sulla.* Asconius, in his commentary on the *or. in tog. cand.*, enumerates the competitors of Cicero, 'duos patricios, P. Sulp. Galbam, L. Sergium Catilinam; quattuor plebeios, ex quibus duo nobiles, C. Antonium, L. Cassium Longinum; duo qui tantum non primi ex suis familiis magistratum adepti erant, Q. Cornificium et C. Licinium Sacerdotem. Solus Cicero ex competitoribus equestri erat loco natus, atque in petitione patrem amisit.' These last words have an important bearing on the disputed passage *pater nobis discessit*, Att. i. 6, 2. See note on Ep. ii.

*familiis*] 'houses, establishments,' not 'families.'

*sine nervis*] 'ability, vigour:' cf. Fam. vi. 1, 3, quantum in cuiusque animo roboris est ac nervorum.

8. *Antonius*] who was Cicero's colleague in the consulship, and had also been associated with him in the praetorship.

*apud*] 'in the estimation of:' cp. *apud publicanos gratiosus*, 2 Verr. ii. 169.

*Eorum alterius*] C. Antonius. This is explained by *or. in tog. cand.*, and the note of Asconius thereon. Cicero in that speech says, 'quem enim aut amicum habere potest is qui tot cives trucidavit? aut clientem, qui in sua civitate cum peregrino negavit se iudicio aequo certare posse?' Asconius explains that the first question refers to Catiline (see §§ 9, 10); the second to Antonius, who previously despoiled the Greeks in Achaia, having put himself at the head of certain *turmae* of the Sullan army. The Greeks brought Antonius before M. Lucullus, praetor peregrinus. C. Caesar, then a young man, pleaded the cause of the Greeks, and, Lucullus having decided in their favour, Antonius appealed to the tribunes,

declaring that he had no fair play against the Greeks. Antonius was removed from the senate by the censors Gellius and Lentulus for plundering the allies, for refusing to submit to law, and for the general profligacy by which he had dissipated his property.

*bona proscripta*] See *or. in tog. cand.*, alter pecore omni divendito et saltibus prope addictis, pastores retinet ex quibus ait se cum velit subito fugitivorum bellum excitaturum.

*comp. in praet. habuimus*] i. e. the praetorship of Marcus, a. u. c. 688 (b. c. 66). These details we should have expected to have heard of in the *or. pro Mur.*, if nowhere else. There Cicero distinctly states (§ 49) that Catiline was encouraged by the promises of his colleague. *Or. in tog. cand.* says, 'nescis me praetorem primum esse factum, te concessione competitorum, et collatione centuriarum, et meo maxime beneficio postremo tertium in locum esse subiectum.' This last word is explained by Madvig as 'promoted,' by others as 'foisted into,' by some (wrongly) changed to *subiectum* or *subvectum*. On this passage Asconius justly observes, that if Cicero had really defended Catiline, as Fenestella says, he would here have twitted Catiline with the fact as he brings up to Antonius the much slighter service done to him in his suit for the praetorship, and in this very speech Cicero upbraids Q. Mucius, a tribune, with his hostility to him, reminding him how he had defended him on a charge of theft. Again, these words, from the *or. in tog. cand.*, seem quite inconsistent with the theory of Cicero's defence of Catiline, *miser qui non sentias illo iudicio te non absolutum, verum ad ali-quod severius iudicium ac maius supplicium reservatum.*

alios ad tabulam quos poneret non habebat. Quo tamen in magistratu amicam, quam domi palam haberet, de machinis emit. In petitione autem consulatus caupones omnes compilare per turpissimam legationem maluit quam adesse et populo Romano supplicare. 9. Alter vero, di boni! Quo splendore est? Primum nobilitate eadem? Non. Num maiore re? Non. Sed virtute. Quam obrem? Quod ille umbram suam metuit, hic ne leges quidem, natus in patris egestate, educatus in sororis stupris, corroboratus in caede civium: cuius primus ad rem publicam aditus in equitibus Romanis occidendis fuit. Nam illis, quos meminimus, Gallis, qui tum Titiniorum ac Nanniorum ac Tanusiorum capita demetebant, Sulla

*ad tabulam*] 'At the scrutiny of votes.' This word has a technical sense in Roman elections, and is carefully to be distinguished from the *tabellae*. At the election of magistrates each voter was supplied with one ticket (*tabella*, *tesserula*), containing the names or initials of all the candidates, and the voter affixed his mark (*punctum*) to the candidate for whom he voted. The *tabellae* of each century were collected by the *rogatores* and brought back to the presiding magistrate, who put them in the *cista* or *sitella*; these *tabellae* were taken out and counted by the *diribitores*, and the votes, as they were taken out of the *cista*, were by the *custodes* checked off by *puncta* on a *tablet*. This *tablet* was called *tabula*, and this particular stage of the business of election was technically described by the phrase *ad tabulam*. See Varr. R. R. 3, 5, *narrat ad tabulam, cum diriberent, quemdam deprehensum tesserulas conicientem in loculum*. Antonius had no more respectable friends than these obscure foreigners to whom to assign this important duty. The above three classes of officers are mentioned in Pis. 36. In the passing of laws the procedure was different: two *tabellae* were supplied—one for the law (marked V. R. = *uti rogas*, 'as you propose'), the other against it (A = *anti-quo*, 'I reject').

*de machinis*] This was the public platform on which slaves were exposed for sale, also called *catasta*. The same meaning is conveyed by another phrase in Pis. 36, *duos de lapide emptos tribunos*; the *lapis* was the stone on which the *praeco* stood at slave auctions. See Plaut. Bacch. iv. 7, 17, in eo ipso astas lapide ubi praeco praedicat.

*caupones omnes compilare per turp.*

*leg.*] *Caupones* = *parochi*. To change *legationem* of the mss to *adlegationem* destroys the sense. The meaning, no doubt, is this: Antonius accepted a *legatio* when he ought to have been canvassing, and in the character of *legatus* he was very oppressive to the innkeepers and *hospites*, who were obliged to afford to him a certain amount of entertainment. This amount was strictly limited by the Lex Iulia (Att. v. 16, 3, Pis. 90), but its provisions were easily violated with impunity. This is rhetorically called by Quintus 'a robbery of the *caupones*.' This billeting system is called *ἐπιστάθμια* in Att. xiii. 52, 2. The regular Latin for 'billeting' is *deductio*. Antonius, of course, conducted his canvass by proxy. Bücheler reads *Cappadoeces* for *caupones*, supposing Antonius to have had a *legatio* to settle the affairs of Cappadocia after the restoration of Ariobarzanes, and to have acted rapaciously in the discharge of his commission. See Adn. Crit.

9. *Alter*] Catiline.

*Non*] Cf. *pro Mur.*, *senatus num obiviam prodire crimen putat?* Non, sed mercede. Convince. Num sectari multos? Non, sed conductos. See Adn. Crit.

*in sororis stupris*] 'quae Sergia fecit cum aliis; nam Catilinam etiam, sicut Clodium, sororis stupro pollutum esse, ne Marcus quidem fingeat.' Büch.

*Titiniorum ac Nanniorum*] These were victims of the Sullan proscription. For the Nannii, see Att. i. 16, 5.

*demetebant*] 'mowed down,' the conjecture of Gesner for *demebant*, and quite in keeping with the exaggerated tone of the letter.

unum Catilinam praefecerat in quibus ille hominem unum optimum, Q. Caecilium, sororis suae virum, equitem Romanum, nullarum partium, cum semper natura tum etiam aetate iam quietum, suis manibus occidit.

III. 10. Quid ego nunc dicam petere eum consulatum, qui hominem carissimum populo Romano, M. Marium, inspectante populo Romano, vitibus per totam urbem ceciderit, ad bustum egerit, ibi omni cruciatu lacerarit, vivo spiranti collum gladio sua dextera secuerit, cum sinistra capillum eius a vertice teneret, caput sua manu tulerit, cum inter digitos eius rivi sanguinis fluerent? Qui postea cum histrionibus et cum gladiatoribus ita vixit, ut alteros libidinis, alteros facinoris adiutores haberet, qui nullum in locum tam sanctum ac tam religiosum accessit, in quo non, etiam si alia culpa non esset, tamen ex sua nequitia dedecoris

*unum optimum*] 'of singular excellence.'

10. *M. Marium*] He still dwells on the enormities of Catiline, recounting the details of his murder of M. Marius Gratidianus. This Marius gained great popularity by his bill for the regulation of the coinage, in which he stole a march on the tribunes and his colleagues in the praetorship, by proposing alone the bill which they had agreed to put forward in common. Cicero says of him *omnibus viciis statuæ, ad eas tus, cerei; quid multa? nemo unquam multitudini fuit carior*. Off. iii. 80.

*qui . . . ceciderit*] The perfect subjunctives throughout assign reasons why such a man should not be a candidate for the consulship; the imperfect subjunctives *teneret . . . fluerent* merely express the minor details of his reprehensible acts. *Qui ita vixit* must be translated 'and then he lived such a life.' The perfect indicative no longer assigns a reason, only describes a circumstance.

*bustum*] Probably the *bustum Basili* near the city, on the Appian Road, where, as we learn from Att. vii. 9, 1, a friend of Cicero, L. Quintius, was robbed and wounded. Asconius describes the *bustum Basili* thus:—*Via Appia est prope urbem monumentum Basili qui locus latrocinii fuit perinfamis*. But Seneca, in describing this transaction, makes the *bustum Catuli* the scene of the outrage:—*'Mario L. Sulla perfringi crura, erui oculos, amputari manus iussit, et, quasi toties occideret quoties vulnerabat, paulatim et per singulos artus laceravit. Quis erat huius*

*imperii minister? quis nisi Catilina omne facinus in Mario exercens. Sic illum ante bustum Q. Catuli carpebat'* (Sen. *De Ira* iii. 18). Val. Max. ix. 2, 1, places the scene *ad sepulchrum Lutatiae gentis*. Livy (*epit.* 88) says 'Marium senatorii ordinis virum cruribus brachiisque fractis, auri-bus praeseectis, et effossis oculis necavit.' Neither Livy nor Valerius Maximus ascribes the crime to Catiline, but to Sulla.

*vivo spiranti*] cf. *or. in tog. cand.*, 'quod caput etiam tum plenum animae et spiritus ad Sullam usque ab Ianiculo ad aedem Apollinis manibus ipse suis detulit.' This is a strong argument for *spiranti* instead of *stanti*, when we consider how largely Cicero availed himself of the phraseology of this part of his brother's letter in his *orat. in tog. cand.* See especially on *alia culpa*, § 10, and *sicas destringere*, § 12. So also *inspectante populo* in this sentence is borrowed by Marcus: *populum vero, cum inspectante populo collum secuit hominis maxime popularis, quanti faceret ostendit (or. in tog. cand.)*. The *aedes Apollinis* was near the Carmental Gate, between the Forum Oltorium and the Flaminian Circus. Asconius warns us against confounding it with the temple of Apollo on the Palatine, which was not built till after Actium.

*alia culpa*] See *or. in tog. cand.*, 'cum ita vixisti ut non esset locus tam sanctus quo non adventus tuus, etiam cum culpa nulla subesset, crimen adferret.' The allusion is to the case of Fabia, a Vestal, who was tried for unchastity, the charge being an intrigue with Catiline, but was ac-

suspicionem relinqueret, qui ex curia Curios et Annios, ab atriis Sapalas et Carvilius, ex equestri ordine Pompilios et Vettios sibi amicissimos comparavit, qui tantum habet audaciae, tantum nequitiae, tantum denique in libidine artis et efficacitatis, ut prope in parentum gremiis praetextatos liberos constuprarit? Quid ego nunc tibi de Africa, quid de testium dictis scribam? Nota sunt, et ea tu saepius legito. Sed tamen hoc mihi non praetermittendum videtur, quod primum ex eo iudicio tam egens discessit, quam quidam iudices eius ante illud iudicium fuerunt, deinde tam invidiosus, ut aliud in eum iudicium cotidie flagitetur. Hic se sic habet, ut magis timeat, etiam si quieris, quam ut contemnat, si quid commoveris. 11. Quanto melior tibi fortuna petitionis data est quam nuper homini novo C. Caelio! Ille cum duobus hominibus ita nobilissimis petebat, ut tamen in iis omnia pluris essent quam ipsa nobilitas, summa ingenia, summus pudor, plurima beneficia, sum-

quitted. This Fabia was a sister of Terentia, and the latter took refuge with her in the temple of Vesta when Cicero fled from Rome (Fam. xiv. 2, 2). It is this connexion with his own family that makes Cicero careful here to add *etiam cum culpa nulla subesset*. The words of Quintus do not quite so emphatically acquit Fabia: 'even if he did not actually profane the sacred place, such was his vile character that he always left behind him the suspicion of having polluted it.' This was in itself a *culpa*, and this he was always guilty of, even when he committed no actual violation of the sacred character of the place. *Alia culpa* therefore gives an excellent sense, and is strongly confirmed by the parallel passage quoted from the *or. in tog. cand.* See Adn. Crit.

*Curios et Annios*] Friends of Catiline, and senators. Curius is probably the Curius mentioned in Att. i. 1, 2 (if the right reading there be not *Turium*). Asconius says Curius was a gambler, quoting the verse on him—

Et talis Curius pereruditus.

*ab atriis*] 'from the auction-room such men as Sapala and Carvilius,' *atriis auctionariis*: the full name is found in *or. contr. Rull.* i. 7. These men were probably both *praecones*: *tolitur ab atriis Licinii atque a praecone consensu Naevis* pro Quint. 12. See also Juv. vii. 7.

*praetextatos*] cf. *praetextatus adulter*, Juv. i. 78. An exaggeration, quite in keep-

ing with the character of Quintus. See Ep. ad Q. Fr. i. 1, 13.

*de Africa*] which Catiline governed as pro-praetor, A. V. C. 687–8 (b. c. 67–6).

*de testium dictis*] in the trial of Catiline for extortion, A. V. C. 689 (b. c. 65), when Cicero thought of defending him.

*aliud iudicium*] See *or. in tog. cand.*: miser qui non sentias te non absolutum, verum ad aliquod severius iudicium . . . reservatum.

*quieris—commoveris*] I have accepted Orelli's conjecture for *quierit, commoverit*, 'Such is his position that he must rather feel alarm at you as a rival, even though you did not use any efforts towards success, than feel security, if you should use some exertion.'

*contemnat*] see *or. in tog. cand.*: me qua amentia inductus sit ut contemneret constituere non possum. Utrum aequo animo laturum putavit? At in suo familiarissimo (C. Verres, Asconius says) viderat me ne aliorum quidem iniurias mediocriter posse ferre.

11. *C. Caelio*] Caelius Caldus, who was tribune A. V. C. 647 (b. c. 107), and consul with Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, A. V. C. 660 (b. c. 94). Of the other noble competitor over whom he proved successful I can find no record. *Nuper* sometimes refers to a period which we should not call 'recent,' e. g. *nuper, id est, paucis ante saeculis*, N. D. ii. 126.

*ita . . . ut*] 'who, though of the highest rank, yet had in their rank the lowest of their qualifications.' Cp. § 13.

ma ratio ac diligentia petendi. Ac tamen eorum alterum Caelius cum multo inferior esset genere, superior nulla re paene, superavit. 12. Qua re tibi, si facies ea, quae natura et studia, quibus semper usus es, largiuntur, quae temporis tui ratio desiderat, quae potes, quae debes, non erit difficile certamen cum iis competitoribus, qui nequaquam sunt tam genere insignes quam vitiis nobiles. Quis enim reperiri potest tam improbus civis qui velit uno suffragio duas in rem publicam sicas destringere?

IV. 13. Quoniam quae subsidia novitatis haberes et habere posses exposui, nunc de magnitudine petitionis dicendum videtur. Consulatam petis, quo honore nemo est quin te dignum arbitretur, sed multi qui invideant. Petis enim homo ex equestri loco summum locum civitatis atque ita summum, ut forti homini, deserto, innocenti multo idem ille honos plus amplitudinis quam ceteris adferat. Noli putare eos, qui sunt eo honore usi, non videre, tu, cum idem sis adeptus, quid dignitatis habiturus sis, eos vero, qui consularibus familiis nati locum maiorum consecuti non sunt, suspicor tibi, nisi si qui admodum te amant, invidere. Etiam novos homines praetorios existimo, nisi qui tuo beneficio vincti sunt, nolle abs te se honore superari. 14. Iam in populo quam multi invidi sint, quam multi consuetudine horum annorum ab hominibus novis alienati, venire tibi in mentem certo scio. Esse etiam non nullos tibi iratos, ex iis causis, quas egisti, necesse est. Iam illud tute circumspicito, quod ad Cn. Pompeii gloriam augendam tanto studio te dedisti, num quos tibi putes ob eam causam esse amicos. 15. Quam ob rem cum et summum locum civitatis

12. *duas in rem publicam sicas*] This vigorous expression was adopted by Cicero in his election speech: *qui postea quam illo ut conati erant Hispaniensi pugnaculo nervos incidere civium Romanorum non potuerant, duas uno tempore conantur in rempublicam sicas destringere.* (*Orat. in tog. cand.*) Asconius adds '*Hispan. pug. Cn. Pisonem appellat. Duas sicas Catilinam et Antonium appellari manifestum est.*

13. *ita summum ut*] 'a place which, high as it is in itself, yet attains its full grandeur only when held by,' &c.

*idem*] 'the same thing.' One might have expected *eundem*, but this license is not unusual in Cicero's letters: see Fam. ii. 8, 2, cum Pompeio complures dies nullis in aliis nisi de rep. sermonibus versatus sum; *quae* nec possunt scribi,

*nec scribenda sunt*; so Fam. i. 9, 7, tota vero interrogatio mea nihil habuit nisi reprehensionem illius tribunatus; in *quo* omnia dicta sunt libertate animoque maximo. This usage is also found in Latin comedy, and is one of the many coincidences between the diction of Cicero's letters and the Latin comic stage.

14. *consuetudine horum annorum*] Probably an allusion to C. Marius, who was a *novus homo*; or perhaps to Caecilius, see § 11; or perhaps 'the routine of the last few years,' where so few *novi homines* had been elected.

*num quos . . . amicos*] Ern. reads *inimicos*, but there is no need to depart from the mss. The advocacy of the cause of Pompeius would not as yet be a road to the acquisition of influence; it might even be a source of unpopularity.



petas et videas esse studia, quae tibi adversentur, adhibeas necesse est omnem rationem et curam et laborem et diligentiam.

V. 16. Et petitio magistratus divisa est in duarum rationum diligentiam, quarum altera in amicorum studiis, altera in populari voluntate ponenda est. Amicorum studia beneficiis et officiis et vetustate et facilitate ac iucunditate naturae parta esse oportet. Sed hoc nomen amicorum in petitione latius patet quam in cetera vita. Quisquis est enim qui ostendat aliquid in te voluntatis, qui domum ventitet, is amicorum in numero est habendus. Sed tamen, qui sunt amici ex causa iustiore cognitionis aut adfinitatis aut sodalitatis aut alicuius necessitudinis, iis carum et iucundum esse maxime prodest. 17. Deinde ut quisque est intimus ac maxime domesticus, ut is amet et quam amplissimum esse te cupiat, valde elaborandum est, tum ut tribules, ut vicini, ut clientes, ut denique liberti, postremo etiam servi tui: nam fere omnis sermo ad forensem famam a domesticis emanat auctoribus. 18. Denique sunt instituendi cuiusque generis amici; ad speciem, homines illustres honore ac nomine, qui etiam si suffragandi studia non navant, tamen adferunt petitori aliquid dignitatis, ad ius obtinendum, magistratus, ex quibus maxime consules, deinde tribuni pl., ad conficiendas centurias, homines excellenti gratia. Qui abs te tribum aut centuriam aut aliquod beneficium aut habeant aut habere sperent, eos prorsus magno opere et compara et confirma. Nam per hos annos homines ambitiosi vehementer omni studio atque opera elaborarunt, ut possent a tribulibus suis ea, quae pete-

16. *duarum rationum dil.*] 'activity of two kinds, one to be exercised in gaining the zeal of your friends, the other in gaining the good-will of the public.'

*beneficiis et officiis*] 'kindnesses done and repaid.'

*vetustate*] 'long-standing acquaintance-ship' (which may ripen into friendship): cf. *magna enim vis est vetustatis et consuetudinis*, Lael. 68. For this use of *vetustas*, see Fam. xiii. 32, 2; x. 10, 2; xi. 16, 2.

*latius patet*] 'has a wider area.'

*iustiore*] 'regular.'

*sodalitatis*] 'club,' though in strictness 'chapter,' as ostensibly religious.

17. *nam fere*] 'for that report of a man, which is the basis of his public character, has its origin in his private circle.'

18. *cuiusque generis amici*] These are *ad speciem*, 'for show' (cf. Att. i. 18, 1, *ambitiosae fucosaeque amicitiae*); *ad ius obtinendum*, 'to make good the justice of one's claim'; *ad centurias conf.*, 'to get the votes of the centuries': cf. Fam. xi. 16, 3, *mitte ad Lupum ut is nobis eas centurias conficiat*.

*Qui abs te aut tribum*] 'those who through your influence have got or expect the votes of a tribe in the *comitia tributa*, or a century in the *com. centuriata*, or any other favour.' Cp. *ferre tribum* = 'to get the votes of a tribe.' *Habere tribum* has a different sense in Att. iv. 15, 9, where *tribus habet Pompitium*, &c., means 'the tribes from which the jury are to be chosen to try his case are,' &c.

*opera*] Cf. Att. xiv. 14, 6, *omni ope*

rent, impetrare. Hos tu homines quibuscumque poteris rationibus ut ex animo atque ex illa summa voluntate tui studiosi sint elaborato. 19. Quod si satis grati homines essent, haec tibi omnia parata esse debebant, sicuti parata esse confido. Nam hoc biennio quattuor sodalitates hominum ad ambitionem gratiosissimorum tibi obligasti, C. Fundanii, Q. Gallii, C. Cornelii, C. Orchivii: horum in causis ad te deferendis quid tibi eorum sodales receperint et confirmarint scio: nam interfui. Qua re hoc tibi faciendum est, hoc tempore ut ab iis quod debent exigas saepe commonendo, rogando, confirmando, curando ut intellegant nullum se umquam aliud tempus habituros referendae gratiae: profecto homines et spe reliquorum tuorum officiorum et recentibus beneficiis ad studium navandum excitabuntur. 20. Et omnino quoniam eo genere amicitiarum petitio tua maxime munita est, quod ex causarum defensionibus adeptus es, fac ut plane iis omnibus, quos devinctos tenes, discriptum ac dispositum suum cuique munus sit. Et quem ad modum nemini illorum molestus nulla in re umquam fuisti, sic cura ut intellegant omnia te, quae ab illis tibi deberi putaris, ad hoc tempus reservasse.

VI. 21. Sed quoniam tribus rebus homines maxime ad benevolentiam atque haec suffragandi studia ducuntur, beneficio, spe,

*atque opera enitar.* It is chiefly as part of the phrase *magno opere, tanto opere*, &c., that *opere* is used. Cf. Fam. xiii. 7, 1; Ter. Eun. iii. 3, 26.

*ex illa summa vol.*] *Illā* can hardly be right, unless it refers to *omni studio atque opera* above, see § 39; or, unless it be supposed that *illa* points to a proverbial character in the phrase *ex summa voluntate*, 'from the bottom of their hearts, as the saying is.' For *hos . . . elaborato*, see § 29.

19. *Quod si satis*] 'if men had any sense of favours past (which they have not), these sources of influence ought to be now laid up for you to draw upon (you must have a fund of such sources of influence to draw upon), as I am sure they are (as I am sure you have).' Eussner's *parata* for *parata* is unnecessary.

*sodalitates*] Clubs for religious purposes ostensibly, as the *sodalitas germanorum Lupercorum*, mentioned in Cael. 26: cf. Marquardt, iii. 130.

*C. Fundanii*] The mss have *M. Fundanii*. But we do not read elsewhere of a M. Fundanius defended by Cicero. He

defended C. Fundanius in 688 (b. c. 66). Q. Gallius was defended on a charge of bribery in 690 (b. c. 64), C. Cornelius in 689 (b. c. 65). Orchivius was Cicero's colleague in the praetorship, and was tried for peculation, when he seems to have been defended by Cicero.

*receperint et conf.*] 'took on themselves and promised.'

*nam interfui*] an artless and convincing testimony to the authorship of Quintus.

*homines*] Almost used as a dem. pronoun, as in Latin comedy, *nostri hominem = nosti eum*.

*officiorum . . . beneficiis*] *Beneficium* is the original act of kindness or attention which begins the friendship; *officium* the return for the *beneficium*, as may be gathered from Fam. i. 7, 2, *defensio dignitatis tuae propter magnitudinem beneficii tui* fortasse plerisque *officii* maiorem auctoritatem habere videatur quam sententiae. So also Fam. x. 23, 7, *opto ut mihi liceat iam praesenti pietate meorum officiorum tua beneficia tibi facere iucundiora*.

20. *discriptum*] Cf. Att. ii. 1, 4. Bücheler is right in rejecting *descriptum* here.

adiunctione animi ac voluntate, animadvertendum est quem ad modum cuique horum generi sit inserviendum. Minimis beneficiis homines adducuntur, ut satis causae putent esse ad studium suffragationis, nedum ii, quibus saluti fuisti, quos tu habes plurimos, non intellegant, si hoc tuo tempore tibi non satis fecerint, se probatos nemini umquam fore. Quod cum ita sit, tamen rogandi sunt atque etiam in hanc opinionem adducendi, ut, qui adhuc nobis obligati fuerint, iis vicissim nos obligari posse videamur. 22. Qui autem spe tenentur, quod genus hominum multo etiam est diligentius atque officiosius, iis fac ut propositum ac paratum auxilium tuum esse videatur, denique ut spectatorem te suorum officiorum esse intellegant diligentem, ut videre te plane atque animadvertere quantum a quoque proficiascatur appareat. 23. Tertium illud genus est studiorum voluntarium, quod agendis gratiis, accommodandis sermonibus ad eas rationes, propter quas quisque studiosus tui esse videbitur, significanda erga illos pari voluntate, adducenda amicitia in spem familiaritatis et consuetudinis confirmari oportebit. Atque in iis omnibus generibus iudicato et perpendito quantum quisque possit, ut scias et quem ad modum cuique inservias et quid a quoque expectes ac postules. 24. Sunt enim quidam homines in suis vicinitatibus et municipiis gratiosi, sunt diligentes et copiosi, qui etiam si antea non studuerunt huic gratiae, tamen ex tempore elaborare eius causa, cui debent aut volunt, facile possunt. His hominum generibus sic inserviendum est, ut ipsi intellegant te videre quid a quoque expectes, sentire quid accipias, meminisse quid acceperis. Sunt autem alii, qui aut nihil possunt aut etiam odio sunt tribulibus suis, nec habent tantum animi ac facultatis, ut enitantur ex tempore: hos ut inter-noscas videto, ne spe in aliquo maiore posita praesidii parum comparetur.

VII. 25. Et quamquam partis ac fundatis amicitiiis fretum ac

21. *adiunctione animi ac vol.*] 'disinterested sympathy,' 'sincere attachment'—another case of *hendiadys*.

*non intellegant*] 'much less should men whom you have saved fail to understand;'  
*non int.* forms one idea.

23. *accommodandis*] 'by making one's expressed views coincide with those of one's qualities which may seem to have been the source of the good-will.'

*amicitia in spem fam.*] Here *familiaritas* and *consuetudo* indicate a closer degree of friendship than *amicitia*: 'by inducing a hope that the friendship may be strengthened into a close intimacy.'

24. *copiosi*] 'wealthy.' Cp. *copiosa* . . . *mulier*, Div. in Caec. 55.

*ex tempore*] 'on the spur of the moment.' *Spe maiore*: see § 32, note.

munitum esse oportet, tamen in ipsa petitione amicitiae permultae ac perutiles comparantur. Nam in ceteris molestiis habet hoc tamen petitio commodi: potes honeste, quod in cetera vita non queas, quoscumque velis adiungere ad amicitiam, quibuscum si alio tempore agas ut te utantur, absurde facere videare, in petitione autem nisi id agas et cum multis et diligenter, nullus petitor esse videare. 26. Ego autem tibi hoc confirmo, esse neminem, nisi aliqua necessitudine competitorum alicui tuorum sit adiunctus, a quo non facile, si contenderis, impetrare possis, ut suo beneficio promereatur, se ut ames et sibi ut debeas, modo ut intellegat te magni aestimare, ex animo agere, bene se ponere, fore ex eo non brevem et suffragatoriam, sed firmam et perpetuam amicitiam. 27. Nemo erit, mihi crede, in quo modo aliquid sit, qui hoc tempus sibi oblatum amicitiae tecum constituendae praetermittat, praesertim cum tibi hoc casus adferat, ut ii tecum petant, quorum amicitia aut contemnenda aut fugienda sit, et qui hoc, quod ego te hortor, non modo adsequi, sed ne incipere quidem possint. 28. Nam quid incipiat Antonius homines adiungere atque invitare ad amicitiam, quos per se suo nomine appellare non possit? Mihi quidem nihil stultius videtur quam existimare esse eum studiosum tui, quem non noris. Eximiam quamdam gloriam et dignitatem ac rerum gestarum magnitudinem esse oportet in eo, quem homines ignoti, nullis suffragantibus, honore adficient: ut quidem homo nequam, iners sine officio, sine ingenio, cum infamia, nullis amicis, hominem plurimorum studio atque omnium bona existimatione munitum praecurrat, sine magna culpa negligentiae fieri non potest.

25. *potes honeste*] 'you can, without loss of caste, form friendships with any one you please; whom if at any other time you sought to make your friends, you would be thought guilty of unbecoming conduct (of a *bêtise*); whereas when you are a candidate, if you do not make this your object, and an important one, and extend it over a large area, you will be thought a failure as a candidate.' Cp. *nullum argumentum*, 'a wretched argument,' Tusc. ii. 13.

26. *modo ut*] 'provided only he understands that you value his services, that you are in earnest, that he is laying out his good offices to advantage, and that the friendship resulting from them will not

be merely a short electioneering friendship, but a firm and lasting one.' I have inserted a comma after *aestimare*. It is very awkward to make *ex animo agere* depend on *aestimare*, and *te* is easily supplied again. *Ponere* is 'to invest,' as in *pecuniam in praedio ponere, positus in faenore numis*.

28. *quid incipiat . . . quos . . . non possit*] 'what would make him begin . . . when he cannot'?

*per se*] 'unaided.' He would be compelled to have recourse to his *nomenclator* to learn the names of those whom he desired to address.

*officio*] 'readiness to do you a good turn.'

VIII. 29. Quam ob rem omnes centurias multis et variis amicitii cura ut confirmatas habeas. Et primum, id quod ante oculos est, senatores equitesque Romanos, ceterorum ordinum navos homines et gratiosos complectere. Multi homines urbani industrii, multi libertini in foro gratiosi navique versantur, quos per te, quos per communes amicos, quod poteris, summa cura ut cupidi tui sint elaborato, appetito, adlegato, summo beneficio te adfici ostendito. 30. Deinde habeto rationem urbis totius, collegiorum omnium, pagorum, vicinitatum. Ex iis principes ad amicitiam tuam si adiunxeris, per eos reliquam multitudinem facile tenebis. Postea totam Italiam fac ut in animo ac memoria tributim discriptam comprehensamque habeas, ne quod municipium, coloniam, praefecturam, locum denique Italiae ne quem esse patiari in quo non habeas firmamenti quod satis esse possit; 31. perquiras etiam et investiges homines ex omni regione eosque cognoscas, appetas, confirmes, cures, ut in suis vicinitatibus tibi petant et tua causa quasi candidati sint. Volent te amicum, si suam a te amicitiam expeti videbunt. Id ut intellegant, oratione ea, quae ad eam rationem pertinet, habenda consequere. Homines municipales ac rustici, si nobis nomine noti sunt, in amicitia esse se arbitrantur: si vero etiam praesidii se aliquid sibi constituere putant, non amittunt occasionem promerendi. Hos ceteri et maxime tui competitorum, ne norunt quidem: tu et nosti et facile cognoscas, sine quo amicitia esse non potest. 32. Neque id tamen satis est, tametsi magnum est, si non consequatur spes utilitatis atque amicitiae, ne nomenclator solum, sed amicus etiam bonus esse videre. Ita cum et hos ipsos, propter suam ambitionem qui apud tribules suos plurimum gratia possunt, studiosos in centuriis habebis, et ceteros, qui apud aliquam partem tribulium propter municipii aut vicinitatis aut collegii rationem valent, cupidos

29. *quos per te*] I have inserted quod before *poteris*, which sets the context right. *Quos* is governed by *elaborato*, as *hos* in § 18. For *quod poteris* = 'so far as you are able,' see Fam. xiv. 4, 6; Att. x. 2, 2, &c. This passage has been *varie vexatus* by the edd., some of whom almost rewrite the sentence. See Adn. Crit.

30. *tributum diser.*] 'a list in which each town in Italy is entered according to the tribe to which it belonged' (Marq. i. 41.)

*mun. col. praef.*] See *Addenda to the Commentary*, note 1.

31. *si vero*] 'if they think they are gaining a protection for themselves.'

32. *propter suam ambitionem qui*] Q. Cicero affects the figure *hyperbaton*. See on § 1, and *adolescentulorum ad amicitiam aetas*, § 33.

*propter municipii . . . rationem*] 'who from any considerations founded on their municipality, or neighbourhood, or membership of a club, have influence.'

tui constitueris, in optima spe esse debebis. 33. Iam equitum centuriae multo facilius mihi diligentia posse teneri videntur: primum cognosce equites: pauci enim sunt: deinde appetito: multo enim facilius illa adolescentulorum ad amicitiam aetas adiungitur. Deinde habes tecum ex iuventute optimum quemque et studiosissimum humanitatis. Tum autem, quod equester ordo tuus est, sequentur illi auctoritatem ordinis si abs te adhibebitur ea diligentia, ut non ordinis solum voluntate, sed etiam singulorum amicitii eas centurias confirmatas habeas. Iam studia adolescentulorum in suffragando, in obeundo, in nuntiando, in adsectando mirifice et magna et honesta sunt.

IX. 34. Et quoniam adsectationis mentio facta est, id quoque curandum est, ut cotidiana cuiusque generis et ordinis et aetatis utare frequentia. Nam ex ea ipsa copia coniectura fieri poterit quantum sis in ipso campo virium ac facultatis habiturus. Huius autem rei tres partes sunt: una salutatorum cum domum veniunt, altera deductorum, tertia adsectatorum. 35. In salutatoribus, qui magis vulgares sunt et hac consuetudine, quae nunc est, plures veniunt, hoc efficiendum est, ut hoc ipsum minimum officium eorum tibi gratissimum esse videatur. Qui domum tuam venient, iis significato te animadvertere: eorum amicis qui illis renuntient ostendito, saepe ipsis dicito. Sic homines saepe, cum obeunt plures competitores et vident unum esse aliquem qui haec officia maxime animadvertat, ei se dedunt, deserunt ceteros, minutatim ex communibus proprii, ex fucosis firmi suffragatores evadunt. Iam illud teneto diligenter, si eum, qui tibi promiserit, audieris fucum, ut dicitur, facere aut senseris, ut te id audisse aut scire dissimules; si qui tibi se purgare volet, quod suspectum esse se arbitretur, adfirmes te de illius voluntate numquam dubitasse nec debere dubitare. Is enim, qui se non putat satis facere, amicus nullo modo potest esse. Scire autem oportet quo quisque animo sit, ut quantum cui-

33. *ex iuventute optimum quemque*] Cf. Att. iv. 2, 2, *Itaque oratio iuventuti nostrae deberi non potest*, 'therefore the speech must not be an unpaid debt to the rising generation, who are anxiously awaiting it.' So Att. ii. 1, 3, *quae nos scribimus adolescentulorum studiis excitati. suffragando . . . adsectando* 'supporting, going about, telling news, being (generally) in attendance.'

34. *frequentia*] I have supplied this word, with Koch. See §§ 3, 36, 50.

*deductorum*] Cf. Att. ii. 1, 5.

35. *magis vulgares*] 'less select;' *haec cons.* means 'according to the present fashion.'

*communibus*] 'neutral.'

*fucosis*] 'treacherous,' 'untrustworthy.' See Att. i. 18, 1. So *fucum facere*, 'to practise deceit,' 'play tricks.'

que confidas constituere possis. 36. Iam deductorum officium quo maius est quam saluatorum, hoc gratius tibi esse significato atque ostendito et, quod eius fieri poterit, certis temporibus descendito. Magnam adfert opinionem, magnam dignitatem cotidiana in deducendo frequentia. 37. Tertia est ex hoc genere adsidua adsectorum copia. In ea quos voluntarios habebis, curato ut intellegant te sibi in perpetuum summo beneficio obligari: qui autem tibi debent, ab iis plane hoc munus exigo, qui per aetatem ac negotium poterunt, ipsi tecum ut adsidui sint, qui ipsi sectari non poterunt, suos necessarios in hoc munere constituent. Valde ego te volo et ad rem pertinere arbitror semper cum multitudine esse. 38. Praeterea magnam adfert laudem et summam dignitatem, si ii tecum erunt, qui a te defensi et qui per te servati ac iudiciis liberati sunt. Haec tu plane ab iis postulato, ut, quoniam nulla impensa per te alii rem, alii honestatem, alii salutem ac fortunas omnes obtinuerint nec aliud ullum tempus futurum sit ubi tibi referre gratiam possint, hoc te officio remunerentur.]

X. 39. Et quoniam in amicorum studiis haec omnis ratio versatur, qui locus in hoc genere cavendus sit praetermittendum non videtur. Fraudis atque insidiarum et perfidiae plena sunt omnia. Non est huius temporis perpetua illa de hoc genere disputatio, quibus rebus benevolus et simulator diiudicari possit: tantum est huius temporis admonere. Summa tua virtus eosdem homines et simulare tibi se esse amicos et invidere coëgit. Quam ob rem *Ἐπιχάρμειον* illud teneto, 'nervos atque artus esse sapientiae non temere credere.' 40. Et cum tuorum amicorum studia constitueris, tum etiam obtrectatorum atque adversariorum rationes et genera cognoscito. Haec tria sunt: unum, quos laesisti, alterum, qui sine causa non amant, tertium, qui competitorum valde amici sunt. Quos laesisti, cum contra eos pro amico diceres, iis te plane purgato, necessitudines commemorato, in spem adducito te in eorum

36. *quod eius*] Cf. *eius nihil rogatum est*, Att. iii. 23, 3. The change to *quod* is therefore unnecessary. This is a legal expression: see Roby 1297.

*descendito*] sc. in forum.

38. *honestatem*] Cf. Fam. vii. 29, where Curius refers to these three heirlooms of a Roman. But *honorem* of the ms may well be right. Gallius, for instance, gained by the advocacy of Cicero

the enjoyment of the pro-praetorship to which he had been designated.

39. *qui locus*] 'what point under this heading demands special wariness.'

*Non est temporis huius*] 'it does not befit the present occasion.'

*Ἐπιχάρμειον illud*] See Att. i. 19, 8.

40. *rationes*] 'attitude.' This word is very often used by Quintus.

*necessitudines*] 'the close connexion

rebus, si se in amicitiam tuam contulerint, pari studio atque officio futurum. Qui sine causa non amant, eos aut beneficio aut spe aut significando tuo erga illos studio dato operam ut de illa animi pravitate deducas: quorum voluntas erit abs te propter competitorum amicitias alienior, iis quoque eadem inservito ratione qua superioribus et, si probare poteris, te in eos ipsos competitores tuos benevolo esse animo ostendito.

XI. 41. Quoniam de amicitiiis constituendis satis dictum est, dicendum est de illa altera parte petitionis, quae in populari ratione versatur. Ea desiderat nomenclationem, blanditiam, adsiduitatem, benignitatem, rumorem, spem in re publica. 42. Primum id quod facis ut homines noris, significa ut appareat, et auge, ut cotidie melius fiat. Nihil mihi tam popolare neque tam gratum videtur. Deinde id quod natura non habes, induc in animum ita simulandum esse, ut natura facere videare. Quamquam plurimum natura valet, tamen videtur in paucorum mensium negotio posse simulatio naturam vincere. Nam comitas tibi non deest ea, quae bono ac suavi homine digna est. Sed opus est magno opere blanditia, quae etiam si vitiosa est et turpis in cetera vita, tamen in petitione est necessaria. Etenim cum deteriore aliquem adsentando facit, tum improba est: cum amicioiorem, non tam vituperanda, petitori vero necessaria est, cuius et frons et vultus et sermo ad eorum, quoscumque convenit, sensum et voluntatem commutandus et accommodandus est. 43. Iam adsiduitatis nullum est praeceptum, verbum ipsum docet quae res sit. Prodest quidem vehementer nusquam discedere, sed tamen hic fructus est adsiduitatis, non solum esse Romae atque in foro, sed adsidue petere, saepe eosdem appellare, non committere ut quisquam possit dicere (quoad eius consequi possis) se abs te non esse rogatum et valde ac diligenter rogatum. 44. Benignitas

which bound you to advocate your friend.' See § 56, suos magno opere necesarios.

42. *id quod facis ut noris*] 'your practice of recognising.' Cp. alterum mihi, *ut te plurimum diligam, facere* necesse est; alterum *facio* lubenter, *ut . . . colloquar*: Fam. i. 7, 1. In that passage, *facio ut colloquar* is a circumlocution for *colloquor*: see Reid on Lael. 4, where *feci ut prodessem* = *profui*. Here, as *quod* goes before, we should perhaps rather compare the usage noted on *ut irascatur*, § 47.

*cotidie*] 'every day better than before,'

not 'than the day before,' which would be *in dies*.

43. *quoad eius*] *Quoad eius facere* (consequi) possis, in the sense of 'so far as you can compass it,' is a common expression in the letters. *Quod eius* is also found. See on § 36: *quod* is the reading of the best ms here; but *quoad* has the authority of Cod. Pal. Translate, 'it is a good plan not to let anyone (so far as in you lies) have it to say that he was not canvassed—aye, and well and earnestly canvassed by you.' See Adn. Crit.



autem late patet. Est in re familiari, quae quamquam ad multitudinem pervenire non potest, tamen ab amicis si laudatur, multitudini grata est: est in conviviis, quae fac et abs te et ab amicis tuis concelebrentur et passim et tributim: est etiam in opera, quam pervulga et communica, curaue ut aditus ad te diurni nocturnique pateant, neque solum foribus aedium tuarum, sed etiam vultu ac fronte, quae est animi ianua: quae si significat voluntatem abditam esse ac reclusam, parvi re fert patere ostium. Homines enim non modo promitti sibi, praesertim quod de candidato petant, sed etiam large atque honorifice promitti volunt. 45. Qua re hoc quidem facile praeceptum est, ut, quod facturus sis, id significes te studiose ac libenter esse facturum, illud difficilior et magis ad tempus quam ad naturam accommodatum tuam, quod facere non possis, ut id aut . . . . . iucunde neges: quorum alterum est boni viri, alterum boni petitoris. Nam cum id petitur, quod honeste aut sine detrimento nostro promittere non possumus, quo modo si qui roget, ut contra amicum aliquem causam recipiamus, belle negandum est, ut ostendas necessitudinem, demonstres quam moleste feras, aliis te rebus exsarturum esse persuadeas.

XII. 46. Audiui hoc dicere quemdam de quibusdam oratoribus, ad quos causam suam detulis set, 'gratiorem sibi orationem fuisse eius, qui negasset, quam illius, qui recepisset.' Sic homines fronte et oratione magis quam ipso beneficio reque capiuntur. [Verum hoc probabile est, illud alterum subdum tibi homini Platonico suadere, sed tamen tempori tuo consulam.] Quibus enim te propter aliquod officium necessitudinis adfuturum negaris, tamen ii possunt abs te placati aequique discedere: quibus autem idcirco negaris, quod te im-

44. *neque solum*] 'let not only the doors of your house be open, but your face and countenance, which is the door of the mind. If your expression shows that your heart is far away and shrunk into itself, there is little use in your doors being open.'

45. *ut id aut . . . iucunde neges*] Probably the words omitted are *iucunde promittas aut*. The copyist overlooked the words coming between the first *aut* and the second *aut*.

*quo modo*] 'for instance,' like Greek *οἷον*.

*belle*] 'courteously,' 'like a gentleman.'

*ut ostendas*] 'by showing.'

*exsarturum*] 'make up for' this refusal by some future concession; so in Ter. Heaut. i. 1, 91, *facile sumptum exsarcirent suum* is said of slaves who would repay by their labour the cost of their support.

46. *Verum hoc*] 'The one course (*ut iucunde neges*) is easily commended to your approval; the other, (to promise without intending fulfilment) will be rather difficult to commend to a Platonist like you; yet I will say what the occasion demands.' This clause *verum . . . consulam* should, I think, stand as the last clause in § 46.

perditum esse dixeris aut amiciorum hominum negotiis aut gravioribus causis aut ante susceptis, inimici discedunt omnesque hoc animo sunt, ut sibi te mentiri malint quam negare. 47. C. Cotta, in ambitione artifex, dicere solebat se operam suam, quoad non contra officium rogaretur, polliceri solere omnibus, impertire iis, apud quos optime poni arbitraretur: ideo se nemini negare, quod saepe accideret causa cur is, cui pollicitus esset, non uteretur: saepe, ut ipse magis esset vacuus quam putasset: neque posse eius domum compleri, qui tantum modo reciperet quantum videret se obire posse: casu fieri, ut agantur ea, quae non putaris; illa, quae credideris in manibus esse, ut aliqua de causa non agantur: deinde esse extremum, ut irascatur is, cui mendacium dixeris. 48. Id, si promittas, et incertum est et in diem et in paucioribus: sin autem neges, et certe abalienes et statim et plures. Plures enim multo

*amiciorum*] 'greater friends,' the correction of Eussner for *amicorum*. See §§ 42, 49.

47. *C. Cotta*] C. Aurelius Cotta was consul with L. Octavius in 679 (b. c. 75). He is the exponent of the Academic philosophy in *De Nat. Deorum*. Translate 'a master of the art of canvassing.'

*magis vacuus*] 'that he had less engagements than he at first thought.'

*ut esset*] It is best to take *ut esset* as depending on *quod accideret* understood, and the infinitives on *dicere solebat* (*ut aliqua de causa non agantur* depends, like *ut agantur*, on *casu fieri*).

*obire*] 'to compass.'  
*esse extremum*] 'the last thing to happen is that he should be angry,' &c.

*ut irascatur*.] This may be called the explanatory or definitive subjunctive; *eum irasci* would have meant quite the same thing. Cp. Ep. xv. 9. So *retus est lex . . ut idem amici semper velint*, *Plane*. 5, where *ut amici velint* might have been *amicos velle*. The same use of the *definitive subjunctive*, instead of the accusative with infinitive, is exemplified in *illa ratio . . ut putarem*, *Fam.* i. 7, 9 (Ep. exiv.); and *unam rationem . . ut ager emeretur*, *Att.* i. 19, 4 (Ep. xxv.) The best illustration of this usage is found in a comparison of two passages in Cic., *caput . . esse oratoris . . ut videretur*, *De Or.* i. 87, and *caput esse nosse rempublicam*, *ibid.* ii. 337, where the very same idea is expressed in one passage by the subjunctive with *ut*, and in the other by the accusa-

tive with infinitive. See Kennedy, § 195.

48. *Id, si prom.*] If you promise, your incurring the resentment of the applicant (*i.e.* by not fulfilling your promise) is uncertain: secondly, it is deferred for a time (*i.e.* until you have failed to keep the promise): thirdly, it extends to fewer cases (because of the reasons given in the previous section; in some cases the circumstances under which he would make use of your promise may not arise, or the very thing he wants may be brought about by other means, and he may attribute its being effected to you). But a refusal is sure to cost you the support of a large number, and at once (for if you refuse, the applicant will owe you a grudge even though the need of your action may not arise; and if his object happens to be effected by other means, he cannot attribute his success to you: *plures enim multo*, &c.).

For *in diem* cf. *Ter. Phorm.* v. 2, 16: *praesens quod fuerat malum in diem abiit*. I have given in the text the reading of Bücheler, which involves but a very slight modification. The *Id*, in *Id, si promittas*, &c., refers to *ut irascatur is cui mendacium dixeris*, 'if you give the promise, your incurring resentment is problematical (for the need of keeping your promise may not arise); secondly, it is deferred (until you have failed to keep the promise); and the chances that you may incur it are fewer (for the reasons given above).'

sunt qui rogant ut uti liceat opera alterius quam qui utuntur. Qua re satius est ex iis aliquos aliquando in foro tibi irasci quam omnes continuo domi, praesertim cum multo magis irascantur iis, qui negent, quam ei, quem videant ea causa impeditum, ut facere quod promisit cupiat, si ullo modo possit. 49. Ac ne videar aberrasse a distributione mea, qui haec in hac populari parte petitionis disputem, hoc sequor, haec omnia non tam ad amicorum studia quam ad popularem famam pertinere. Etsi inest aliquid ex illo genere, benigne respondere, studiose inservire negotiis ac periculis amicorum, tamen hoc loco ea dico, quibus multitudinem capere possis, ut de nocte domus compleatur, ut multi spe tui praesidii teneantur, ut amiciores abs te discedant quam accesserint, ut quam plurimorum aures optimo sermone compleantur.

XIII. 50. Sequitur enim ut de rumore dicendum sit, cui maxime serviendum est. Sed quae dicta sunt omni superiore oratione, eadem ad rumorem concelebrandum valent: dicendi laus, studia publicanorum et equestris ordinis, hominum nobilium voluntas, adolescentulorum frequentia, eorum, qui abs te defensi sunt, adsiduitas: ex municipiis multitudo eorum, quos tua causa venisse appareat: bene te ut homines nosse *se*, comiter appellare, adsidue ac diligenter petere, benignum ac liberalem esse loquantur et existiment, domus ut multa nocte compleatur, omnium generum frequentia adsit, satis fiat fronte et oratione omnibus, re operaque multis, perficiatur id, quod fieri potest, labore et arte ac diligentia, non ut ad populum ab iis omnibus fama perveniat, sed ut in iis studiis populus ipse versetur. 51. Iam urbanam illam multitudi-

*quem videant ea causa*] literally, 'whom they perceive to be prevented (from keeping his promise) by such a reason as that he would desire to keep it if he possibly could,' that is, 'whom they perceive to be prevented from keeping his promise by a reason so important that his breach of his promise is quite compatible with a genuine desire on his part to do what he promised, if at all possible.' For this idiomatic use of *eas* . . . *ut*, cf. *nec tamen eas cenas quaero ut magnae reliquiae fiant*: Fam. ix. 16, 8, *such a dinner as that there should be*, &c. So Ter. Heaut. ii. 3, 118, *in eum res rediit iam locum ut sit necessum*. See Adn. Crit.

49. *hoc sequor*] 'this is my point of view:' cf. *quid secutus sim in decerendo*, 'what line I took.'

*ex illo genere*] 'which comes under the head of conciliating friends' (*amicorum studia*.)

50. *ad rumorem concelebrandum*] 'the vigorous prosecution of good report:' cf. *studia concelebrare*, De Inv. i. 4.

*ut homines nosse se . . . loquantur . . . versetur.*] The subjunctives *loquantur et existiment . . . compleatur . . . adsit . . . satisfiat . . . perficiatur*, are definitive subjunctives (see § 47, and exiv. § 1). They are co-ordinate with the nominatives which are the subjects of *ad rumorem concelebrandum valent*. The accusative with the infinitive might have been used throughout instead of these subjunctives, and would have been, had Latin possessed an article like Greek. The last two subjunctives in the sentence, *ut perveniat* and *ut*

nem et eorum studia, qui contiones tenent, adeptus es in Pompeio ornando, Manilii causa recipienda, Cornelio defendendo; excitanda nobis sunt, quae adhuc habuit nemo quin idem splendorum hominum voluntates haberet. Efficiendum etiam illud est, ut sciant omnes Cn. Pompeii summam esse erga te voluntatem et vehementer ad illius rationes te id adsequi, quod petis, pertinere. 52. Postremo tota petitio cura ut pompae plena sit, ut illustris, ut splendida, ut popularis sit, ut habeat summam speciem ac dignitatem, ut etiam, si qua possit, nova competitoribus tuis exsistat aut sceleris aut libidinis aut largitionis accommodata ad eorum mores infamia. 53. Atque etiam in hac petitione maxime videndum est, ut spes rei publicae bona de te sit et honesta opinio, nec tamen in petendo [res publica] capessenda est neque in senatu neque in contione. Sed haec tibi sunt retinenda, ut senatus te existimet ex eo, quod ita vixeris, defensorem auctoritatis suae fore, equites Romani et viri boni ac locupletes ex vita acta te studiosum otii ac rerum tranquil-larum, multitudo ex eo, quod dumtaxat oratione in contionibus ac iudicio popularis fuisti, te a suis commodis non alienum futurum.

XIV. 54. Haec veniebant mihi in mentem de duabus illis commentationibus matutinis, quod tibi cotidie ad forum descen-denti meditandum esse dixeram: 'Novus sum, consulatum peto.' Tertium restat: 'Roma est,' civitas ex nationum conventu con-

*versetur*, depend on *perficiatur*; 'that no possible means be neglected to bring about this—that the public should not merely hear at second hand of all these popular practices of yours, but should themselves be brought face to face with them' (should themselves be the observers or the objects of your courtesy and kindness). Cicero would, of course, never have written a sentence like this. I have inserted *se* after *nosse*; cp. *esse*, § 35.

51. *Manilii causa recipienda*] 'under-taking the case of Manilius,' for Cicero was never called on to fulfil his promise of defending Manilius, as the latter absconded before his trial. On laying down his tribunate, Manilius was accused by one of the *nobiles*. Plutarch, in his Life of Cicero, ch. ix., says it was a charge of theft (κλοπή) that was brought against Manilius. Dio Cassius (xxxvi. 44) is more vague: *δίκης τέ τινος πρὸς τῶν δυνατῶν παρασκευασθείσης*.

*Cornelio defendendo*] We have scanty fragments of two speeches for C. Corne-

lius, delivered A. V. C. 689 (b. c. 65) (Ascon. in Corn.).

*vehementer*] 'and that it would perfectly fall in with his plans that you should gain the office you seek.'

52. *pompae*] 'display.'

53. *nec tamen in pet. capessenda est*] sc. *spes reip. bona et honesta opinio*; 'but this is not to be eagerly sought during your canvass by your sentiments expressed to senate or people; during your canvass you must rather think of offending no class. You will do more harm than good if in that stage of the business you run after popularity too much; it should come from your past life. I have followed Baehrens in bracketing *res publica*, which would have been suggested to the copyist by its frequent association with *capessere*.

*Haec tibi sunt retinenda*] 'consilia publica in senatu contioneque reticenda tibi sunt et reservanda,' Büch.

54. *Haec*] 'This is what occurred to me on the subject of the two first morn-

stituta in qua multae insidiae, multa fallacia, multa in omni genere vitia versantur: multorum adrogantia, multorum contumacia, multorum malevolentia, multorum superbia, multorum odium ac molestia perferenda est. Video esse magni consilii atque artis in tot hominum cuiusque modi vitiis tantisque versantem vitare offensionem, vitare fabulam, vitare insidias, esse unum hominem accommodatum ad tantam morum ac sermonum ac voluntatum varietatem. 55. Qua re etiam atque etiam perge tenere istam viam, quam institisti: excelle dicendo: hoc et tenentur Romae homines et adliciuntur et ab impediendo ac laedendo repelluntur. Et quoniam in hoc vel maxime est vitiosa civitas, quod largitione interposita virtutis ac dignitatis oblivisci solet, in hoc fac ut te bene noris, id est, ut intellegas eum esse te, qui iudicii ac periculi metum maximum competitoribus adferre possis. Fac se ut abs te custodiri atque observari sciant: cum diligentiam tuam, cum auctoritatem vimque dicendi, tum profecto equestris ordinis erga te studium pertimescent. 56. Atque haec ita volo te illis proponere, non ut videre accusationem iam meditari, sed ut hoc terrore facilius hoc ipsum, quod agis, consequare: et plane sic contende omnibus nervis ac facultatibus, ut adipiscamur quod petimus. Video nulla esse comitia tam inquinata largitione, quibus non gratis aliquae centuriae renuntient suos magno opere necessarios. 57. Qua re, si advigilamus pro rei dignitate et si nostros ad summum studium benevolos excitamus et si hominibus gratis studiosisque nostri suum cuique munus describimus et si competitoribus iudicium proponimus, sequestribus metum

ing reflections, which I suggested to you, in saying that every day as you go to the forum you should say to yourself, 'I am a *novus homo*; I am a candidate for the consulate.' The third still remains, namely, 'the scene of my honour is to be Rome;' which he then proceeds to describe.

*odium ac molestia*] *odium* is 'tiresomeness;' *molestia* is 'vexation.' Cp. *odium non molestam*, Att. xiii. 52, 2.

*fabulam*] 'scandal,' 'gossip.'

*esse unum . . . varietatem*] 'to be all things to all men, however widely their characters, sentiments, and feelings may differ.'

55. *cum . . . tum*] 'not only . . . but.'

56. *accusationem iam meditari*] This is

fully explained by a passage in the Or. pro Murena, 43, *simul atque candidatus accusationem meditari visus est, honorem videtur desperasse*. And again, in the same speech (44), we have *non placet mihi inquisitio candidati, praenuntia repulsae*.

*Video*] 'I am convinced that never is an election so stained by corruption, but that some centuries return without any bribery the candidates to whom they feel themselves morally bound.'

57. *nostros benevolos*] 'our well-wishers,' cf. *suos magno opere necessarios*, above, § 56, and *tui benevolentis*, Plaut. Trin. i. 2, 8, another coincidence between the diction of the letter and the comic stage.

*si competitoribus*] 'if we hold up before the eyes of our rivals the prospect of the

iniicimus, divisores ratione aliqua coërcemus, perfici potest ut largitio aut nulla sit aut nihil valeat. 58. Haec sunt, quae putavi non melius scire me quam te, sed facilius his tuis occupationibus colligere unum in locum posse et ad te perscripta mittere. Quae tametsi ita sunt scripta, ut non ad omnes, qui honores petant, sed ad te proprie et ad hanc petitionem tuam valeant, tamen tu, si quid mutandum esse videbitur aut omnino tollendum aut si quid erit praeteritum, velim hoc mihi dicas. Volo enim hoc commentariolum petitionis haberi omni ratione perfectum.

law courts, and thoroughly inspire their agents with fear' (of detection and punishment). Bribery at Rome was an art. Three different sets of agents were employed: (1) *interpretes*, who made the bargain, Verr. i. 36; (2) the *sequestres*, with whom the money to be used as a bribe was deposited, Cluent. 72; (3) the *divisores*, who distributed the money to the persons bribed, Att. i. 16, 12.

58. *his tuis occupationibus*] This is a good example of what Roby (§ 1242) calls the ablative of attendant circumstances. He quotes *tabulas in foro summa hominum frequentia exscribo*. This usage will be frequently met in the letters, and will afterwards be more fully illustrated. *commentariolum petitionis*] 'handbook of electioneering.'

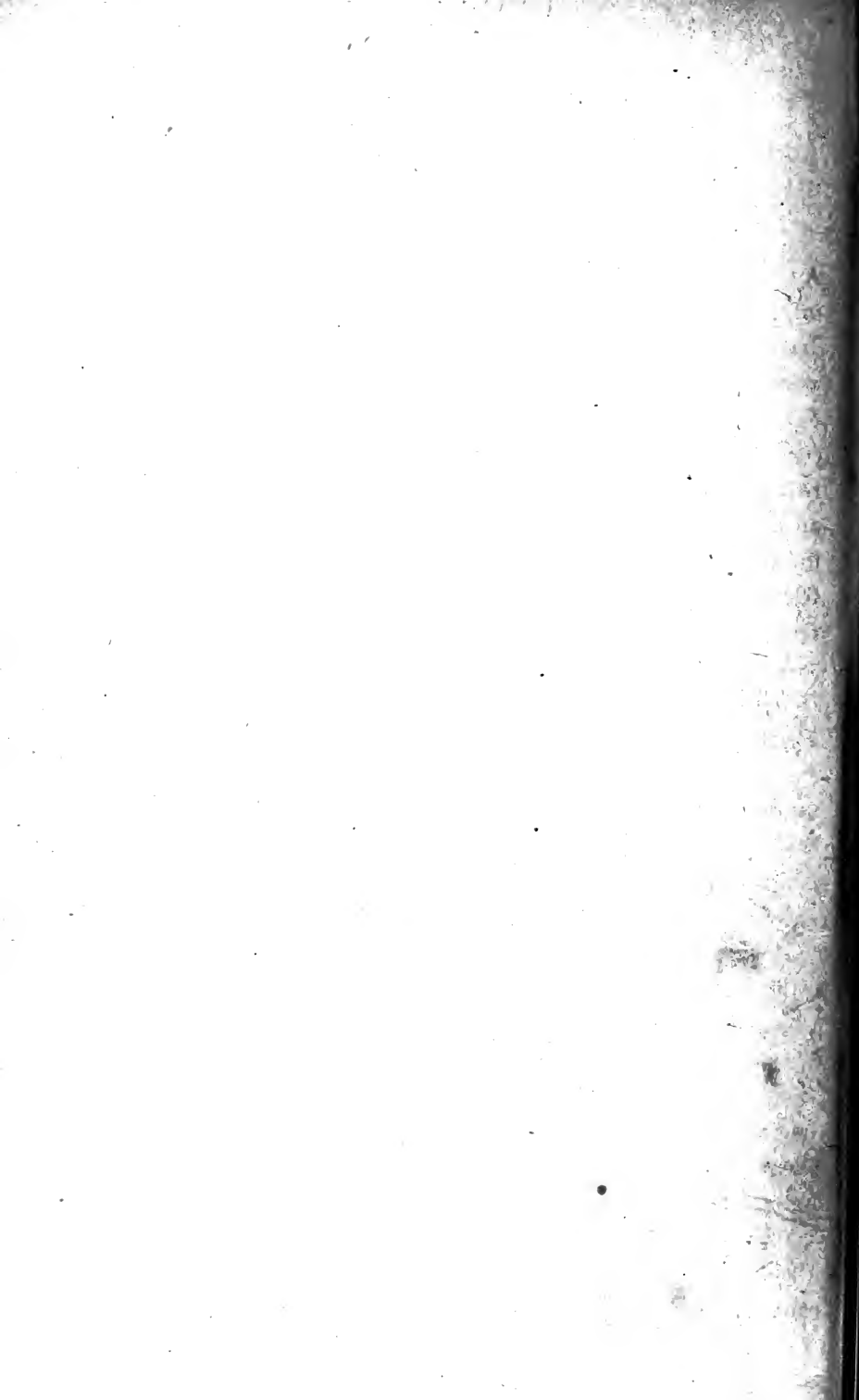
## PART II.

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THE CORRESPONDENCE OF CICERO, FROM ITS RESUMPTION  
AFTER HIS CONSULSHIP TO HIS EXILE.

EPP. XIII.-LV.

A. U. C., . . . . .	692-695
B. C., . . . . .	62-59
AET. CIC., . . . . .	44-47





## PART II.

AFTER July, 689 (b. c. 65), we have no letters from Cicero for more than two years, and only one to him—the letter of Quintus. His correspondence with Atticus does not recommence for three years and a-half. Cicero concludes his last letter (Ep. xi.), written July, 689, with the words, *qua re Ianuario mense, ut constituisti, cura ut Romae sis*. Atticus seems to have complied with this request, and to have remained at Rome for three years, after an absence in Athens of twenty-two years. Cicero's next letter to Atticus (Att. i. 12) was written on the Kalends of January, 693 (b. c. 61), when Atticus had left Rome for Epirus, where he remained until the end of 694 (b. c. 60). Atticus then returned to Rome for a few months, but went back to Epirus in May, 695 (b. c. 59), and remained there till November, when he again visited Rome.

The year of Cicero's celebrated consulship, with C. Antonius as colleague, need not be dwelt on here. It was marked by the delivery of the *Orationes Consulares*, of which a list is given (Att. ii. 1, 3), in a passage not unreasonably suspected of spuriousness, as it omits the speeches *pro Murena* and *pro Pisone*, and contains some rather un-Ciceronian expressions. One of the most important of these speeches was the *or. pro Rabirio*, as it turns mainly on the question whether the senatorial decree *videant consules ne quid detrimenti respublica capiat* really invested the consuls with absolute power over the lives of seditious citizens; and this was the question on which depended the legality or illegality of the execution of Lentulus and his accomplices—the act which led to the exile of Cicero.

For a discussion of Cicero's conduct in the suppression of the Catilinarian conspiracy, and a description of the circumstances which led to his exile and restoration, see Introduction, i. § 1.

## LETTERS OF THE SEVENTH\* YEAR OF CICERO'S CORRESPONDENCE.

EPP. XIII.-XVI.

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A. U. C. 692; B. C. 62; AET. CIC. 44.

COSS. D. JUNIUS SILANUS, L. LICINIUS MURENA.

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THIS year the Catilinarian conspiracy was completely crushed, and Catiline himself slain in an engagement with Petreius, the legate of Antonius, Cicero's colleague.

Cicero's correspondence recommences with a letter to Pompeius; a letter from Q. Metellus Celer with Cicero's answer to it; and a letter to P. Sestius, in which he mentions the purchase of his house on the Palatine from M. Crassus for HSxxxv (about £30,000).

In this year Cicero defended P. Sulla, and his former colleague Antonius. He also pleaded the cause of the poet Archias before his brother Quintus, who was one of the praetors. Caesar, who also was a praetor, proposed to transfer to Pompeius the dedication of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and in many ways sought to effect a reconciliation with him. In this course he was aided by the tribune Metellus Nepos, who had refused to allow Cicero to address the people on laying down his consulship. They attempted to procure for Pompeius the command against Catiline. Caesar and Metellus were suspended from their functions (see letter XV.). Metellus fled to the camp of Pompeius. Caesar was reinstated in his office.

\* That is, the seventh from the commencement of the extant correspondence.

## XIII. TO CN. POMPEIUS MAGNUS, IN ASIA (FAM. V. 7).

ROME, A. U. C. 692; B. C. 62; AET. CIC. 44.

M. Cicero Cn. Pompeio propter Mithridatem victum gratulatur: de rebus suis gestis, quibus coniurationem L. Catilinae oppresserit, sibi Cn. Pompeium non gratulum esse aegre fert, sperat tamen res gestas suas, si ipse Pompeius in patriam redierit, ab illo agnitionem iri.

M TULLIUS M. F. CICERO S. D. CN. POMPEIO CN. F. MAGNO  
IMPERATORI.

1. S. T. E. Q. V. B. E. Ex litteris tuis, quas publice misisti, cepi una cum omnibus incredibilem voluptatem: tantam enim spem otii ostendisti, quantam ego semper omnibus te uno fretus pollicebar. Sed hoc scito, tuos veteres hostes, novos amicos, vehementer litteris his percussos atque ex magna spe deturbatos iacere. 2. Ad me autem litteras, quas misisti, quamquam exiguum significationem tuae erga me voluntatis habebant, tamen mihi scito iucundas fuisse: nulla enim re tam laetari soleo quam meorum officiorum conscientia, quibus si quando non mutue respondetur, apud me plus officii residere facillime patior. Illud non dubito, quin, si te mea summa erga te studia parum mihi adiunxerint, res publica nos inter nos conciliatura coniuncturaque sit. 3. Ac ne ignores quid ego in tuis litteris desiderarim, scribam aperte, sicut

M. TULLIUS] M. Tullius Cicero, Marci filius, salutem dicit Gnaeo Pompeio, Gnaei filio, Magno, Imperatori.

1. S. T. E. Q. V. B. E.] *Si tu exercitusque valetis, bene est.* This, with other like greetings, we might pronounce to be a formal, stiff manner of address, but that we find that Cicero uses one of these forms in his letters to Terentia; he never employs any such in writing to confidential friends. The form used in some of his letters to Terentia is S. V. B. E. E. V. = *si vales bene est; ego valeo*. It seems then to have been the Roman *etiquette* to use this deferential form of address towards persons in a very high position, towards strangers, and towards women. See Att. ii. 9, 1, note.

*publice*] 'officially.'  
*veteres hostes, novos amicos*] He probably refers to Caesar and the popular

party, who seem to have desired to effect a reconciliation with Pompeius. Caesar, as praetor in 692 (b. c. 62), proposed to transfer from Catulus to Pompeius the dedication of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. *deturbatos*] 'cast down from their towering hopes.'

2. *officiorum conscientia*] 'the consciousness of my services to my friends, for which, if in any instance no fair return is made, I am quite content that the balance of services done should be on my side.' *Si quando* shows that the proposition is general.

*conciliatura*] 'bring about and cement a union between us.'

3. *desiderarim*] Cicero had written to Pompeius an account of his consulship, and thought that Pompeius in his reply had spoken too coldly of his achievements.

et mea natura et nostra amicitia postulat. Res eas gessi, quarum aliquam <sup>some</sup> in tuis litteris et nostrae necessitudinis et rei publicae causa gratulationem exspectavi: quam ego abs te praetermissam esse arbitror, quod vererere ne cuius <sup>born</sup> animum offenderes. Sed scito ea, quae nos pro salute patriae gessimus, orbis terrae iudicio ac testimonio comprobari. Quae, cum veneris, tanto consilio tantaeque animi magnitudine a me gesta esse cognosces, ut tibi multo maiori, quam Africanus fuit, iam me, non multo minorem quam Laelium, facile et in re publica et in amicitia adiunctum esse patiare.

#### XIV. FROM Q. METELLUS CELER, IN CISALPINE GAUL (FAM. V. 1).

A. U. C. 692; B. C. 62; AET. CIC. 44.

Queritur Q. Metellus Celer, qui consule M. Cicerone praetor fuerat, ex praetura autem superiori Galliae procos. praeerat, fratrem suum Metellum Nepotem a M. Cicerone in senatu esse oppugnatum.

#### Q. METELLUS Q. F. CELER PROCOS. S. D. M. TULLIO CICERONI.

1. Si vales, bene est. Existimaram pro mutuo inter nos animo et pro reconciliata gratia nec absentem ludibrio laesum iri nec Metellum fratrem ob dictum capite ac fortunis per te oppugnatum iri. Quem si parum pudor ipsius defendebat, debebat vel familiae nostrae dignitas vel meum studium erga vos remque publicam

*cuius animum*] See on Ep. i. 5.

*Laelium*] Cicero's ideal period of the Roman Republic was the epoch of Scipio and Laelius. It has been remarked that he takes from that period chiefly the interlocutors in his philosophical dialogues.

*Procos.*] Cicero had given up his right to a province, conceding Macedonia to his colleague, and Cisalpine Gaul to this Q. Metellus Celer, praetor, 691, who is therefore called proconsul, as governor of a province, though he had never been consul. *Proconsul* is the title of one who is sent to a *warlike* province with a military force; *propraetor* of one sent to a *peaceful* province. Marq. i. 521.

1. *ludibrio laesum*] Explained in next

letter, § 1, as also *ob dictum* in § 8.

*capite ac fortunis*] 'should have an assault made on his civil existence and his property.' An exaggeration: see next letter, note on § 9.

*pudor ipsius*] Either (1) 'the respect due to him,' *ipsius* being the objective genitive, like *pudor patris*, Ter. And. i. 5, 27; or (2) 'his own scrupulousness, the sense of propriety displayed by him,' *ipsius* being the subjective genitive. The last view is the best: cp. *omnium qui tecum sunt pudor*, Ep. xxx. 18; besides Cicero does not use the objective genitive in the case of pronouns, but prepositions, as in *eos, erga me*. Draeg. Hist. Synt. i. 469.

*vos*] 'you and your party.'

satis sublevare. Nunc video illum circumventum, me desertum a quibus minime conveniebat. 2. Itaque in luctu et squalore sum, qui provinciae, qui exercitui praesum, qui bellum gero. Quae quoniam nec ratione nec maiorum nostrorum clementia administratis, non erit mirandum, si vos paenitebit. Te tam mobili in me meosque esse animo non sperabam. Me interea nec domesticus dolor nec cuiusquam iniuria ab re publica abducet.

XV. TO Q. METELLUS CELER, IN CISALPINE GAUL  
(FAM. v. 2).

(IN REPLY TO THE FOREGOING LETTER.)

ROME, A. U. C. 692; B. C. 62; AET. CIC. 44.

M. Cicero superioribus Q. Metelli litteris respondet eo, quod sua in eum officia commemorat, nec fratrem eius se oppugnasse sed oppugnanti restitisse contendit. Laudat Celeris erga fratrem pietatem suamque fidem pollicetur.

M. TULLIUS M. F. CICERO Q. METELLO Q. F. CELERI  
PROCOS. S. D.

1. Si tu exercitusque valetis, bene est. Scribis ad me 'te existimasse pro mutuo inter nos animo et pro reconciliata gratia numquam te a me ludibrio laesum iri.' Quod cuius modi sit satis intellegere non possum, sed tamen suspicor ad te esse adlatum me in senatu cum disputarem permultos esse qui rem publicam a me conservatam dolerent, dixisse a te propinquos tuos, quibus negare non potuisses, impetrasse, ut ea, quae statuisses tibi

2. *squalore*] Another exaggeration. Metellus Nepos was threatened with deprivation by the senate, and this threat was subsequently carried out. Under these circumstances, had Metellus Celer been in Rome, he might have assumed mourning, but certainly not in his absence from Rome. So above, the *infamia* which would have followed this act of the senate is hyperbolically described as *capitis diminutio*.

*nec ratione nec*] 'unreasonably, and without the courtesy of the old régime,' a sneer at Cicero as a *novus homo*: in the good old times there were no such clever upstarts as Cicero to make the members of the grand old families look ridiculous

when they spoke or acted foolishly. But perhaps Metellus wrote some such words as *nec maiorum nostrorum nec clementiae habita ratione*. The sentence as it stands is somewhat strange. However, we are not to look for the clearness and accuracy of Cicero in the letters of his correspondents. See Introduction, ii. § 2, p. 57.

*mobili*] 'fickle, changeable;' generally 'excitable, impressionable.' See Q. Fr. i. 2, 5, note.

*sperabam*] Cp. for the use of *sperabam* = 'I apprehended' *nihil speres mali*. Ep. xix. 2; and for *esse*, cp. *speramus esse otium*, Ep. xxvii. 11. So ἐλπίζειν and ἐλπίς are used of 'foreboding.'

in senatu de mea laude esse dicenda, reticeres. Quod cum dicerem, illud adiunxi, mihi tecum ita dispertitum officium fuisse in rei publicae salute retinenda, ut ego urbem a domesticis insidiis et ab intestino scelere, tu Italiam et ab armatis hostibus et ab occulta coniuratione defenderes, atque hanc nostram tanti et tam praeclari muneris societatem a tuis propinquis labefactatam, qui, cum tu a me rebus amplissimis atque honorificentissimis ornatus esses, timuissent ne quae mihi pars abs te voluntatis mutuae tribueretur. 2. Hoc in sermone cum a me exponeretur quae mea exspectatio fuisset orationis tuae quantoque in errore versatus essem, visa est oratio non iniucunda et mediocris quidam est risus consecutus, non in te, sed magis in errorem meum et quod me abs te cupisse laudari aperte atque ingenue confitebar. Iam hoc non potest in te non honorifice esse dictum, me in clarissimis meis atque amplissimis rebus tamen aliquod testimonium tuae vocis habere voluisse. 3. Quod autem ita scribis, 'pro mutuo inter nos animo,' quid tu existimes esse in amicitia mutuum nescio, equidem hoc arbitror, cum par voluntas accipitur et redditur. Ego, si hoc dicam, me tua causa praetermisisse provinciam, tibi ipse levior videar esse: meae enim rationes ita tulerunt atque eius mei consilii maiorem in dies singulos fructum voluptatemque capio. Illud dico, me, ut primum in contione provinciam deposuerim, statim quem ad modum eam tibi traderem cogitare coepisse. Nihil dico de sortitione vestra: tantum te suspicari volo nihil in ea re per collegam meum me insciente esse factum. Recordare cetera: quam cito senatum illo die facta sortitione coegerim, quam multa de te verba fecerim, cum tu ipse mihi dixisti orationem meam non solum in te honorificam, sed etiam in collegas tuos contumelio-

2. *Iam hoc non*] 'Surely there was no expression of disrespect towards you in my wishing, at the very summit of my glory, to have in attestation of my deserts an expression of opinion from you.' Metellus had complained that Cicero had made him ridiculous, *ludibrio laesum*; Cicero explains that what raised the laugh in the senate was his own ridiculous position in having been baulked of his expected eulogy, and his naïf confession that he had counted on it. *Iam* here introduces the conclusion or immediate consequence of foregoing conditions, as *iam contemni non poteris*, 'surely therefore,' Fin. ii. 84. Below, in § 4, '*iam* = again, further-

more;' *iam* sometime = 'for example.'

3. *quid tu existimes*] 'I don't know what you conceive reciprocity to be; in my view it is when there is a mutual interchange of like good feeling.'

*levior*] 'you would take it for a piece of blague;' 'humbug' would convey the meaning exactly, but would, of course, misrepresent the tone. Perhaps we should read *tibi ipsi* as in Ep. xviii. § 3.

*deposuerim*] Cp. Ep. xxvii. 3. *nihil*] 'that I was privy to all my colleague did.' He hints that his colleague Antonius at his request so managed the *sortitio* (as president of it) that Metellus should be chosen.

sam fuisse. 4. Iam illud senatus consultum, quod eo die factum est, ea praescriptione est, ut, dum id exstabit, officium meum in te obscurum esse non possit. Postea vero quam profectus es, velim recordere quae ego de te in senatu egerim, quae in contionibus dixerim, quas ad te litteras miserim. Quae cum omnia collegeris, tum ipse velim iudices satisne videatur his omnibus rebus tuus adventus, cum proxime Romam venisti, mutue respondisse. 5. Quod scribis de reconciliata gratia nostra, non intellego cur reconciliatam esse dicas, quae numquam imminuta est. 6. Quod scribis non oportuisse Metellum fratrem tuum 'ob dictum a me oppugnari,' primum hoc velim existimes, animum mihi istum tuum vehementer probari et fraternam plenam humanitatis ac pietatis voluntatem: deinde, si qua ego in re fratri tuo rei publicae causa restiterim, ut mihi ignoscas: tam enim sum amicus rei publicae quam qui maxime. Si vero meam salutem contra illius impetum in me crudelissimum defenderim, satis habeas nihil me etiam tecum de tui fratris iniuria conqueri. Quem ego cum comperissem omnem sui tribunatus conatum in meam perniciem parare atque meditari, egi cum Claudia uxore tua et cum vestra sorore Mucia, cuius erga me studium pro Cn. Pompeii necessitudine multis in rebus perspexeram, ut eum ab illa iniuria deterrent. 7. Atque ille, quod te audisse certo scio, pridie Kal. Ianuarias, qua iniuria nemo umquam in minimo magistratu improbissimus civis adfectus est, ea me consulem adfecit, cum rem publicam conservassem, atque abeuntem magistratu contionis habendae potestate privavit: cuius iniuria mihi tamen honori summo fuit. Nam cum ille mihi nihil nisi ut iurarem permetteret, magna voce iuravi verissimum pulcherrimumque ius iurandum, quod populus idem magna voce me vere iurasse iuravit.

4. *praescriptione*] 'preamble.'  
*Quae cum*] 'When you have put all these acts of mine together, I will leave you to judge yourself whether your recent approach to the city was an example of "reciprocity."'  
 Probably Metellus drew near to Rome in the winter of b. c. 63, 62 (a. u. c. 691, 692), as a demonstration in support of his brother, Q. Metellus Nepos, as Mr. Watson suggests. This was when Metellus Nepos prevented Cicero from addressing the people on laying down his office, on the ground that he had slain Roman citizens without trial.

6. *humanitatis ac pietatis*] 'natural affection.'  
*nihil etiam*] 'not yet.' Cp. *non dico . . . etiam quod sentio*, Tusc. i. 12.  
*Claudia*] the sister of Clodius. She is identified with the 'Lesbia' of Catullus. She was afterwards suspected of poisoning her husband, Metellus.  
*sorore*] Mucia was uterine sister of the two Metelli. She was the wife of Cn. Pompeius, and was afterwards divorced by him. Cp. Att. i. 12, 2.  
*pro*] 'in virtue of.'  
 7. *quod populus idem*] Cf. de Rep. i. 7,

8. Hac accepta tam insigni iniuria, tamen illo ipso die misi ad Metellum communes amicos qui agerent cum eo ut de illa mente desisteret: quibus ille respondit sibi non esse integrum: etenim paullo ante in contione dixerat ei, qui in alios animum advertisset indicta causa, dicendi ipsi potestatem fieri non oportere. Hominem gravem et civem egregium! qui, qua poena senatus consensu bonorum omnium eos adfecerat, qui urbem incendere et magistratus ac senatum trucidare, bellum maximum conflare voluissent, eadem dignum iudicaret eum, qui curiam caede, urbem incendiis, Italiam bello liberasset. Itaque ego Metello fratri tuo praesenti restiti. Nam in senatu Kal. Ian. sic cum eo de re publica disputavi, ut sentiret sibi cum viro forti et constanti esse pugnandum. A. d. tertium Non. Ianuar. cum agere coepisset, tertio quoque verbo orationis suae me appellabat, mihi minabatur, neque illi quidquam deliberatius fuit quam me, quacumque ratione posset, non iudicio neque disceptatione, sed vi atque impressione evertere. Huius ego temeritati si virtute atque animo non restitissem, quis esset qui me in consulatu non casu potius existimaret quam consilio fortem fuisse? 9. Haec si tu Metellum cogitare de me nescisti, debes existimare te maximis de rebus a fratre esse celatum: sin autem aliquid impertivit tibi sui consilii, lenis a te et facilis existimari debeo, qui nihil tecum de his ipsis rebus expostulem. Et si intellegis non me dicto Metelli, ut scribis, sed consilio eius animoque in me inimicissimo esse commotum, cognosce nunc humanitatem meam, si humanitas appellanda est in acerbissima iniuria remissio animi ac dissolutio. Nulla est a me umquam sententia dicta in fratrem tuum: quotienscumque aliquid est actum, sedens iis

. . . *salvam esse consulatu abiens in contione P. R. idem iurante iuravissen.* This passage defends the *iurasse iuravit* which offended some editors, and leads me to restore *idem* of the mss for the conjecture *item*; thus *idem* agrees with *quod*, and is governed by *iuravit*, the words *me vere iurasse* being explanatory of *quod idem*, 'which same oath the people took (in swearing) that I had sworn truly.' If I departed from the ms reading, I would read, not *item*, but *identidem*, the conjecture of Mr. L. Purser. Plut. Cic. 23, says: ἐπώμυνε δὲ τὸν ὄρκιον αὐτῷ σὺμπας ὁ δῆμος.

8. *sibi non*] 'that he had already committed himself.' This was the *dictum*

which was supposed to have irritated Cicero, and to which Metellus Celer attributes Cicero's attack on his brother.

*praesenti restiti*] 'withstood him to his face.'

*tertio quoque verbo*] Cp. *vix decimus quisque est qui sese ipsus noverit*, Pl. Ps. iv. 2, 17; *primo quoque tempore*, Cic. Phil. iii. 39.

*vi atque impressione*] 'violent brow-beating.'

*celatum*] 'kept in the dark.'

9. *remissio animi ac dissolutio*] 'culpable weakness and laxity. Cf. Att. i. 19, 8, where *dissolutum* is opposed to *asperum*.

*sententia*] 'vote.'



adsensi, qui mihi lenissime sentire visi sunt. Addam illud etiam, quod iam ego curare non debui—sed tamen fieri non moleste tuli atque etiam ut ita fieret pro mea parte adiuvī—ut senati consulto meus inimicus, quia tuus frater erat, sublevaretur. 10. Qua re non ego ‘oppugnavi’ fratrem tuum, sed fratri tuo repugnavi, nec in te, ut scribis, ‘animo fui mobili,’ sed ita stabili, ut in mea erga te voluntate etiam desertus ab officiis tuis permanerem. Atque hoc ipso tempore tibi paene minitanti nobis per litteras hoc rescribo atque respondeo: ego dolori tuo non solum ignosco, sed summam etiam laudem tribuo: meus enim me sensus quanta vis fraterni sit amoris admonet. A te peto, ut tu quoque aequum te iudicem dolori meo praebeas: si acerbe, si crudeliter, si sine causa sum a tuis oppugnatus, ut statuas mihi non modo non cedendum, sed etiam tuo atque exercitus tui auxilio in eius modi causa utendum fuisse. Ego te mihi semper amicum esse volui: me ut tibi amicissimum esse intellegeres laboravi. Maneo in voluntate et quoad voles tu permanebo, citiusque amore tui fratrem tuum odisse desinam quam illius odio quidquam de nostra benevolentia detraham.

✂ *Addam illud etiam]* ‘I will add, too, another thing, which, after all that had passed, I could not be expected actively to bring about—yet, for all that, I did not object to it, and even supported it to the best of my power—I mean his being relieved by a decree of the senate from the penalties he had incurred’ (viz., suspension from the functions of his office). *Ut sublevaretur* is the explanatory or definitive subjunctive, and is used like *sublevatum esse*. See on Ep. xii. 47. For *sed etiam*, resumptive, see on Ep. vi. 1. The penalties referred to are stated by Suetonius, Jul. 16, *donec ambo* (Caesar and Metellus) *administratione reipublicae decreto patrum submoverentur*. This is what Metellus Celer means by the words *capite et fortunis oppugnatum iri*. The punishment was inflicted by the senate in consequence of the rioting which followed the joint attempt of Metellus Nepos as tribune and Caesar as praetor to give to Pompeius the charge of the war against Catiline. Metellus fled to the camp of Pompeius, but was afterwards reinstated in his office. He appears to have quite forgiven Cicero, and to have taken an active part in bringing about his restoration from exile; see *pro Sest.* 72, 130.

10. *oppugnavi]* ‘assumed the offen-

sive;’ *repugnavi*, ‘only acted on the defensive.’

*desertus ab]* ‘though deprived of all marks of attention from you.’ Cp. *a mente non deserar*, Ep. lxxiii. 2. *Ab* in cases like the present means ‘on the score of,’ ‘in regard to,’ as *ab ingenio improbus* Pl. Truc. iv. 3, 59; *copioso a frumento*, Cic. Att. v. 18, 2; *imparati cum a militibus tum a pecunia*, Att. vii. 15, 3. *Officia* means ‘an escort in honour of a man,’ abstract for concrete in Juv. x. 45, where see Mayor’s note; but the words here have their ordinary meaning.

*sensus]* ‘heart.’

*ut statuas]* ‘I hope you will come to the conclusion not only that I ought not to apologise, but rather that I should be allowed to employ the aid of yourself and your army (that you speak about) in such a cause.’ He covertly rallies Metellus for talking about ‘his army’ in the last. ‘Non erit mirandum si vos poenitebit’ looked like a threat that he would use his army against Cicero and his party. Cicero says jestingly it should rather be employed on his own behalf against the attacks of Metellus Nepos.

*quoad voles tu]* ‘as long as you will let me.’

*detraham]* ‘abate aught of.’

## XVI. TO P. SESTIUS, in MACEDONIA (FAM. V. 6).

ROME, A. U. C. 692; B. C. 62; AET. CIC. 44.

Narrat M. Cicero, quam dederit operam ne P. Sestio proquaestori C. Antonii in Macedonia succederetur: adiungit de domo a se empta, de Sestii aedificatione, de C. Antonio a se in senatu defenso.

M. CICERO S. D. P. SESTIO L. F. PROQ.

1. Cum ad me Decius librarius venisset, egissetque mecum, ut operam darem ne tibi hoc tempore succederetur, quamquam illum hominem frugi et tibi amicum existimabam, tamen, quod memoria tenebam cuius modi ad me litteras antea misisses, non satis credidi hominis prudentis tuam tam valde esse mutatam voluntatem. Sed postea quam et Cornelia tua Terentiam convenit et ego cum Q. Cornelio locutus sum, adhibui diligentiam, quotienscumque senatus fuit, ut adessem, plurimumque in eo negotii habui, ut Q. Fufium tribunum plebis et ceteros, ad quos tu scripseras, cogerem mihi potius credere quam tuis litteris. Omnino res tota in mensem

PROQ.] Sestius had been quaestor to Antonius, Cicero's colleague in his consulship, and was now proquaestor to him as proconsul in Macedonia. Cicero defended him on a charge *de vi* in the speech *pro Sest.* A. U. C. 698 (b. c. 56). In the time of Sulla there were 20 quaestors and 15 provinces; but of these 20 quaestors 8 were used otherwise (1 quaestor Ostiensis, 2 consular, 3 Italian, 2 urban); therefore only 12 were available for the provinces. —Marq. i. 528.

1. *librarius*] 'a copyist.' Fam. xvi. 21, 8.

*non satis credidi hominis prudentis*] The mss have *non satis credidi homini prudenti*; but this could only mean, 'I did not believe Decius, though a sensible fellow;' now this would be a mere repetition, and *prudens* means 'a man of foresight.' Bosius suggested *prudenti* in the sense of *frugi*; but *prudens* means *modest*. I think we should read *hominis prudentis*: 'I could not believe that a man of foresight, like you, could have so completely changed your mind;' cf. Hor. Sat. i. 4, 22, *meu . . . scripta . . . timentis*, and especially Cic. Phil. ii. 111, *tuum hominis simplicis pectus vidimus*. A similar

construction should be introduced at Att. iii. 9, 1 (Ep. lxxv.) A very similar construction is found in *solius enim meum peccatum corrigi non potest*, Att. xi. 15, 2. Cp. also *unius tuo studio*, Fam. ii. 6, 5; *nomen meum absentis . . . meas praesentis preces*, Planc. 26. I have transposed *tuam* from after *voluntatem*. It fell out before *tam*, and was afterwards inserted in the wrong place.

*Cornelia*] Cornelia, wife of P. Sestius; Q. Cornelius was her brother; they were children of C. Corn. Scipio.

*Q. Fufium trib.*] This Fufius was tribune in 693 (b. c. 61). See Att. i. 12, 1, whence some have supposed that this letter must be of later date; but it was written at the very end of 692 (b. c. 62), and Fufius entered on his magistracy in the middle of December. He was praetor under Caesar and Bibulus, and was afterwards consul in 706 (b. c. 48).

*quam tuis litteris*] In his letters Sestius had expressed a wish that a successor to him in his proquaestorship should be appointed. He now revokes this wish, and Cicero promises to notify this change of mind to the friends of Sestius, and to countermand the purport of his letters.

Ianuarius reiecta erat, sed facile obtinebatur. 2. Ego tua gratulatione commotus, quod ad me pridem scripseras velle te bene evenire, quod de Crasso domum emissem, emi eam ipsam domum HS xxxv aliquanto post tuam gratulationem. Itaque nunc me scito tantum habere aeris alieni, ut cupiam coniurare, si quisquam recipiat, sed partim odio inducti me excludunt et aperte vindicem coniurationis oderunt, partim non credunt et a me insidias metuunt nec putant ei nummos deesse posse, qui ex obsidione feneratores exemerit. Omnino semissibus magna copia est: ego autem meis rebus gestis hoc sum adsecutus, ut bonum nomen existimer. 3. Domum tuam atque aedificationem omnem perspexi et vehementer probavi. Antonium, etsi eius in me officia omnes desiderant, tamen in senatu gravissime ac diligentissime defendi senatumque vehementer oratione mea atque auctoritate commovi. Tu ad me velim litteras crebrius mittas.

*obtainetur*] 'is likely to be carried.' Cf. Att. v. 20, 5, paucis diebus *habebam*, that is, 'when I wrote this letter I was being provided with (*i. e.* was on the point of having) trusty messengers.' So also Att. v. 20, 8, ipse me Laodiceam recipiebam = recepturus sum.

2. *emissem*] 'oblique enuntiations,' as Kennedy calls them, are made (1), as here, with *quod*; (2) by accus. with infin.; (3) by *ut* with the *definitive* (called by Kennedy the *consecutive*) subjunctive.

HS xxxv] *i. e.* quinquies et triciens = 3,500,000 sesterces = about £30,000. See note on Att. i. 13, 6.

*cupiam coniurare*] so as to evade payment. See next note.

*vindicem coniurationis*] Cicero often speaks of the Catilinarian conspiracy as if its only object was to evade the payment of debts. In De Off. ii. 24 he says: *nunquam vehementius actum est, quam me consule, ne solveretur; armis et castris tentata res est*; and in Att. ii. 1, 11, he calls himself *vindicem aeris alieni*, as he here calls himself *vindicem coniurationis*. Of course here *vindex* means 'one who puts down,' while in Att. ii. 1, 11, it means 'one who upholds' (the obligation under which a civilised man is to meet his liabilities).

In Q. Fr. i. 1, 6, he says that the publicans vowed that they owed to him the preservation of their fortunes. So here he says he 'rescued the creditors from a blockade.'

*Omnino*] 'In fact, there is plenty of money to be had at six per cent; and I, by my consular exploits, have gained one good thing—I am looked on as a good security.' Cicero was in such favour with the money-lenders, whose interests he had saved, that everyone was ready to lend him money. This seems a low rate of interest. We find, however, that money was sometimes even cheaper in Rome: see Att. iv. 15, 7, where we are told that money could be got for four per cent., until the extravagant bribery of the candidates doubled the rate of interest.

3. *Antonium*] This must have been some minor charge. He afterwards explains why he must decline to defend Antonius on the motion that he should be superseded for extortion, at the same time seeking to leave Antonius under the impression that he possibly might undertake his defence. See Epp. xvii., xviii.

*officia desiderant*] 'notice his want of attention.'

LETTERS OF THE EIGHTH YEAR OF CICERO'S CORRESPONDENCE.  
EPP. XVII.-XXIII.

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A. U. C. 693 ; B. C. 61 ; AET. CIC. 45.

COSS. M. PUPIUS PISO, M. VALERIUS MESSALLA.

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THE letters of this year are chiefly devoted to the description of the trial of Clodius for his violation of the rights of the *Bona Dea*, the beginning of Cicero's quarrel with Clodius, and an analysis of the attitude, arts, and designs of Pompeius, who had just returned from the East after the end of the war with Mithridates. They also tell us of the divorce of Mucia by Pompeius, and the consequent rupture between Pompeius and Metellus Celer.

This year his brother Quintus was *propraetor* in Asia, and Caesar in Further Spain.

We have, besides his letters to Atticus, a letter to his former colleague, Antonius, complaining of an alteration in the feelings of the latter towards him, and protesting that his own regard for Antonius is unimpaired.

The only oration of this year was the *Oratio in Clodium et Curionem*, of which are preserved but a few small fragments. It is referred to at some length in Ep. xxii.

## XVII TO ATTICUS, AT ATHENS (ATT. I. 12).

ROME, A. U. C. 693; B. C. 61; AET. CIC. 45.

De negotio nummario, de C. Antonio a se non defendendo, de liberto suo cum C. Antonio in cogendis pecuniis se invito occupato, de Cn. Pompeio, de divortio Muciaë, de P. Clodio cum veste muliebri domi C. Caesaris deprehenso, de Sositheo puero mortuo.

## CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Teucris illa lentum sane negotium, neque Cornelius ad Terentiam postea rediit: opinor, ad Considium, Axium, Selicium confugiendum est: nam a Caecilio propinqui minoris centesimis nummum movere non possunt. Sed, ut ad prima illa redeam,

1. *Teucris*] *Teucris* must have been a name for some agent of Antonius, almost certainly a female, for if *Teucris* were a derisive name for some man, Cicero would have more probably written *illo* in the sentence *nihil ego illa impudentius vidi*. But *Teucris* must have been an agent of Antonius, else the whole passage wants connexion. It is evident that Cicero expected money from *Teucris*. He complains of the shifts and delays of *Teucris*; 'but,' says he, 'perhaps it is all for the best; for circumstances have arisen which would make it impossible for me to defend *Antonius*.' Does not this show that *Teucris* is the agent of Antonius, and that Antonius had promised an advance of money to Cicero for resisting attacks made on him in the senate for misgovernment? We see by Ep. xvi. that Cicero had already defended him, and that Cicero was in communication with Cornelius, the brother-in-law of Sestius, the proquaestor of Antonius, which explains *neque Cornelius, . . . rediit*, in this letter. The whole train of thought is this: '*Teucris* is a slow coach, and Cornelius has had no further interview with Terentia. So I suppose I must look to the money-lenders, for even his relatives cannot get a farthing out of Caecilius at less than twelve per cent. It is really shameful, the conduct of *Teucris*; nothing but shifts and delays; however *Dieu dispose*, perhaps it is all for the best.

If I did get (or had gotten) the money from *Teucris*, I might have been unable to fulfil my part of the bargain, for this reason:—they say the question of his supersession will be openly brought forward by Pompeius, and I am so circumstanced that I could not, with any regard for my character, defend him; and, what is more, I won't. For a thing has occurred to which I want you to give your careful attention. There is a freedman of mine, one Hilarus, a complete *vaurien*, an accountant, and a client of yours. Valerius and Thyillus tell me that they are informed that this fellow is living with Antonius, and that Antonius, in making his requisitions, gives out that a part of them goes to me, and that this freedman is commissioned by me to look after my share in the profits. I was very much annoyed, though I did not altogether believe it, but it has caused some talk. I wish you would look into the matter, and if possible get the rascal out of the place altogether.' Circumstances had arisen which made it impossible for Cicero to defend Antonius; so perhaps it had happened all for the best that Antonius had not sent the money. The money was required by Cicero to pay for the house on the Palatine, mentioned in the last letter.

*lentum negotium*] βραδὺ χρέμα. Cf. Att. v. 18, 4; Q. Fr. ii. 13, 4.

*Selicium*] an usurer. Cf. Att. iv. 19, 2.

nihil ego illa impudentius, astutius, lentius vidi: 'Libertum mitto: Tito mandavi:' σκήψεις atque ἀναβολαί. Sed nescio an ταυτόματον ἡμῶν nam mihi Pompeiani prodromi nuntiant aperte Pompeium acturum Antonio succedi oportere, eodemque tempore aget praetor ad populum. Res eius modi est, ut ego nec per bonorum nec per popularem existimationem honeste possim hominem defendere, nec mihi libeat, quod vel maximum est. Etenim accidit hoc, quod totum cuius modi sit mando tibi ut perspicias. 2. Libertum ego habeo, sane nequam hominem, Hilarum dico, ratiocinatorem et clientem tuum. De eo mihi Valerius interpres nuntiat Thyillusque se audisse scribit haec: esse hominem cum Antonio: Antonium porro in cogendis pecuniis dictitare partem mihi quaeri et a me custodem communis quaestus libertum esse missum. Non sum mediocriter commotus neque tamen credidi, sed certe aliquid sermonis fuit. Totum investiga, cognosce, perspice et nebulonem illum, si quo pacto potes, ex istis locis amove. Huius sermonis Valerius auctorem Cn. Plancium nominabat. Mando tibi plane totum ut videas cuius modi sit. 3. Pompeium nobis amicissimum constat esse. Divortium Muciae vehementer probatur. P. Clodium, Appii F., credo te audisse cum veste muliebri deprehensum domi C. Caesaris, cum pro populo fieret, eumque per manus servulae servatum et eductum: rem esse insigni infamia: quod te moleste ferre certo scio. 4. Quid praeterea ad te scribam non habeo. Et mehercule eram in scribendo conturbator. Nam puer festivus anagnostes noster, Sositheus decesserat meque plus, quam servi mors debere videbatur, commoverat. Tu velim saepe

ταυτόματον ἡμῶν] καλλῶ βουλεύεται. Menand.

2. *interpres*] An interpreter's business was, in Rome, to explain the foreign proclamations and interpret embassies; and in the provinces to interpret the state proclamations, which were by law in the Latin tongue.

Cn. Plancium] the subject of the *or. pro Plancio*.

3. *Mucia*] uterine sister of Q. Metellus Celer, and wife of Pompeius. She was suspected of an intrigue with Caesar.

*cum fieret*] 'when sacrifice was being offered.' So *πέζειν, operari*, and our *service*. The sacrifice was a public sacrifice

(*pro populo*), because, though celebrated in a private house, that house was bound to be the official residence of the *consul* or *praetor urbanus*. Caesar was *praetor urbanus* and *pontifex* as well.

*servatum et eductum*] ἐν διὰ δυοῖν. *insigni infamia*] See *Introd. i. § 1*, for a full discussion of this matter.

4. *Quid . . . scribam*] 'I do not know what else to write to you;' *quod scribam non habeo* would mean, 'I have nothing else to write to you.' See on *Att. ii. 22, 6*.

*commoverat*] His expressions on this occasion are used against the reading *decessit*, *Att. i. 6, 2*. But see note on that passage. Cp. *Plin. Ep. viii. 16*.

ad nos scribas. Si rem nullam habebis, quod in buccam venerit scribito. Kal. Ianuariis M. Messalla M. Pisone coss.

## XVIII. TO ANTONIUS, IN MACEDONIA (FAM. V. 5):

ROME, A. U. C. 693; B. C. 61; AET. CIC. 45.

M. Cicero C. Antonii, qui collega eius in consulatu fuerat et nunc Macedoniam procos. obtinebat, animum ab se alienatum queritur, sed tamen scribit se T. Pomponio, communi amico, qui iter in Macedoniam haberet, denegare non potuisse quin litteras commendaticias daret, cuius negotia Macedonica Antonio commendat.

M. CICERO S. D. C. ANTONIO M. F. IMP.

1. Etsi statueram nullas ad te litteras mittere nisi commendaticias—non quo eas intelligerem satis apud te valere, sed ne iis, qui me rogarent, aliquid de nostra conjunctione imminutum esse ostenderem—tamen, cum T. Pomponius, homo omnium meorum in te studiorum et officiorum maxime conscius, tui cupidus, nostri amantissimus, ad te proficisceretur, aliquid mihi scribendum putavi, praesertim cum aliter ipsi Pomponio satis facere non possem.

2. Ego si abs te summa officia desiderem, mirum nemini videri debeat. Omnia enim a me in te profecta sunt quae ad tuum com-

*quod in buccam*] 'whatever comes into your head, rises to your lips.' Cp. οὐκοῦν κατ' Αἰσχύλον, ξφη, ἐροῦμεν ὅτι νῦν ἦλαθ' ἐπὶ στόμα, Plat. Rep. viii. 563, B.

1. *Etsi statueram*] 'Though I had resolved to write no letters to you but letters of introduction—and these not that I thought they would have as much weight with you as I could wish, but only not to betray to those who applied to me that our intimacy was less close than it once was—yet,' &c.

*non quo*] See Att. ii. 25, 1.

*T. Pomponius*] Atticus. The name *Atticus* is not found in Cicero's extant letters until we come to Att. vi. 1, a letter written in 704 (b. c. 52). Hence Boot has, with reason, doubted the genuineness of

the *Cicero Attico S.* which heads each letter to Atticus. Moreover, in other letters addressed to friends as intimate as Atticus, the form used is S. D. (*salutem dicit*), or S. P. D. (*salutem plurimam dicit*), and it comes *between* the name of the writer and the person addressed. It is not probable, therefore, that in writing to Atticus Cicero should have adopted a formula altogether unique. I have, however, thought it better not to delete with Boot this formula which is found in the mss, but to retain it, having reminded the reader that it is most probably not genuine.

2. *Ego si*] 'If I were to require of you even most important services, there would be nothing surprising in my conduct.'

modum, quae ad honorem, quae ad dignitatem pertinerent. Pro his rebus nullam mihi abs te relatam esse gratiam tu es optimus testis: contra etiam esse aliquid abs te profectum ex multis audiui. Nam 'comperisse' me non audeo dicere, ne forte id ipsum verbum ponam, quod abs te aiunt falso in me solere conferri. Sed ea, quae ad me delata sunt, malo te ex Pomponio, cui non minus molesta fuerunt, quam ex meis litteris cognoscere. Meus in te animus quam singulari officio fuerit et senatus et populus Romanus testis est: tu quam gratus erga me fueris ipse existimare potes: quantum mihi debeas ceteri existimant. 3. Ego quae tua causa antea feci, voluntate sum adductus posteaque constantia. Sed reliqua, mihi crede, multo maius meum studium maioremque gravitatem et laborem desiderant. Quae ego si non profundere ac perdere videbor, omnibus meis viribus sustinebo: sin autem ingrata esse sentiam, non committam ut tibi ipsi insanire videar. Ea quae sint et cuius modi, poteris ex Pomponio cognoscere. Atque ipsum tibi Pomponium ita commendo, ut, quamquam ipsius causa confido te facturum esse omnia, tamen abs te hoc petam, ut, si quid in te

*Pro his rebus*] 'That you have never made any return for those services you will yourself confess; indeed, I hear from many that your conduct towards me has had quite the opposite tendency—I will not say "I am informed," as I must not use that expression, that they say you falsely ascribe to me.'

*comperisse*] Cicero was charged with having declined to give the evidence he had for the existence of the Catalinarian conspiracy, and to have contented himself with saying that 'he was informed' (no doubt by his spies) that such and such designs were harboured. His enemies seem to have fastened on the expression, and used it against him. Cicero says the expression is falsely ascribed to him. It was this hated word which Clodius cast in his teeth (Att. i. 14, 5), and which irritated Cicero so much that he plunged hotly into that strife with Clodius which ended in his own exile. See Introduction, i. § 1.

*existimant*] *existiment* of the Neapolitan ed. gives a better sense, but the change is not unavoidable.

3. *constantia*] 'consistency' (a desire to do nothing inconsistent with my former conduct towards you, which proceeded

from genuine good will).

*reliqua*] 'what remains to be done is now calling for a much higher degree of zeal on my part and more serious exertions.' Cicero wishes Antonius to gather that he is actually working for him, though we see from the preceding letter he had little intention of so doing. Afterwards, 695 (b. c. 59), Cicero did defend him, but unsuccessfully. *Sustinere*, 'make good,' 'carry out.'

*ipsi insanire*] It seems to me that *ipsi* must be read here, 'I will not run the risk of being thought mad by even you' (you, who would be served by such a 'lack of gall' on my part). *Ipse* (as M. reads) *insanire* could only mean, 'to be mad too' as well as the rest, or as well as Antonius, but no such sentiment has place here. *Ipse insanire* could not mean 'to be actually mad.' I find now that the reading which I suggested in the first edition as a necessary correction has actual ms authority, and is the reading of the *Codex Turonensis*.

*Ea quae sint*] sc. *reliqua*, 'what the future danger is which you may have to meet,' viz., the prosecution by Pompeius, mentioned in last letter.



residet amoris erga me, id omne in Pomponii negotio ostendas.  
Hoc mihi nihil gratius facere potes.

## XIX. TO ATTICUS, IN EPIRUS (ATT. I. 13.)

ROME, A. U. C. 693; B. C. 61; AET. CIC. 45.

De tribus epistolis ab Attico acceptis, de litteris a se non temere committendis: de rebus urbanis, se primum non esse rogatum sententiam in senatu a consule, M. Pisone, quem ait se magni non facere, cum alterum bonum esse dicat, de P. Clodio domi Caesaris cum veste muliebri deprehenso rebusque de ea causa postea actis, de Cn. Pompeii, quem tecte significat, aperto erga se amore, occulta invidia, de provinciarum sortitione nondum facta, de libris et orationibus suis, de domo Autroniana a Messalla consule empta.

### CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Acepi tuas tris iam epistolas: unam a M. Cornelio, quam Tribus Tabernis, ut opinor, ei dedisti, alteram, quam mihi Canusinus tuus hospes reddidit, tertiam, quam, ut scribis, ora soluta

1. *Acepi tuas tris iam*] 'This makes the third letter I have received from you' (Pretor).

*ora soluta*] 'when we left our moorings.' The ms reading, *ancora soluta*, is bad Latin. Peerlkamp completely established the correction given in the text by a reference to Quintilian, who (in describing how the expression *e portu navigavi* might be expanded into a number of descriptions, each short, but making on the whole a long one) uses *solvere oram* among the technical terms about getting under weigh. This is the passage:—'in portum veni, navem prospexi, quanti veheret interrogavi, de pretio convenit, conscendi, sublatae sunt ancoreae, *solvimus oram*, profecti sumus' (Inst. Or. iv. 2, 41). Cp. Praef. § 3. Doubtless, therefore, the reading here is *ora soluta*, or, possibly (what Peerlkamp himself prefers), *ancora sublata*, *ora soluta*, 'just as we weighed anchor, and slipped our cable; for the two middle words may have dropped out through the ἀβλεψία of the copyist. Dr. Smith, in his Lat. Dict., says: 'From this phrase, *solvere oram*, "to sail from the shore," perhaps arose the meaning of *hawser*, e.g. in Liv. xxviii. 36, 11, *oras et ancoras praecidunt*: xxii. 19, , 10 *resolutis oris in ancoras evehuntur*.' But it seems to me impos-

sible that, because *solvere oram* meant 'to sail from the shore,' *ora* could get the meaning of a *hawser*. Either (1) *ora* never meant a *hawser*, and *solvere oram* means 'to cast off the shore,' *praecidere oras*, 'to hastily cast off the shore,' which seems very unlikely; or (2) *ora* derived its meaning of *hawser* from the original meaning of the word just as it derived its meaning of *shore*. Thus:—*ora* was first the 'outside edge or border of anything' (Lucr. iv. 12, 215); then, 'any long bounding line,' especially the long line of land which runs along the edge of the sea (hence *shore*); then 'any long line' (hence *hawser*); and so would be explained the phrase of Ennius, *oras evolvere belli*, which refers to the panoramic appearance of the Roman book, the long vertical line of the roll when unwound from the central reed which formed the axis of the cylinder, and unrolled to its full dimensions. See note on Ep. xxviii. (Att. ii. 2, 1). It is, however, a remarkable fact that *ora* is always the *stern-rope*; hence as the vessel was moored with stern to shore, the *stern-rope* would be the *shore-rope*, which might by a kind of naval slang be called *the shore*, as we call the sheet-rope *the sheet*. In Greek πείραπα means both 'end' and 'rope.' Cp. *wax-end* (= *waxed end*.)

de phaselo dedisti: quæ fuerunt omnes, *ut* rhetorum pueri loquuntur, cum humanitatis sparsae sale tum insignes amoris notis. Quibus epistolis sum equidem abs te lacessitus ad rescribendum, sed idcirco sum tardior, quod non invenio fidelem tabellarium. Quotus enim quisque est qui epistolam paullo graviorem ferre possit, nisi eam pellectione relevavit? Accedit eo, quod mihi non est . . . ut quisque in Epirum proficiscitur. Ego enim te arbitror, caesis apud Amaltheam tuam victimis, statim esse ad Sicyonem oppugnandam profectum. Neque tamen id ipsum certum habeo quando ad Antonium proficiscare aut quid in Epiro temporis ponas. Ita neque Achaicis hominibus neque Epiroticis paullo liberiores litteras committere audeo. 2. Sunt autem post discessum a me tuum res dignae litteris nostris, sed non commit-

*rhetorum pueri*] Madvig's brilliant conjecture for *quæ fuerunt omnes rhetorum; pure loquuntur*, &c. Applied to letters, *loquuntur* would be intolerable. We might dispense with the *ut*, as in the phrase *aiunt*; the omission of *ut* in such cases is a characteristic of the language of Comedy, and therefore suitable to letters. See Introduction ii. § 2. *Rhetorum pueri* is a translation of *ῥητόρων παῖδες*, that is, the 'class' or 'profession' of the rhetoricians: so *παῖδες ἰατρῶν* means 'physicians' in Anthol. and Lucian, which is like Cicero's Greek. Cicero may possibly have written *ῥητόρων παῖδες*, and *rhetorum pueri* may have been a marginal explanation which crept into the text, as often happens in these letters, e.g. in Att. v. 10, 5, where *sursum deorsum* has in some edd. expelled *ἄνω κάτω*. Therefore, when we find Cicero using a Latin and a Greek expression for the same thing, we may perhaps conclude that the Greek should stand in both places, the Latin being only a marginal note of some copyist, which has crept into the text. For example, in Att. v. 13, 3, the same thing is called *illud domesticum*, which in the next letter is called *illud ἐνδόμυχον*; so *παράπηγμα ἐνιαύσιον* and *clavum anni* (v. 14, 1; 15, 1). Cf. Q. Fr. ii. 15 (16), 4, *Athenas noctuam* with *γλαυκ' εἰς Ἀθήνας*, Fam. vi. 3, 4.

*cum . . . notis*] Observe the rhetorical 'chiasmus,' a strong proof of the truth of Madvig's conjecture.

*Quotus enim*] 'How few there are who can carry a letter of any weight without lightening it by a perusal.'

*non est . . . ut quisque*] A word must have dropped out here. Not *notum*, the word usually supplied, for this does not satisfy the sense. The sense required is, 'I am not in a position to avail myself of each departure for Epirus for the purpose of sending letters to you; my impression is you must have already set out for Sicyon, but I am not sure even when you mean to visit Antonius, or how long you will stay in Epirus.' Possibly Cicero wrote *accedit eo, quod mihi non est usui ut quisque in Epirum proficiscitur*, 'I can't avail myself of each departure for Epirus.' *Usui* would easily fall out before *ut quisque*.

*Ego enim te*] 'I suppose you first offered your sacrifices for the campaign at your Amalthea, and then set out for the blockade of Sicyon.' He had gone to exact money owed to him at Sicyon. Amalthea was a villa of Atticus in Epirus, so called from the neighbouring shrine of the nymph Amalthea. It is sometimes called *Amaltheum*. The adjectival form is generally used as in *Tusculanum*, but cf. *Caieta*, above: Att. i. 4, 3.

*oppugnandam*] I have not hesitated to correct (with Lamb.) *oppugnandum* of the mss. *Sicyon* is always feminine elsewhere, and there is no reason why it should be masculine.

*ad Ant. proficiscare*] Att. doubtless intended to apply to Ant., who was governor of Macedonia, for a military force to coerce the Sicyonians. Brutus and Scaptius sought a similar favour from Cicero when governor of Cilicia, see Att. vi. 1, 6; also Att. i. 19, 9 (Ep. xxv.).

tendae eius modi periculo, ut aut interire aut aperiri aut intercipi possint. Primum igitur scito primum me non esse rogatum sententiam praepositumque esse nobis pacificatorem Allobrogum, idque admurmurante senatu neque me invito esse factum. Sum enim et ab observando homine perverso liber et ad dignitatem in re publica retinendam contra illius voluntatem solutus et ille secundus in dicendo locus habet auctoritatem paene principis et voluntatem non nimis devinctam beneficio consulis. Tertius est Catulus, quartus, si etiam hoc quaeris, Hortensius. Consul autem ipse parvo animo et pravo, tantum cavillator genere illo moroso, quod etiam sine dicacitate ridetur, facie magis quam facietis ridiculus, nihil agens cum re publica, seiunctus ab optimatibus, a quo nihil speres boni rei publicae, quia non vult: nihil speres mali, quia non audet. Eius autem collega et in me perhonorificus et partium studiosus ac defensor bonarum. 3. Qui nunc leviter inter

2. *Primum igitur*] 'first, then, let me tell you that I was not asked my opinion first.'

*pacificatorem*] C. Calpurnius Piso, who had been consul 687 (b.c. 67), was brother to the present consul. He seems not to have been very successful in preserving peace in Gallia Narbonensis under his government. Hence *pacificatorem* is ironical.

*admurmurante*] = *improbante*; so *acclamatio*, in Att. i. 16, 4, means 'hooting.'

*perverso*] 'cross-grained.'

*voluntatem non nimis*] 'while one's freedom of action is not too much fettered, as it is by a compliment from a consul.' From this it may be inferred that the previous consuls had shown Cicero this mark of respect, and that he felt himself bound therefore not to oppose them. It seems to have depended somewhat on the discretion of the presiding magistrate who should be asked first (a consul elect was always chosen when present), and the same order was observed throughout the year: Phil. v. 35. Of course no consul elect would be present until the latter months of the year, as Mr. Watson observes.

⇒ *Consul*] 'the consul (Piso) is pettish and perverse, a dealer in that sort of bitter sarcasm which always raises a laugh, though there be no real wit in the words. He makes people laugh, not by the force of his expressions, but by the expression of his face; he is not a politician at all.'

In rendering the play on *facie* and *facietis*, I have remodelled the phrase of Mr. Pretor. But we must not use the words *laughable* or *grimaces* here. Cicero describes in Piso such a man as the late Lord Westbury. He amused people by his captious sarcasm and his bitter visage. His description of the same man in Brut. 236, is well worth reading: people expected bitterness from him, and they were amused at finding it—it was supposed to be his rôle to be bitter. It is amusing to contrast with both descriptions the words of Cicero, when in his professional capacity the analyst of character is superseded by the advocate, and he raps out a few of his superlatives, *homini nobilissimo, innocentissimo, eloquentissimo, M. Pisoni*, or. pro Planc. 12.

*generis*] descriptive ablative, cp. *summo imperio*, Ep. liii. 7, and note there.

*seiunctus ab*] 'aloof from.'

*nihil agens cum re publica*] Cf. Att. ii. 5, 2, *cum omnibus Musis rationem habere cogito*. For *speres mali*, see Adn. Crit.

*partium*] 'a strong politician, and on the right side.' Messalla is thus in many ways contrasted with his colleague Piso. *Partium bonarum* means Cicero's own side, the side of the *optimates*, who are called *boni viri* in this letter.

3. *Qui nunc leviter*] The whole train of thought is this: There is a slight coolness between the consuls at present. (To this I am indifferent); but I am afraid the contagion of these bad feelings towards

se dissident, sed vereor ne hoc, quod infectum est, serpat longius. Credo enim te audisse, cum apud Caesarem pro populo fieret, venisse eo muliebri vestitu virum, idque sacrificium cum virgines instaurassent, mentionem a Q. Cornificio in senatu factam—is fuit princeps, ne tu forte aliquem nostrum putes—postea rem ex senatus consulto ad [virgines atque ad] pontifices relatum idque ab iis nefas esse decretum: deinde ex senatus consulto consules rogationem promulgasse: uxori Caesarem nuntium remisisse. In hac causa Piso amicitia P. Clodii ductus operam dat ut ea rogatio, quam ipse fert et fert ex senatus consulto et de religione, antiquetur. Messalla vehementer adhuc agit severe. Boni viri precibus Clodii remouentur a causa: operae comparantur: nosmet ipsi, qui Lycurgeti a principio fuissetus, cotidie mitigamur: instat et urget Cato. Quid multa? Vereor ne haec neglecta a bonis, defensa ab improbis magnorum rei publicae malorum causa sit. 4. Tuus autem ille amicus—scin quem dicam?—de quo tu ad me scripsisti, postea quam non auderet reprehendere, laudare coepisse, nos, ut ostendit, admodum diligit, amplectitur, amat, aperte laudat:

each other will spread and cause a rupture in the senate. For they (Messalla and Piso) take different sides on the question of Clodius' sacrilege, of which you must have heard. 'It was only after the vestal virgins had performed the sacrifice *afresh*, *instaurassent* (the first having been polluted by the intrusion of Clodius), that Cornificius—not one of us consulars, observe—brought the matter before the senate. They referred the matter to the *pontifices*, who pronounced that sacrilege had been done. So the consuls were directed by the senate to bring in a bill to hold a special inquiry into the matter. Piso, through friendship for Clodius, is doing his best to shelve the bill which he himself is obliged to bring forward by order of the senate. The partisans of the good cause are standing aloof. Gangs of roughs are being got up. I myself, although I had been a perfect Lycurgus at first (as stern and unbending as a Lycurgus), am daily cooling down. Cato is straining every nerve for the prosecution. In a word, I am afraid that this case, championed by the democrats, while the right side remain aloof, will work great mischief to the state.' Cicero is quite indifferent to the violation of the 'state religion,' he only fears for his cherished

*ordinum concordia*. This and *senatus auctoritas* may be called the two political watchwords of Cicero.

*is fuit princeps*] Cicero draws attention to the fact that it was not 'one of us consulars,' but only Cornificius, a man of praetorian standing, who brought forward the matter. This circumstance, together with the 'aloofness' of the *optimates*, induces him to cool down, and take less active steps for the prosecution.

*et fert ex . . . et de rel.*] 'not only in accordance with the *Setum*, but also on so important a matter as the state religion.'

*qui Lycurgeti*] Either the Spartan law-giver is referred to, or the Athenian orator, whom Diodorus calls *πικρότατος καθήγορος*. Cicero evidently thinks that the *optimates* are taking the matter too easily (*neglecta a bonis*); but that being so, he thinks it a great blunder in Cato to run counter to them.

*qui fuissetus*] 'although I had been.' The subjunctive expresses a real action viewed as the attendant cause or circumstance under, or *notwithstanding*, which other actions or events take place. See Roby, 1714; Madv. § 366.

*cotidie mitigamur*] Why not *in dies*? See on Ep. xxvi. 7.

4. *Tuus . . . amicus*] Pompeius. Hor-

occulte, sed ita, ut perspicuum sit, invidet. Nihil come, nihil simplex, nihil ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς honestum, nihil illustre, nihil forte, nihil liberum. Sed haec ad te scribam alias subtilius: nam neque adhuc mihi satis nota sunt et huic terrae filio nescio cui committere epistolam tantis de rebus non audeo. 5. Provincias praetores nondum sortiti sunt. Res eodem est loci, quo reliquisti. Τοποθεσίαν quam postulas Miseni et Puteolorum, includam orationi meae. A. d. III. Non. Decembr. mendose fuisse animadverteram. Quae laudas ex orationibus, mihi crede, valde mihi placebant, sed non audebam antea dicere: nunc vero, quod a te probata sunt, multo mihi ἀττικώτερα videntur. In illam orationem Metellinam addidi quaedam. Liber tibi mittetur, quoniam te amor nostri φιλορήτορα reddidit. 6. Novi tibi quidnam scribam? quid? Etiam. Messalla consul Autronianam domum emit HS †cxxxiv†. Quid

tensius is called *familiaris tuus* in another letter, but here the allusion is certainly to Pompeius.

*occulte* . . . *invidet*] Cp. solet enim (Pompeius) aliud sentire et loqui, neque tantum valere ingenio ut non appareat quid cupiat, Fam. viii. 1, 3; see also Att. iv. 9, 1, for *nihil simplex*.

*Nihil come*] 'no courtesy, nor candour, nor political highmindedness; no brilliancy, resolution, nor generosity.'

*haec*] *neuter plural* possibly, *sit* being attracted into the number of *causa*; or (better) *feminine singular*, agreeing with *causa neglecta*, understood.

*subtilius*] 'more precise information.'

*terrae filio*] 'a fellow dropped from the sky,' 'Dick, Tom, or Harry,' as we should say.

5. Τοποθεσίαν] 'I shall insert in my speech a description of the scenery of Misenum.' I can find no example of *includam* with the *dative* in this sense, nor yet in the sense ascribed to it by Mr. Pretor, 'I'll send it to you with my speech, i.e. enclose it in the same parcel.' Perhaps we should read *incudam*, 'I shall work it into my speech.' No extant speech contains any such description; but on the other hand he is not likely to have written as a separate work a topographical description of Misenum and Puteoli, as Mr. Pretor's rendering would imply.

A. d. iii.] 'I had already perceived that Dec. 3rd was a wrong date.' He refers to some date in a lost work or letter.

ἀττικώτερα] 'more Attic,' with a play on the name Atticus.

*orationem Metellinam*] that against Metellus Nepos when he wished to prevent Cicero from addressing the people on laying down his consulship. For the construction, cf. *Epiroticae litterae*, 'letter for Epirus, Att. xii. 53: these words usually mean 'letters from Epirus.'

6. HS cxxxiv] If this meant 134,000 sesterces (about £1100), the sum would be too small for the purchase of such a house as Cicero here speaks of, for he compares it with his own, which he bought for £30,000. If on the other hand we suppose the symbol to stand for *centiens quater et triciens*, or 13,400,000 sesterces, the sum would be, of course, very much too large. Probably we should read HS xxxiv, and suppose this to stand for *quater et triciens* = 3,400,000 sesterces, or nearly £29,000. Though this is about £1000 less than Cicero paid for his, we may yet suppose that Cicero made a good bargain (*bene emisse*) in having got for £30,000 a very much finer house than Messalla purchased for £29,000. The copyist not understanding that HS xxxiv stood for HS *quater et triciens*, but thinking it meant 34,000 sesterces, raised it to what was a reasonable price for a house by adding a C. He did not see that 134,000 sesterces, though a reasonable price for a house, is here shown by the context to be too small. This house of Cicero's on the Palatine was quite historical. Manutius has collected notices of the different owners who

id ad me, inquires? Tantum, quod ea emptione et nos bene emisse iudicati sumus et homines intelligere coeperunt licere amicorum facultatibus in emendo ad dignitatem aliquam pervenire. Teucris illa lentum negotium est sed tamen est in spe. Tu ista confice. A nobis liberiores epistolam exspecta. vi. Kal. Febr. M. Messalla M. Pisone coss.

## XX. TO ATTICUS, IN EPIRUS (ATT. I. 14).

ROME, A. U. C. 693 ; B. C. 61 ; AET. CIC. 45.

M. Cicero exponit de summis occupationibus suis, de prima Cn. Pompeii contione admodum frigida et item altera : tum scribit quid Cn. Pompeius de Clodiana religione et de promulgata rogatione in senatu dixerit, quid Crassus de laudibus ipsius Ciceronis post Pompeium censuerit, quam graviter ipse sententia sua Pompeio oblocutus sit : dein de rebus Romanis, de severitate senatus, de comitiis turbatis et dimissis, de senatus consulto contra P. Clodium facto, ut populum consules cohortarentur ad rogationem accipiendam, de P. Clodii contionibus miseris, de senatus constantia. Laudat Messallam consulem, vituperat Pisonem, tribunos pl. bonos praedicat. De rebus privatis et suis et Q. fratris ; denique hortatur Atticum, ut cum Luceio in gratiam redeat.

### CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Vereor ne putidum sit scribere ad te quam sim occupatus, sed *ita* tamen distinebar, ut huic vix tantulae epistolae tempus habuerim atque id ereptum e summis occupationibus. Prima contio Pompeii qualis fuisset scripsi ad te antea, non iucunda

held it. This would have been impossible had not the house been a remarkable one. It was first held by M. Livius Drusus, the tribune, who was killed at the beginning of the Social war : then by Crassus, then by Cicero, then by Censorinus, and then by Statilius Sisenna.

*licere*] 'that it is quite legitimate, by the use of your friend's money for a purchase, to get a house that befits your station.'

*Teucris*] 'I have still hopes of T.' We may suppose that Cicero thought the prosecution had blown over. He seems at least to have no doubt about taking the money in spite of the fears mentioned

in Fam. v. 5. In fact Antonius was not prosecuted until 695 (b. c. 59), when Cicero defended him, but unsuccessfully. We learn from the next letter (*sub. fin.*) that Antonius (or his agent) did finally pay the money to Cicero ; and from the same passage we may infer that *tu ista confice* (here) refers to the same business as the words *tu mandata effice quae recepisti* (in next letter), and therefore not to the affair of Teucris.

1 *ita tamen*] I have inserted *ita*, the conjecture of Orelli. It might well have fallen out before *tamen*.

*Prima contio*] 'I have already de-

miseris, inanis improbis, beatis non grata, bonis non gravis, itaque frigebat. Tum Pisonis consulis impulsu levissimus tribunus pl. Fufius in contionem producit Pompeium. Res agebatur in circo Flaminio et erat in eo ipso loco illo die nundinarum πανήγυρις. Quaesivit ex eo placeretne ei iudices a praetore legi, quo consilio idem praetor uteretur. Id autem erat de Clodiana religione ab senatu constitutum. 2. Tum Pompeius μάλ' ἀριστοκρατικῶς locutus est senatusque auctoritatem sibi omnibus in rebus maximi videri semperque visam esse respondit et id multis verbis. Postea Messalla consul in senatu de Pompeio quaesivit quid de religione et de promulgata rogatione sentiret. Locutus ita est in senatu, ut omnia illius ordinis consulta γενικῶς laudaret, mihiq, ut adsedit, dixit se putare satis ab se etiam 'de istis rebus' esse responsum. 3. Crassus postea quam vidit illum excepisse laudem ex eo, quod suspicarentur homines ei consulatum meum placere, surrexit ornatissimeque de meo consulatu locutus est, ut ita diceret, se, quod esset senator, quod civis, quod liber, quod viveret, mihi acceptum referre: quotiens coniugem, quotiens domum, quotiens patriam videret, totiens se beneficium meum videre. Quid multa? Totum hunc locum, quem ego varie meis orationibus, quarum tu Aristar-

scribed to you the first address of Pompeius to the people—unacceptable to the rabble, unsatisfactory to the wrong side (the democrats), unwelcome to the wealthy, and unimportant to the good men and true (the *optimates*); therefore it fell flat.' We have lost the letter which gave this information.

*circo Flaminio*] This was in the Campus Martius, outside the city. Pompeius would have forfeited his triumph if he had entered the city before he got the decree allowing him to enter in triumph.

*nundinarum πανήγυρις*] Not only was there the *contio* summoned by Fufius, but there was the 'solemn conclave which a market day calls together,' a sneer at the meeting which, though large, was chiefly composed of the lower orders, who came on market business: *πανήγυρις* would thus be ironical; but not necessarily; for in the Greek of Cicero's time *πανήγυρις* often meant no more than 'market,' 'fair.'

*Quaesivit*] 'he asked him whether it was his opinion that the judges should be chosen by the praetor (not drawn by lot, as usual), the said praetor then to em-

ploy these as his panel.'

2. μάλ' ἀριστοκρατικῶς] 'in true conservative fashion.'

*maximi videri*] Mr. Pretor prefers *maximam*, adding 'I cannot believe that Cicero's ear would have been satisfied with so unpleasant a rhythm.' But cf. *florem et colorem*, Brut. 298, *nobilissimo innocentissimo eloquentissimo*, pro Planc. 12; Add *De Nat. Deor.* iii. 42; *Fam.* xv. 16, 3; *De Or.* i. 254; *De Fin.* iii. 5.

γενικῶς] 'in general terms;' so *γενικότερον*, Att. ix. 10, 6.

'*de istis rebus*'] I have printed inverted commas to draw attention to the fact that these must be the words of Pompeius, 'about those exploits of yours' (i. e. of Cicero). So *istos consulatus*, 'those consulates that you are always talking about,' Ep. xxii. 13.

3. *Totum hunc locum*] 'All that topic which I so often embellish so copiously in my speeches of which you are such a severe critic—the horrors of war—fire and sword—you know what colours I can lay on—all this topic he wove into his speech with great effect.'

chus es, soleo pingere, de flamma, de ferro—nosti illas ληκύθους—valde graviter pertexuit. Proximus Pompeio sedebam. Intellexi hominem moveri, utrum Crassum inire eam gratiam, quam ipse praetermisisset, an esse tantas res nostras, quae tam libenti senatu laudarentur, ab eo praesertim, qui mihi laudem illam eo minus deberet, quod meis orationibus, omnibus litteris, in Pompeiana laude perstrictus esset. 4. Hic dies me valde Crasso adiunxit, et tamen ab illo aperte tecte quidquid est datum libenter accepi. Ego autem ipse, dei boni! quo modo ἐνεπερευσάμην novo audi-

ληκύθους] usually *oil-flasks*, but here the reference must be to flasks of *paint* or *perfume*. Cf. Att. ii. 1, 1, totum Isocrati myrothecium . . . atque Aristotelia pigmenta consumpsit. Brut. 298, eorum pigmentorum quae inventa nondum erant florem et colorem defuisse. Boot compares Horace's *ampullas*, 'swelling-phrases,' but here the metaphor is not the same. In Ar. Plut. 810, we find αἱ δὲ λήκυθοι μύρον γέμονσαι, the large oil-vessels are full of perfume; so here Cicero speaks of the 'gallons of paint' which he has at his command. Cp. *arculas*, Ep. xxvii. 1.

meis orationibus omnibus litteris] 'because by my speeches (the speeches for the Manilian Law and probably some of the *orationes consulares*) in my praise of Pompeius, every letter of it, he was censured (every letter of my eulogy on Pompeius was so much detraction from him)'. In these speeches Cicero ascribed to Pompeius the credit of the victory over Spartacus which was really due to Crassus, so that the praise of Pompeius was *omnibus litteris* (*totidem litteris*, as we should now say), censure of Crassus. I have restored *orationibus* from R. Without this word the passage is hopeless, for then *litteris* must be rendered 'literary efforts,' and *meis omnibus litteris* must be supposed to refer to the speeches above mentioned; but I cannot find any instance of *litteris* in the sense of *scriptis*; such a meaning is certainly not illustrated by the passage quoted by Mr. Watson, *te neque illos (versus) neque ullas omnino litteras nosse*, Phil. ii. 20, where *litteras* bears its ordinary meaning, 'literature;' hardly even by *meaeque litterae* in the same passage a little further on, which is much less harsh than *meae omnes litterae*, in the sense of 'all my literary efforts.' *Meae litterae* would naturally mean *meae epistolae* (see Att. ix. 9, *fin.*; xi. 5, 1); but it is

quite certain that *litteris* cannot here mean *epistolis*, as Cicero plainly refers to speeches such as that for the Manilian Law. Schütz explains *litteris* as I do (as meaning γράμμασι, the letters of which each word of the eulogy was composed); but *meis omnibus litteris* cannot possibly mean 'in every letter of the words I spoke;' now this meaning is accurately conveyed by the words *meis orationibus omnibus litteris*. This view of the meaning of *litteris* is strongly confirmed by a passage in Att. ii. 2, 2: 'Ἡρώδης si homo esset eum potius legeret quam unam litteram scriberet. Cp. also *pol pudere quam pigere praestat totidem litteris*, 'every letter of it,' Pl. Trin. ii. 2, 65. *Litteris* in this passage and in the text is the *ablativus mensurae* as in *multis partibus maior*, Cic. N. D. ii. 36. See Draeg. Hist. Syn. ii. 5, 62.

4. *ab illo aperte tecte*] (1) 'whatever praise Pompeius gave me openly or covertly I gladly received;' (2) *or* (with a comma after *aperte* and *datum*), 'I made my acknowledgment openly for every compliment he had covertly paid me;' (3) *or* (reading *aperto*, and taking the word as ironical), 'whatever modicum of covert praise I got from that miracle of ingenuousness (Pompeius);' (4) *or* (reading *Aperta* = *Apolline*, the god of oracles), 'whatever covert praise I got from Sir Oracle.' The two last can hardly be right. Perhaps, of these 4, the 2nd rendering is the best. But Mr. Purser's view I now think is right. He renders 'with obvious guardedness,' comparing for *tectus* = 'guarded,' de Or. ii. 296; Fam. x. 8, 5; Rosc. Am. 116.

ἐνεπερευσάμην] 'vaunted myself (see 1 Cor. xiii. 5) before my new hearer, Pompeius, who had just returned from the East.'



tori Pompeio! Si umquam mihi περίοδοι, si καμπαί, si ἐνθυμήματα, si κατασκευαί, suppeditaverunt illo tempore. Quid multa? Clamores. Etenim haec erat ὑπόθεσις, de gravitate ordinis, de equestri concordia, de consensione Italiae, de intermortuis reliquiis coniurationis, de vilitate, de otio. Nosti iam in hac materia sonitus nostros: tanti fuerunt, ut ego eo brevior sim, quod eos usque istine exauditos putem. 5. Romanae autem se res sic habent: senatus Ἀρεῖος πάγος. Nihil constantius, nihil severius, nihil fortius. Nam cum dies venisset rogationi ex senatus consulto ferendae, concursabant barbatuli iuvenes, totus ille grex Catilinae, duce filiola Curionis, et populum, ut antiquaret, rogabant. Piso autem consul, lator rogationis, idem erat dissuasor. Operae Clodianae pontes occuparant: tabellae ministrabantur ita, ut nulla

περίοδοι] 'well-rounded periods,' described by Cicero in Orator, 204.

καμπαί] a certain conjecture for καρποί of the ms. It means 'easy transitions.' We have very remarkable instances of these in the transitions in the Georgics from the particular subjects of those poems to the general reflections with which Virgil concludes each book.

ἐνθυμήματα] Quintilian, Inst. Or. v. 14, 2, defines this figure as *imperfectus syllogismus*, 'a syllogism without expressed conclusion;' it is of two kinds, *ex consequentibus probatio* and *ex repugnantibus probatio*. The latter term *enthymema*, he tells us, is by some applied to the latter kind of argument alone. He illustrates it by two passages from the Milo: *eius igitur mortis sedetis ultores cuius vitam si putetis per vos restitui posse, nolitis*, and (as a more elaborate example) *quem igitur cum omnium gratia noluit, hunc voluit cum aliquorum querella? quem iure, quem loco, quem tempore, quem impune, non est ausus, nunc iniuria, alieno loco, cum periculo capitis, non dubitavit occidere?* This is very much what we should call effective antithesis, or an antithetic style. See Reid, *pro Sulla*, 32.

κατασκευαί] In Quintil. Inst. Or. ii, 4, 18, ἀνασκευαί and κατασκευαί are opposed to each other as *destructive* and *constructive* arguments. I cannot find any authority for Gronovius' assertion that κατασκευαί means 'figures of speech,' κατασκευή is a *device, trick*, in Aeschines; but technically in logic Dion. Hal. and

Quintilian give it the sense of *constructive* (as opposed to *destructive*) reasoning.

suppeditaverunt] I have followed Klotz, ed. ii., in putting the comma *before*, not after, *suppeditaverunt*. The verb is more usually omitted in the protasis; but see Att. i. 16, 3, *iudicium si quaeris quale fuerit, incredibili exitu*. Perhaps, however, we should read there *fuerit, fuit*; and here *si umquam . . . suppeditaverunt, suppeditaverunt illo tempore*.

sonitus nostros] 'how I can thunder.' tanti] 'so loud were my thunders that I may be briefer in my description of them, as I fancy you must have heard them even from where you are' (Epirus). Rossini, after the first appearance of *I Puritani*, writing to a friend in Bologna, says: 'As to the duet *suoni la tromba* I need tell you nothing. You must have heard it.' A hyperbole like *omnibus litteris* above.

5. Ἀρεῖος πάγος] 'a perfect Areopagus for dignity.'

barbatuli iuvenes] 'with small beards;' the beard had just begun to grow, and they did not shave, as Fashion prescribed in Rome at this time. The followers of Catiline are described as *imberbes aut bene barbati* (ii. 22), that is, too young to have a beard, or else guilty of the foppishness of letting it grow and trimming it, so as to make it ornamental.

filiola Curionis] *filiola* as being *pudicitiae suae prodigus*, Vel. Pat. ii. 48, 3. Cf. *Pediatia*, Hor. Sat. i. 8, 39.

daretur VTI ROGAS. Hic tibi rostra Cato advolat, convicium Pisoni consuli mirificum facit, si id est convicium, vox plena gravitatis, plena auctoritatis, plena denique salutis. Accedit eodem etiam noster Hortensius, multi praeterea boni. Insignis vero opera Favonii fuit. Hoc concursu optimatium comitia dimittuntur: senatus vocatur. Cum decerneretur frequenti senatu, contra pugnante Pisone, ad pedes omnium singillatim accidente Clodio, ut consules populum cohortarentur ad rogationem accipiendam, homines ad xv Curioni nullum senatus consultum facienti adsenserunt: ex altera parte facile cccc fuerunt. Acta res est. Fufius tribunus tum concessit. Clodius contiones miseras habebat, in quibus Lucullum, Hortensium, C. Pisonem, Messallam consulem contumeliose laedebat: me tantum 'comperisse omnia' criminabatur. Senatus et de provinciis praetorum et de legationibus et de ceteris rebus decernebat, ut ante quam rogatio lata esset ne quid ageretur. 6. Habes res Romanas. Sed tamen etiam illud, quod non speraram, audi. Messalla consul est egregius, fortis, constans, diligens, nostri laudator, amator, imitator. Ille alter uno vitio minus vitiosus, quod iners, quod somni plenus, quod imperitus, quod ἀπρακτότατος, sed voluntate ita καχέκτης, ut Pompeium post illam contionem, in qua ab eo senatus laudatus est, odisse coeperit. Itaque mirum in modum omnes a se bonos alienavit. Neque id magis amicitia Clodii adductus fecit quam studio perditarum rerum

VTI ROGAS] The voting tickets marked V. R. (*uti rogas*, 'as you propose') were for the bill; those against it were marked A. (*antiquo*, 'I reject'). *Pontes* were the passages leading from the *saepia*, where the people were massed with a view to voting, into the *ovilia*, where they voted. Hence *intro vocare tribus*. Lange, ii. 488.

Hic tibi] 'then you have Cato flying to the rostrum.' For the dative, cp. Att. viii. 8, 2; vii. 19; Cat. ii. 10; Rosc. Am. 133; Rep. vi. 17 (Draeg. Hist. Syn. i. 433). *Tibi* is also ethical dat. in Att. iv. 2, 4 (Ep. xci.), where see note.

Curioni] the father, not the son, mentioned above, who was not of senatorial age.

nullum . . . facienti] 'who was for having no decree.'

Fufius tribunus] The conjecture of Manutius for *tertium concessit*. Graevius

would correct to *territus concessit*. But there is a special force in *tum*. Fufius then yielded, but reserved himself till the bill should be brought before the *comitia*, when he could interpose his *veto*. Decidedly the best reading would be *Fufius tum concessit*; and this is what Cicero wrote in the opinion of H. A. J. Munro (kindly communicated to me). He thinks that *tertium* arose from *num*, a miswriting of *tum*.

comperisse] See note on Fam. v. 5, 2.

6. Ille alter] 'The other (Piso) is the less mischievous by reason of one vice, his laziness, sluggishness, and incapacity. He is a mere *fainéant*, but in principles such a *mauvais sujet*, that,' &c. For a closely similar expression, cf. Tac. Hist. i. 56, *socordia innocens*, and Tac. Ann. xiv. 51, *segnis innocentia*.

ἀπρακτότατος] 'an utter *fainéant*.'

atque partium. Sed habet sui similem in magistratibus praeter Fufium neminem. Bonis utimur tribunis pl., Cornuto vero Pseudocatone. Quid quaeris? 7. Nunc ut ad privata redeam, Τεύκρης promissa patravit. Tu mandata effice, quae recepisti. Quintus frater, qui Argiletani aedificii reliquum dodrantem emit HS DCCXXV, Tusculanum venditat, ut, si possit, emat Pacilianam domum. Cum Luceio in gratiam redi. Video hominem valde petiture. Navabo operam. Tu quid agas, ubi sis, cuius modi istae res sint fac me quam diligentissime certiore. Idibus Febr.

## XXI. TO ATTICUS, IN EPIRUS (ATT. I. 15).

ROME, A. U. C. 693; B. C. 61; AET. CIC. 45.

M. Cicero scribit Q. fratri Asiam provinciam obtigisse: petit ut Atticus curet ut id sibi et fratri laudi sit: litteras ab Attico expectat.

## CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Asiam Quinto, suavissimo fratri, obtigisse audisti: non enim dubito quin celerius tibi hoc rumor quam ullius nostrum litterae nuntiarint. Nunc quoniam et laudis avidissimi semper fuimus et praeter ceteros φιλέλληνες et sumus et habemur et multorum odia atque inimicitias rei publicae causa suscepimus, παντοίως

*Cornuto*] 'In Cornutus we have a second Cato. Can I say more?' This is the meaning of *quid quaeris* at the end of a sentence. At the beginning it means 'to be brief.' *Pseudo-Catone* is contemptuous. Cornutus might be called 'Cato's Sancho,' as M. Favonius is called by Mommsen, if with Mommsen we recognised in Cato a Don Quixote.

7. *patravit*] 'Teucris has made good her part of the bargain,' has given the money for past and future services of Cicero as an advocate. We may suppose that Cicero reserves the question whether he will perform the *reliqua* of which he speaks above, Fam. v. 5.

*Quintus*] 'Quintus, who has bought the remaining three-fourths of the house in Argiletum for 725,000 sesterces (about £6000), is trying to dispose of his Tusculan estate.'

*Argiletani*] *Argiletum* was the publisher's street, the Paternoster-row of Rome. The word is supposed to be derived from *argilla*, 'clay.'

*reliquum*] He had inherited one-fourth. *in gratiam redi*] 'make it up with Luceius. I see he is set on the consulship.' Wessenberg and Madvig read *redii*, which is, perhaps, better; the change is very slight. Cicero is fond of coining desideratives: for instance, *Sullaturit*, 'he longs to play the Sulla,' 'he is bent on a *coup d'état*,' Att. ix. 10, 6; and *proscripturit*, 'he is set on a proscription,' *ibid*.

1. παντοίως] We see by the next letter (§ 14) that Atticus had thought of going to Asia with Quintus, but had given up the idea; at which Cicero expresses his regret, as he fears the effects of his

ἀρετῆς μυνήσκειο, curaque et effice, ut ab omnibus et laudemur et amemur. 2. His de rebus plura ad te in ea epistola scribam, quam ipsi Quinto dabo. Tu me velim certiore facias quid de meis mandatis egeris atque etiam quid de tuo negotio. Nam ut Brundisio profectus es, nullae mihi abs te sunt redditae litterae. Valde aveo scire quid agas. Idibus Martiis.

## XXII. TO ATTICUS, IN EPIRUS (ATT. I. 16.)

ROME, A. U. C. 693; B. C. 61; AET. CIC. 45.

M. Cicero exponit de turpitudine iudicii, quo P. Clodius absolutus sit: tum scribit de statu rei publicae et quem ad modum ipse cum iudices P. Clodii et M. Pisonem tum P. Clodium sententia sua et altercatione in senatu conciderit: dein de suo statu, de expectatione comitiorum, de itinere Attici in Asiam constituto, de eiusdem epigrammatis in Amaltheo positis et aliis privatis negotiis.

## CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Quaeris ex me quid acciderit de iudicio, quod tam praeter opinionem omnium factum sit, et simul vis scire quo modo ego minus quam soleam proeliatum sim: respondebo tibi ὕστερον πρότερον, Ὀμηρικῶς. Ego enim, quam diu senatus auctoritas mihi de-

brother's harshness of temper. At this time Cicero seems to have thought that Atticus would accompany his brother. These words are taken from Hom. II. xxii. 268. We would probably in the like case say, 'gird up your loins.' Quotations from Homer, which are frequent in the letters, are best translated by parallel passages from our ballad poetry, when they can be found; as, for instance, ὁ δ' οὐκ ἐμπάξετο μύθων, 'little he recked my rede' (Att. iv. 7, 3).

2. *ut* 'since,' a frequent usage in the letters and in the comic drama, e.g. Pl. Mil. ii. 1, 37.

1. *quid acciderit de iudicio* 'what can have befallen the trial of Clodius, to bring about such an unexpected verdict?' (as his acquittal). *Quod* is the conjunction. With this letter should be read Seneca, Epist. Mor. xvi. 2 (97).

ὕστερον πρότερον, Ὀμηρικῶς] Cicero

puts two questions into the mouth of Atticus, and says he will first answer the latter question, according to the figure ὕστερον πρότερον, which is so much used by Homer. He had, possibly, in his mind the Homeric use of the figure ὕστερον πρότερον in such phrases as γαμῶντι τε γιγνομένῳ τε (Od. iv. 208); but it is more probable that Cicero uses these words to describe the art by which Homer in *medias res* *Non secus ac notas auditorem rapit*. Thus the Odyssey introduces Ulysses in the tenth year of his wanderings in the island of Calypso, and his previous adventures are related in subsequent books. Op. ubi ab initiis incipendum, ubi *more Homérico* e mediis vel ultimis, Quintil. vii. 10, 11; succurrit quod praeterieram . . . sed *quamquam praepos-tere reddetur: facit hoc Homerus*, Plin. Epp. iii. 9, 28.

*senatus auctoritas*] *ut consules populum cohortarentur ad rogationem accipiendam.*

fendenda fuit, sic acriter et vehementer proeliatus sum, ut clamor concursusque maxima cum mea laude fierent. Quod si tibi umquam sum visus in re publica fortis, certe me in illa causa admiratus esses. Cum enim ille ad contiones confugisset in iisque meo nomine ad invidiam uteretur, dei immortales! quas ego pugnas et quantas strages edidi! quos impetus in Pisonem, in Curionem, in totam illam manum feci! quo modo sum insectatus levitatem senum, libidinem iuventutis! Saepe, ita me di iuvent! te non solum auctorem consiliorum meorum, verum etiam spectatorem pugnarum mirificarum desideravi. 2. Postea vero quam Hortensius excogitavit ut legem de religione Fufius tribunus pl. ferret, in qua nihil aliud a consulari rogatione differebat nisi iudicium genus—in eo autem erant omnia—pugnavitque, ut ita fieret, quod et sibi et aliis persuaserat nullis illum iudiciis effugere posse, contraxi vela perspicuus inopiam iudicium, neque dixi quidquam pro testimonio, nisi quod erat ita notum atque testatum, ut non possem praeterire. Itaque si causam quaeris absolutionis, ut iam  $\pi\rho\delta\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\ \pi\rho\tau\epsilon\rho\nu$  revertar, egestas iudicium fuit et turpitudine. Id autem ut accideret, commissum est Hortensii consilio, qui dum veritus est ne Fufius ei legi intercederet, quae ex senatus consulto ferebatur, non vidit illud, satius esse illum in infamia relinqui ac sordibus quam infirmo iudicio committi. Sed ductus odio properavit rem deducere in iudicium, cum illum plumbeo gladio iugula-

*ut clamor*] 'that crowds rallied round me with shouts of enthusiastic applause.'

*senum*] *Senum* refers especially to Piso and Curio the elder; *iuvenum* especially to Curio the younger. Piso showed his *levitas* by being *lator rogationis idem dissuasor* (Att. i. 14, 5). Curio (the elder) on the same occasion by supporting Clodius, though usually one of the *boni*. In the same passage the *libido* of C. Scribonius Curio (the son) is hinted at in the words *duce filiola Curionis*.

2. *excogitavit ut ferret*] 'conceived the policy of letting Fufius bring in his bill.'

*iudicium genus*] The only difference between the bill of the consul and the bill of Fufius was that the former enacted that the praetor should choose the jury, the latter that they should be taken by lot in the ordinary way from the *decuriae iudicum*. Cicero says everything depended on this. The mistake of Hortensius was that he thought so clear was the guilt of Clo-

dus that no panel could acquit him, 'that any sword, were it even a leaden one, would be sharp enough to cut his throat.'

*inopiam*] their neediness and consequent accessibility to bribes.

*neque dixi quidquam*] Cicero confined himself to upsetting the *alibi* of Clodius, by deposing that he had seen Clodius in Rome three hours after the time when, according to his oath, he was in Interamna, ninety miles distant.

$\pi\rho\delta\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\ \pi\rho\tau\epsilon\rho\nu$ ] Cicero having now replied to the second question, *quomodo ego minus quam soleam proeliatus sim*, proceeds to the first question, namely, the reason of the unexpected issue of the trial.

*in infamia relinqui ac sordibus*] If Fufius had interposed his *veto*, the trial could not have proceeded, but Clodius would have been left under suspicion (*in infamia*), and in the mourning garb of a *reus* (*in sordibus*).

tum iri tamen diceret. 3. Sed iudicium si quaeris quale fuerit, incredibili exitu, sic uti nunc ex eventu ab aliis, a me tamen ex ipso initio consilium Hortensii reprehendatur. Nam ut reiectio facta est clamoribus maximis, cum accusator tamquam censor bonus homines nequissimos reieceret, reus tamquam clemens lanista frugalissimum quemque secerneret, ut primum iudices consederunt, valde diffidere boni coeperunt. Non enim umquam turpior in ludo talario consessus fuit. Maculosi senatores, nudi equites, tribuni

*diceret*] 'since he said no weapon could be too blunt to cut his throat;' *diceret* is a somewhat peculiar case of *virtual oblique*: see Roby, 1722, Prof. Mayor, on Cic. Phil. ii. 7, and Ep. x. § 3, *diceret*.

3. *Sed iudicium . . . exitu*] For the ellipse of *fuit*, see note on Att. i. 14, 4.

*reiectio*] When the *iudices* were chosen by lot in the ordinary course out of those qualified to act, both accuser and accused had the right to *challenge* (*reicere*) any *iudices* whom they did not wish to have on the jury. If the senatorial bill had passed, Clodius could not have exercised the right of *reiectio*.

*accusator*] L. Lentulus, afterwards consul in 705 (b.c. 49).

*tamquam clemens lanista*] A kind-hearted trainer of gladiators (say the commentators) would put aside the most respectable of his men, and select the lowest, when called to furnish combatants for the *venatio* or the other deadly pastimes of the circus. This is the ordinary explanation, but what then would be the use or ultimate purpose of these more respectable gladiators? If they never fought they could never earn the *rudis*, the badge of their discharge. So the *clemens lanista* would have been merely deferring the appearance of the gladiator in the *circus*. I believe the passage refers to the conduct of the *lanista* when he is buying slaves or captives as materials for the *ludus*. He shows his *kindness* by passing over the more respectable, and only buying the lowest in rank for the purposes of his bloody trade.

*ludo talario*] Boot, Obs. Critt., p. 41, strangely takes these words as not referring to a 'gambling house' or 'hell,' on the ground that *aleatores tesseriis ludebant non talis*. He explains that *talaris* means the same thing as *talaris*, 'reaching to the ankles,' and holds that *ludus talarius* is a low sort of dramatic enter-

tainment, in which the performers wore a long *stola* reaching to the ankles.

*Maculosi*] 'under a stigma:' cf. *avaritia et libidine foedum et maculosum*, Tac. H. i. 7. But Cicero may mean here a *censoribus notati*; for he distinctly tells us (Cluent. 121), praetores urbani, qui iurati debent optimum quemque in selectis iudices referre, numquam sibi ad eam rem censoriam ignominiam impedimento esse oportere duxerunt.

*nudi*] 'beggared,' 'destitute:' cf. *pro Flac.* 51, where there is a play on this meaning of the word, *quem tu . . . quoniam te nudus delectaverat, semper nudum esse voluisti*.

*tribuni*] There is, I am convinced, only one way of importing any meaning into this sentence, which I have obelised. Read *tribuni non tam aerarii, ut appellantur quam aerati*. He refers to the *tribuni aerarii*, or 'paymasters,' who at this time, by the law of Aur. Cotta, 684 (b.c. 70), formed the third order from which the jury panels were taken, the other two being the *senatus* and *equites*. Cicero, playing on the words, says they deserved better to be called *tribuni aerati* than *tribuni aerarii*. The word *aerati* means *bribed*. So we may translate, 'not on this occasion so much paygivers (as they are usually styled) but paytakers.' Having characterised the senate and the knights, he naturally characterises the third order of judges. *Aerati*, in the sense of *bribed*, is not found elsewhere; but neither is it found elsewhere in the sense of *moneyed*; and this is the sense assigned to it in all the ordinary interpretations of this sentence. All the attempted explanations of the *vulgate* reading which I have obelised introduce an utterly foreign allusion to the *aerarii* or degraded citizens who were *tribu moti*. My reading was long ago put forward by Muretus, but I had so arranged and ex-

†non tam aerati quam, ut appellantur, aerarii.† Pauci tamen boni inerant, quos reiectione fugare ille non potuerat, qui maesti inter sui dissimiles et maerentes sedebant et contagione turpitudinis vehementer permovebantur. 4. Hic, ut quaeque res ad consilium primis postulationibus referebatur, incredibilis erat severitas, nulla varietate sententiarum, nihil impetrabat reus, plus accusatori dabatur quam postulabat, triumphabat—quid quaeris?—Hortensius se vidisse tantum, nemo erat qui illum reum ac non miliens condemnatum arbitraretur. Me vero teste producto credo te ex acclamatione Clodii advocatorum audisse quae consurrectio iudicum facta sit, ut me circumsteterint, ut aperte iugula sua pro meo capite P. Clodio ostentarint. Quae mihi res multo honorificentior visa est quam aut illa, cum iurare tui cives Xenocratem testimo-

plained the passage long before I found that I could quote the authority of that scholar on my side. It must, indeed, have occurred to many others, it seems so obvious. And what could be more pointless than the vulgate reading, *non tam aerati quam, ut appellantur, aerarii?* ‘tribunes cashiered rather than rich in cash.’ If I were forced to give some meaning to these words, I would rather take *aerarii* in the sense of ‘bribed,’ as *numarii* (§ 8), ‘deserving only too well their ordinary name *aerarii*, though in a very different sense.’

*maesti . . . et maerentes*] This strange distinction is passed over by the commentators. But Cicero never uses words rashly. *Maesti* seems to refer rather to the sorrow shown by the looks and general aspect, *maerentes* to sorrow expressed in words. *Maestitia* is applied to the complete neglect of ornament in a speech, *severitas et quasi maestitia orationis*, Orator, 53; and *maeror* is applied to spoken grief in De Orat. ii. 196: *cum C. Marius maerorem orationis meae . . . adiuuaret*. In Orator, 74, *maereret* follows *maestus*, to express a higher degree of grief, *pictor ille vidit cum immolanda Iphigenia tristis Calchas esset, maestior Ulixes, maereret Menelaus, obvolvendum caput Agamemnonis esse quoniam summum illum luctum penicillo non posset imitari*.

*contagione turpitudinis*] ‘contact with infamy:’ cp. Lucr. iii. 740, *neque consensus (gen.) contagia fient*.

4. *primis postulationibus*] The preliminary proceedings, like the Greek ἀνὰ πρώτων,

such as applications for the production of witnesses, and so forth.

*reum ac non*] ‘no one supposed that he could be put on his trial without being condemned a thousand times over,’ or (perhaps better) ‘no one looked on him as if he were on his trial, but rather as if he were already convicted a thousand times over.’

*Me vero*] ‘on my appearance as a witness, when the supporters of Clodius began to hoot, you must have already heard how the jury rose in a body to protect me.’ Some suppose that there is here the same hyperbole as in Att. i. 14, 4, *usque istinc exauditos putem*, but there is no ground for the notion: cf. *credo te audisse*, Att. i. 12, 3; i. 13, 3.

*tui cives*] the Athenians. They must be playfully called the fellow-citizens of Atticus, in allusion to his name, and long residence at Athens. Att. certainly was not an Athenian citizen; for he would then have ceased to be a Roman citizen, *nos non possumus et huius esse civitatis et cuiusvis praeterea*, pro Balb. 29. Nepos says that Att. refused Athenian citizenship. We have a passage in Cicero, Att. vi. 6, 2, *non enim ista largitio fuit in cives sed in hospites liberalitas*; but this does not mean that the Athenians were *cives* of Atticus, but only that Atticus’ gift of corn was not a largess to the Athenians considered as fellow-citizens, but an act of generosity to them considered as his entertainers.

*Xenocratem*] The same story is told by Cicero in pro Balbo, 12; but there Xeno-

nium dicentem prohibuerunt, aut cum tabulas Metelli Numidici, cum eae, ut mos est, circumferrentur, nostri iudices aspicere noluerunt; multo haec, inquam, nostra res maior. 5. Itaque iudicum vocibus, cum ego sic ab iis ut salus patriae defenderer, fractus reus et una patroni omnes conciderunt. Ad me autem eadem frequentia postridie convenit, quacum abiens consulatu sum domum reductus. Clamare praeclari Ariopagitae se non esse venturos nisi praesidio constituto. Refertur ad consilium: una sola sententia praesidium non desideravit. Defertur res ad senatum: gravissime ornatissimeque decernitur: laudantur iudices: datur negotium magistratibus: responsurum hominem nemo arbitrabatur. Ἐσπετε νῦν μοι, Μοῦσαι, ὅπως δὴ πρῶτον πῦρ ἔμπεσε. Nosti Calvum,† ex Nanneianis illum,† illum laudatorem meum, de cuius oratione erga me honorifica ad te scripseram. Biduo per unum servum et eum ex gladiatorio ludo confecit totum negotium, arcessivit ad se, promisit, intercessit, dedit. Iam vero—o di boni, rem perditam!—etiam noctes certarum mulierum atque adolescentu-

crates is referred to as *quidam*. The Roman jurors disliked a display of Greek learning by an advocate.

*Metelli Numidici*] See *or. pro Balbo*, 11. Q. Metellus Numidicus, cons. 645 (b.c. 109), who conducted the war against Jugurtha, was tried for misappropriation of public money, probably after his praetorship (some say after his return from Africa). *Tabulae* are the accounts of public moneys handled by him in his governorship.

5. *fractus*] ‘smashed;’ so below, § 8. *fregi*, ‘I smashed him.’

*Ariopagitae*] cf. above, *senatus ἀρειος πάγος*; but here the word is ironical.

*una sola sententia*] ‘there was only one vote to the effect that the body-guard was unnecessary.’

Ἐσπετε] Hom. II. xvi. 112.

*Calvum*] It is certain that Crassus is referred to. He may have been bald, and have been called Calvus as a nickname. But of the meaning of *ex Nanneianis illum* I have no conception. It is amusing to find the guess of Manutius given by commentators, as if it had any authority: ‘He was nicknamed Calvus because he bought the property of one Nanneius, a Sullan proscript, and as purchaser gave in his name as Licinius Calvus.’ Such is the note of one commentator on this passage, and nearly all the others are to the

same effect. We know that Crassus did buy the goods of Sullan proscripts, and that among these proscripts was Nanneius; but why Crassus should therefore be called ‘one of the Nanneians’—why, above all, he should be so called here, where the Sullan transaction is quite irrelevant, and whether ‘one of the Nanneians’ would have conveyed to Atticus the meaning ‘one of the purchasers of the goods of the proscript Nanneius’—all these are very difficult questions to answer. The guess of Manutius that he gave in his name as Licinius Calvus should not for a moment have been accepted as an interpretation. It is far more philosophical to give the riddle up. But I agree with Boot that some Greek word written (as is usual in these letters) in Roman characters gave rise to *ex Nanneianis*. Perhaps *Calvum*, too, is corrupt. Possibly *callidum illum illum, laudatorem meum* is what he wrote: see Att. i. 14, 3. Crassus is put forward as a type of the *callidus* in Fin. ii. 57. See Adn. Crit.

*promisit*] *se. interpres; intercessit sequester; dedit divisor.*

*noctes*] cf. Att. ii. 24, 3, *noctem et nocturnam deprecationem*, where there is clearly an allusion to the intrigue between Caesar and Servilia, mother of M. Iunius Brutus, for which see Suet. Jul. 50.



lorum nobilium introductiones non nullis iudiciis pro mercedis cumulo fuerunt. Ita, summo discessu bonorum, pleno foro servorum, xxv iudices ita fortes tamen fuerunt, ut, summo proposito periculo, vel perire maluerint quam perdere omnia, xxxi fuerunt quos fames magis quam fama commoverit. Quorum Catulus cum vidisset quemdam: 'Quid vos,' inquit 'praesidium a nobis postulabatis? an ne nummi vobis eriperentur [timebatis]?' 6. Habes, ut brevissime potui, genus iudicii et causam absolutionis. Quaeris deinceps qui nunc sit status rerum et qui meus. Rei publicae statum illum, quem tu meo consilio, ego divino confirmatum putabam, qui bonorum omnium coniunctione et auctoritate consulatus mei fixus et fundatus videbatur, nisi quis nos deus respexerit, elapsum scito esse de manibus uno hoc iudicio, si iudicium est triginta homines populi Romani levissimos ac nequissimos nummulis acceptis ius ac fas omne delere, et, quod omnes non modo homines, verum etiam pecudes factum esse sciant, id Thalnam et Plautum et Spongiam et ceteras huius modi quisquilias statuere numquam esse factum. 7. Sed tamen, ut te de re publica consoler, non ita, ut sperarunt mali, tanto imposito rei publicae vulnere, alacris exultat improbitas in victoria. Nam plane ita putaverunt, cum religio, cum pudicitia, cum iudiciorum fides, cum senatus auctoritas concidisset, fore ut aperte victrix nequitia ac libido poenas ab optimo quoque peteret sui doloris, quem improbissimo cuique inusserat severitas consulatus mei. 8. Idem ego ille,—non enim mihi videor insolenter gloriari, cum de me apud te loquor, in ea praesertim epistola, quam nolo aliis legi,—idem, inquam, ego recreavi adflictos animos bonorum, unum quemque confirmans, excitans. Insectandis vero exagitandisque nummariis iudiciis omnem

summo discessu] 'a complete disappearance,' like ἐπὶ λείψις σαφὴς in Thuc. ii. 50.

quos fames] 'in whom poverty was a stronger motive than principle.'

[timebatis] I have followed Cobet Mnem. viii. 454, and Var. Lect. 475, in bracketing as a gloss this word. The sentence is much more elegant without it. Cobet quotes Sen. Ep. 97, 6, who gives the same mot in the same words, omitting timebatis.

6. auctoritate] 'precedent.'

elapsum . . . de manibus] 'slipped

through our fingers.' Cp. rempublicam funditus amisimus, Ep. liii. 15; e manibus amisisti praedam, Pl. Mil. ii. 5, 47.

Thalnam] Fictitious names to indicate the low origin of the judges; as we might say, 'Hodge, Nokes, and Styles.'

8. aliis legi] 'to be read to others:' cf. Att. xvi. 13, 1; Fam. ix. 1, 1: 'To be read by others' would be 'ab aliis legi.'

omnem . . . παρηγοῖαν] 'I left them not a word to say,' 'I did not leave them their right of speech.'

omnibus studiosis ac fautoribus illius victoriae *παρρησίαν* eripui, Pisonem consulem nulla in re consistere umquam sum passus, desponsam homini iam Syriam ademi, senatum ad pristinam suam severitatem revocavi atque abiectum excitavi, Clodium praesentem fregi in senatu cum oratione perpetua, plenissima gravitatis, tum altercatione huius modi, ex qua licet pauca degustes. Nam cetera non possunt habere neque vim neque venustatem, remoto illo studio contentionis, quem *ἀγῶνα* vos appellatis. 9. Nam, ut Idibus Maiis in senatum convenimus, rogatus ego sententiam multa dixi de summa re publica, atque ille locus inductus a me est divinitus: 'ne una plaga accepta patres conscripti conciderent, ne deficerent: vulnus esse eius modi, quod mihi nec dissimulandum nec pertimescendum videretur, ne aut metuendo ignavissimi, aut ignorando stultissimi iudicaremur: bis absolutum esse Lentulum, bis Catilinam, hunc tertium iam esse a iudiciis in rem publicam immissum. Erras, Clodi: non te iudices urbi, sed carceri reservarunt, neque te retinere in civitate, sed exsilio privare voluerunt. Quam ob rem, patres conscripti, erigite animos, retinete vestram dignitatem. Manet illa in re publica bonorum consensio: dolor accessit bonis viris, virtus non est imminuta: nihil est damni factum novi, sed, quod erat, inventum est. In unius hominis perditum iudicio plures similes reperti sunt.' 10. Sed quid ago? paene orationem in epistolam inclusi. Redeo ad altercationem. Surgit pulchellus puer, obiicit mihi me ad Baias fuisse. Falsum, sed tamen quid huic? 'Simile est,' inquam, 'quasi dicas in operto fuisse.'—'Quid,' inquit, 'homini Arpinati cum aquis

*consistere*] *Consistere* is said of one who stands firm and awaits the onset of the enemy. 'I did not leave him a place for the sole of his foot:' cf. *pro Quin.* 5, veritas locum ubi consistat reperire non poterit.

*vos*] 'you Athenians.' See note on § 4.

9. *divinitus*] 'by a happy inspiration,' or (merely) 'with wonderful effect': cf. *Att. ii.* 21, 6.

*immissum*] 'let loose on the Commonwealth.'

*exsilio privare*] for if condemned he could have gone into exile.

*dolor accessit*] 'the well-affected have now the added stimulus of indignation, and their courage is not less than before.'

10. *in epistolam inclusi*] See note on

*Att. i.* 13, 5.

*pulchellus*] an allusion to the family name, Pulcher, which seems to have been unsuitable to him, as we may judge from the fragment of Cicero's or. in Clod. et Curion., *sed credo postquam speculum tibi adlatum est longe te a pulchris abesse sensi.*

*ad Baias fuisse*] What Clodius twits him with is his having a villa in Baiae, as we may gather from or. in Clod. See on *Att. ii.* 8, 2.

*Falsum*] These words are addressed to Atticus, 'A falsehood—but what difference does that make to him?' Boot reads *quid hoc*, 'what of that, if I were?' Bosius gives *salsum* for *falsum*.

*in operto*] an allusion to the concealment of Clodius in the house of Caesar

calidis?'—'Narra,' inquam, 'quid patrono tuo, qui Arpinatis aquas concupivit?' Nosti enim marinas.—'Quousque,' inquit, 'hunc regem feremus?'—'Regem appellas,' inquam, 'cum Rex tui mentionem nullam fecerit?' Ille autem Regis hereditatem spe devorarat.—'Domum,' inquit, 'emisti.'—'Putes,' inquam, 'dicere, iudices emisti?'—'Iuranti,' inquit, 'tibi non crediderunt.'—'Mihi vero,' inquam, 'xxv iudices crediderunt, xxxi, quoniam nummos ante acceperunt, tibi nihil crediderunt.' Magnis clamoribus adflictus conticuit et concidit. 11. Noster autem status est hic: apud bonos iidem sumus, quos reliquisti, apud sordem urbis et faecem multo melius nunc, quam reliquisti. Nam et illud nobis non obest, videri nostrum testimonium non valuisse: missus est sanguis invidiae sine dolore atque etiam hoc magis, quod omnes illi fautores illius flagitii rem manifestam illam redemptam esse a iudicibus confitentur: accedit illud, quod illa

during the rites of the Bona Dea. Clodius taunts Cicero with frequenting the fashionable and dissipated Baiae. Cicero replies, 'you make as much of it as if you were charging me with having been at the mystic rites of the Bona Dea.' In *operto* is apparently especially applied to the rites of the Bona Dea, as in *Parad. iv. 42*, familiarissimus tuus de te privilegium tulit, ut si in *opertum* Bonae Deae accessisses, exsulares.

*patrono*] C. Scribonius Curio the elder is here referred to. He had in the Sullan proscription bought the villa of Marius at Baiae. Probably this estate was called *aquae marinae*: see *orat. in Clod. et Cur.*, *nec enim respexit illum ipsum patronum libidinis suae non modo apud Baias esse verum eas ipsas aquas habere quae gustu tamen (Boot, rustici atque) Arpinatis fuisent*. The reading *Marianas* would be an improvement, but *marinas* is quite intelligible. *Aquae* means medicinal springs. See (in the or. already quoted) *ne in suis quidem praediis liceat esse valetudinique servire*; they are called *marinae*, because they were on the sea coast. See on *Att. ii. 8, 2*. I have introduced *quid* into the sentence on my own conjecture. It might easily have fallen out after *inquam*, and it seems to me that the sentence absolutely requires it. 'What business,' says Clodius, 'has an Arpinate like you with warm baths?' 'Tell me,' replies Cicero, 'what business has your patron, who cast

a covetous eye on the *aquae marinae* of Marius, an Arpinate?' 'Tell your patron' would be unmeaning. What was there to tell? 'Ask your patron' is what is required, and that sense is given by the insertion of *quid*. *Narra* is often used thus to introduce a rhetorical or ironical question, e.g. *Att. ii. 7, 2*, *Narra mihi: reges Armenii patricos resalutare non solent*. *Mihi* might also have fallen out after *inquam* or *narra*, but there is no need for it: cf. the precisely analogous use of the *indic.* in *narro tibi*: Quintus cras *Att. xiii. 51, 2*. So also *Att. ii. 11, 1*. *Nosti enim marinas* is addressed to Atticus.

*Regem*] Q. Marcius Rex was the husband of the sister of Clodius, to whom Rex left nothing in his will. See *pro Sull. 21, 22*.

*Domum*] 'You have invested in a house,' says he: 'one would fancy,' I replied, 'you were charging me with investing in a jury.'

*crediderunt*] 'gave you credit.'

*concidit*] 'broke down.'

11. *nostrum testimonium*] in disproof of Clodius' *alibi*.

*missus est sanguis*] 'the plethora of my unpopularity has thus as it were undergone depletion, and the operation has been painless.' Cicero again takes a metaphor from this part of the surgeon's art in *Att. vi. 1, 2*, *Appius cum ἐξ ἀπαίρέσεως provinciam curarit, sanguinem*

contionalis hirudo aerarii, misera ac ieiuna plebecula, me ab hoc Magno unice diligi putat, et hercule multa et iucunda consuetudine coniuncti inter nos sumus, usque eo, ut nostri isti comisatores coniurationis, barbatuli iuvenes, illum in sermonibus Gnaeum Ciceronem appellent. Itaque et ludis et gladiatoribus mirandas ἐπισημασίας sine ulla pastoria fistula auferebamus. 12. Nunc est exspectatio ingens comitiorum, in quae omnibus invitis trudit noster Magnus Auli filium, atque in eo neque auctoritate neque gratia pugnat, sed quibus Philippus omnia castella expugnari posse dicebat [in quae modo asellus onustus auro posset ascendere]. Consul autem ille deterioris histrionis similis suscepisse negotium dicitur et domi divisores habere, quod ego non credo. Sed senatus consulta duo iam facta sunt odiosa, quod in consulem facta putantur, Catone et Domitio postulante, unum, ut apud magistratus inquiri liceret, alterum, cuius domi divisores habitarent, adversus rem publicam. 13. Lurco autem tribunus pl., qui magistratum insimulatum lege Aelia iniit, solutus est et Aelia

*miserit.* Cp. also *totus mitti civilibus armis Usque vel in pacem potuit cruor*, Luc. vi. 300.

*hirudo*] 'the rabble, that is, the blood-sucker of the treasury, the wretched starveling mob.'

*comissatores*] 'those who conspire only over their wine-cups.'

ἐπισημασίας] 'tokens of popularity.'

*pastorica fistula*] 'cat-calls,' 'hissing.' Muretus quotes Plat. Legg. 700 C, οὐ σύριγγ' ἦν οὐδέ τις ἄμουσοι βοᾷ πλῆθος. Pipes were used to drown the voice of unpopular speakers, as were *sibili* also: see Att. ii. 19, 3.

12. *comitiorum*] consular elections. For *A. filium*, see on Att. i. 1, 2.

*Philippus . . . dicebat*] See Mayor's note on *callidus emptor Olynthi*, Juv. xii. 47.

*deterioris*] For *deterioris* of the mss. Boot reads *Doterionis*, the conjecture of Bosius, supposing with him that this was a nickname given to one of the two actors, Aristodemus and Neoptolemus, whose services as agents Philip so largely used. Whichever of them he used as his bribery agent might well have been called Δοτηρίων. And such a name would be most applicable to Piso, and would be relevant to the mention of Philip. But *deterioris*

*histrionis* of the Med. may be explained to mean 'an actor of second parts,' for such an actor was always of an inferior position in his profession, as may be clearly gathered from Cic. Div. in Caec. 48, *ut in actoribus Graecis fieri videmus, saepe illum qui est secundarum aut terti- arum partium, cum possit aliquanto clari- us dicere quam ipse primarum, multum summittere ut ille princeps quam maxi- me excellat.* The stock actor was not allowed to outshine the 'star.' 'Piso the consul,' says Cicero, 'is playing second fiddle to Pompeius in his intrigues for Afranius.' δευτεράγωνιστής is used in this sense in Dem. 344. *Deterioris histrionis* might also be explained 'an actor of a low class:' we see from Plaut. Amph. Prol. 67 that such actors employed *claqueurs*, *favitores*, and used indirect means to gain the public favour, as Piso used indirect means to further the candi- dature of Afranius.

*unum*] 'one that it might be lawful to search the houses of magistrates; another, that any magistrate in whose house bribery agents should be harboured should be held guilty of a state offence.'

13, *lege Aelia*] From the time of the Publilian laws both patrician magistrates and tribunes had the right of taking the auspices. But neither party used them

et Fufia, ut legem de ambitu ferret, quam ille bono auspicio claudus homo promulgavit. Ita comitia, in a. d. vi. Kal. Sext. dilata sunt. Novi est in lege hoc, ut, qui nummos in tribus pronuntiarit, si non dederit, impune sit, sin dederit, ut quoad vivat singulis tribubus HS cxx cxx cxx debeat. Dixi hanc legem P. Clodium iam ante servasse: pronuntiare enim solitum esse et non dare. Sed heus tu! videsne consulatum illum nostrum, quem Curio antea ἀποθέωσιν vocabat, si hic factus erit,† fabam mimum† futurum?

for political purposes, and so the authority remained dormant. It was roused into life again by the *Leges Aelia et Fufia*, 601 (B.C. 153), which enacted that *obnuntiatio* should be confirmed both to patrician and to plebeian magistrates. It was especially important to patricians as a check to revolutionary attempts on the part of the tribunes, and as such it was regarded by Cic. (post red. in sen. 11, Vat. 17). This explains *insimulatum* (or *infamatum*) *lege Aelia*. They further contained a clause that the *comitia* for elections should be got over before those for the passing of laws were held (Schol. Bob. 319, Orelli), and possibly that on days of election no *obnuntiatio* should be allowed. The irregularity of Lurco was that he proposed his law about bribery at the time of the *comitia* for elections. *Insimulatum* is 'impugned by;' *mag. lege Aelia infamatus* is 'a magistracy on which the Aelian law cast a slur.' The former is H. A. J. Munro's correction of the mss, †*insimul cum*†; the latter L. C. Purser's. See *Addenda to Comm.*, note 2; and see *Adn. Crit.*

[*Novi*] The new feature in his bill was that *promising* (*pronuntiarit*) was not punishable, but paying the money was punished by a heavy fine.

[*fabam mimum*] 'mere child's play.' Mr. Watson explains thus:—'A joke like the election of a king at the Saturnalia when the boys elected a king, using beans to vote with, "A twelfth-night Royalty"—cf. Hor. Ep. i. 1, 59, *Pueri ludentes rex eris aiunt*.' This is the reading of Med., but *fabam mimum*, a 'bean-play,' cannot be acquiesced in without further knowledge. Orelli suggests *Fanam mimum*, a farce, supposing its name to have been *fama*; but all these attempts rest on a corrupt passage of Seneca, and are very forced. Perhaps *fabam* should be *fabulam*, and *mimum* was a gloss on *fabulam*. The sentence would thus mean 'the rank enjoyed by us consulars which Curio used

to call a deification will be a by-word.' Cf. *cinis et manes et fabula fies*. Pers. v. 152. If *mimum* were one of those *interlinear* glosses which abound in M, it would account for the corruption of *fabulam* to *fabam*. The passage from Persius just quoted suggests *fabulas manes* (see Or. on Hor. Carm. i. 4, 16) or *fabulam et manes* or *fabulam manium*, which would make a good antithesis to ἀποθέωσιν. 'Fabulam' is 'scandal' in Ep. xii. 54. *Mimum futurum* in the sense of 'would be a mere farce' would be post-Ciceronian, though *minus* is thus used by Suetonius. Hofmann reads *fabae hilum*, comparing Plaut. Aul. v. 1, 10, where Festus explains *hilum* as *quod grano fabae adhaeret*. An able reviewer of the 1st ed. of this volume in the *Athenaeum* suggests that *mimum* is the word which Cicero wrote, *fabulam* being a bad gloss; he thinks that the allusion is to Afranius' talent for dancing; for this see Dio, δρχεισθαι γὰρ βέλτιον ἢ τι διαπράσσειν ἡπιστάτο, xxxvii. 49. But the most ingenious emendation of this passage is suggested to me by a friend and former pupil, Mr. Brooks, of Trinity College, Dublin. Gronovius in a note on Pl. Aul. v. 1, 10, says that there was a certain worm called *mida* found in beans: when this was found by boys *solebant exultare ac velut triumphum agere*. I cannot find any authority for Gronovius' statement except a similar statement by Lambinus; but the word is found in a strange superlative form in Virgilius the grammarian, who has *midissimus* = 'very tiny,' and the word is distinctly recognized as a rare word by Theophr. *de causis plantarum* 4, 15, 4, σηπόμενον δὲ ἑκάστων γεννᾶ ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας ὑγρότητος, οἷον οἱ μὲν πυροὶ καὶ αἱ κριθαὶ τοὺς κίας, ὁ δὲ κύαμος τὸν ὑπὸ τινὼν καλούμενον μίδα. *Fabae midam* would give a very apt sense:—'The consulate will no longer be the object of rational ambition; as well henceforth

Qua re, ut opinor, φιλοσοφητέον, id quod tu facis, et istos consula-  
tus non flocci faciteon. 14. Quod ad me scribis, te in Asiam statu-  
isse non ire, equidem malletm ut ires, ac vereor ne quid in ista re  
minus commode fiat. Sed tamen non possum reprehendere con-  
siliū tuum, praesertim cum egomet in provinciam non sim  
profectus. 15. Epigrammatis tuis, quae in Amaltheo posuisti,  
contenti erimus, praesertim cum et Thyillus nos reliquerit et  
Archias nihil de me scripserit, ac vereor ne, Lucullis quoniam  
Graecum poëma condidit, nunc ad Caecilianam fabulam spectet.  
16. Antonio tuo nomine gratias egi, eamque epistolam Mallio  
dedi. Ad te ideo antea rarius scripsi, quod non habebam idoneum  
cui darem nec satis sciebam quo darem. Valde te venditavi.  
17. Cincius si quid ad me tui negotiū detulerit, suscipiam. Sed  
nunc magis in suo est occupatus, in quo ego ei non desum. Tu,  
si uno in loco es futurus, crebras a nobis litteras exspecta: ast  
plures etiam ipse mittito. 18. Velim ad me scribas cuius modi  
sit Ἀμαλθεῖον tuum, quo ornatu, qua τοποθεσίᾳ, et quae poëmata  
quasque historias de Ἀμαλθείᾳ habes, ad me mittas. Lubet mihi  
facere in Arpinati. Ego tibi aliquid de meis scriptis mittam.  
Nihil erat absoluti.

might a man triumph among the boys at finding the insect in the bean, as direct his ambition towards the consulate.'

*facteon*] a verbal on the Greek model.

14. *ne quid*] 'I fear if you do not go some unpleasantness will arise.' He fears that Quintus, who was of a hasty temper, might take offence. See next Ep. § 1.

15. *Epigrammatis*] 'The inscriptions' which Att. wrote under the statues which adorned his Ἀμαλθεῖον. Cicero says he must be contented with the inscription placed by Atticus under his own statue since Thyillus and Archias are not

available. It was this Archias for whose citizenship Cicero pleaded before his brother Quintus as praetor.

*Caecilianam fabulam*] 'I fear he is now turning his thoughts to the Caecilian drama' i. e. a poem on the Metelli who were of the gens *Caecilia*, with a play on the name of the old Latin poet Caecilius.

16. *venditavi*] 'I sounded your praises to Ant.' The sentence separating these words from *Antonio* is merely parenthetical. See Adn. Crit.

18. *facere*] sc. an Amaltheum like yours.

## XXIII. TO ATTICUS, IN EPIRUS (ATT. I. 17).

ROME, A. U. C. 693; B. C. 61; AET. CIC. 45.

M. Cicero de Q. fratris offensione et voluntate mutata erga Atticum exponit, causamque eius rei ipsam praesenti colloquio reservans, adseverat de summo suo erga Atticum amore. Tum significat statum rei publicae et solutam paene coniunctionem senatus et ordinis equestris; de consiliis suis capessendae rei publicae, de Luceii aliorumque petitione consulatus.

## CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Magna mihi varietas voluntatis et dissimilitudo opinionis ac iudicii Quinti fratris mei demonstrata est ex litteris tuis, in quibus ad me epistolarum illius exempla misisti. Qua ex re et molestia sum tanta adfectus, quantam mihi meus amor summus erga utrumque vestrum adferre debuit, et admiratione quidnam accidisset quod adferret Quinto fratri meo aut offensionem tam gravem aut commutationem tantam voluntatis. Atque illud a me iam ante intellegebatur, quod te quoque ipsum discedentem a nobis suspicari videbam, subesse nescio quid opinionis incommodae sauciumque eius esse animum et insedissee quasdam odiosas suspiciones; quibus ego mederi cum cuperem antea saepe et vehementius etiam post sortitionem provinciae, nec tantum intellegebam ei esse offensionis, quantum litterae tuae declarabant, nec tantum proficiebam, quantum volebam. 2. Sed tamen hoc me ipse consolabar, quod non dubitabam quin te ille aut Dyrrachii aut in istis locis uspiam visurus esset. Quod cum accidisset, confidebam ac mihi

1. *Magna*] Quintus had plainly given ear to some designing traducers of Atticus, as is clear from § 2, *quod erat illi nonnullorum artificibus inculcatum*. The quarrel did not arise from the fact that Atticus gave up his idea of going to Asia to meet Quintus; the words *antea saepe et vehementius post sortitionem provinciae* show that it was prior to Quintus's departure for Asia. However, Cicero fears that this change of plan on the part of Atticus may inflame the quarrel (Att. i. 16, 14), and professes himself (§ 7 of this letter) ready to bear witness that Atticus had given in writing to him his reasons for declining to go to the province; so that his refusal to accompany Quintus was

due to no rupture between them. From § 3 of this letter we gather that the misunderstanding was not due to any bad feeling between Quintus and his wife Pomponia, the sister of Atticus, though Cicero thinks the good offices of the latter might have been used to heal the wound. Cicero expressly says he will not entrust to a letter his theory of the cause of the quarrel, *facilius possum existimare quam scribere*, and thinks it has more ramifications than appear, *latius patet quam videtur*.

*opinionis incommodae*] cf. in last Ep., § 14, *ne quid in ista re minus commode fiat*.

*insedissee*] governs *animum*, understood.

persuaseram fore ut omnia placarentur inter vos non modo sermone ac disputatione, sed conspectu ipso congressuque vestro. Nam quanta sit in Quinto fratre meo comitas, quanta iucunditas, quam mollis animus ad accipiendam et ad deponendam offensio- nem, nihil attinet me ad te, qui ea nosti, scribere. Sed accidit perincommode, quod eum nusquam vidisti. Valuit enim plus, quod erat illi non nullorum artificiiis inculcatum, quam aut offi- cium aut necessitudo aut amor vester ille pristinus, qui plurimum valere debuit. 3. Atque huius incommodi culpa ubi resideat facilius possum existimare quam scribere. Vereor enim ne, dum defendam meos, non parcam tuis. Nam sic intellego, ut nihil a domesticis vulneris factum sit, illud quidem, quod erat, eos certe sanare potuisse. Sed huiusce rei totius vitium, quod aliquanto etiam latius patet quam videtur, praesenti tibi commodius expo- nam. 4. De iis litteris, quas ad te Thessalonica misit, et de sermonibus, quos ab illo et Romae apud amicos tuos et in itinere habitos putas, ecquid tantum causae sit ignoro sed omnis in tua posita est humanitate mihi spes huius levandae molestiae. Nam, si ita statueris, et irritabiles animos esse optimorum saepe homi- num et eosdem placabiles, et esse hanc agilitatem, ut ita dicam, mollitiamque naturae plerumque bonitatis et, id quod caput est, nobis inter nos nostra sive incommoda sive vitia sive iniurias esse tolerandas, facile haec, quem ad modum spero, mitigabuntur. Quod ego ut facias te oro. Nam ad me, qui te unice diligo, maxime pertinet neminem esse meorum, qui aut te non amet aut abs te non ametur. 5. Illa pars epistolae tuae minime fuit necessaria, in qua exponis quas facultates aut provincialium aut urbanorum

2. *mollis*] 'susceptible,' 'impression- able,' 'sensitive.'

*sic intellego ut*] 'my view is that they can repair the breach, *but only if* no wound has been inflicted by those of your own household. *Sic . . . ut* followed by subj. can only have this *restrictive* mean- ing; *ita . . . ut* is far commoner in this sense.

3. *domesticis*] the plural is used to soften down the remark by making it more vague. He refers to Pomponia. So above, *meos* refers to Quintus, *tuis* to Pomponia.

4. *ecquid*] 'As to his letters from Thessalonica, and his remarks to certain friends of yours at Rome and on his jour-

ney, I cannot see what real ground there is to justify such language on his part; but my whole hope of mitigating this unpleasantness lies in your kindness.' Boot follows Orelli in his explanation of the words *ecquid tantum causae sit*—'I do not see what there is in his letters to justify such annoyance on your part;' but this is quite inconsistent with the next sentence, *sed omnis . . . molestiae*, and Cicero has already owned in the first words of this letter that Quintus had shown a very unfriendly spirit in his correspondence with Atticus.

*esse hanc agilitatem*] 'that this nimble- ness and sensitiveness of disposition is generally the sign of a good heart.'



commodorum et aliis temporibus et me ipso consule praetermiseris. Mihi enim perspecta est ingenuitas et magnitudo animi tui, neque ego inter me atque te quidquam interesse umquam duxi praeter voluntatem institutae vitae, quod me ambitio quaedam ad honorum studium, te autem alia minime reprehendenda ratio ad honestum otium duxit. Vera quidem laude probitatis, diligentiae, religionis neque me tibi neque quemquam antepono, amoris vero erga me, cum a fraterno [amore] domesticoque discessi, tibi primas defero. 6. Vidi enim, vidi penitusque perspexi in meis variis temporibus et sollicitudines et laetitias tuas. Fuit mihi saepe et laudis nostrae gratulatio tua iucunda et timoris consolatio grata. Quin mihi nunc te absente non solum consilium, quo tu excellis, sed etiam sermonis communicatio, quae mihi suavissima tecum solet esse, maxime deest—quid dicam? in publica re, quo in genere mihi neglegenti esse non licet, an in forensi labore, quem antea propter ambitionem sustinebam, nunc, ut dignitatem tueri gratia possim, an in ipsis domesticis negotiis? in quibus ego cum antea tum vero post discessum fratris te sermonesque nostros desidero. Postremo non labor meus, non requies, non negotium, non otium, non forenses res, non domesticae, non publicae, non privatae carere diutius tuo suavissimo atque amantissimo consilio ac sermone possunt. 7. Atque harum rerum commemorationem verecundia saepe impedivit utriusque nostrum. Nunc autem ea fuit necessaria propter eam partem epistolae tuae, per quam te ac mores tuos mihi purgatos ac probatos esse voluisti. Atque in ista incommoditate alienati illius animi et offensi illud inest tamen commodi, quod et mihi et ceteris amicis tuis nota fuit et abs te aliquando testificata tua voluntas omittendae provinciae, ut, quod una non estis, non dissensione ac discidio vestro, sed voluntate ac iudicio tuo factum esse videatur. Qua re et illa, quae violata, expiabantur et haec

5. *voluntatem institutae vitae*] 'the paths we chose in life.'

*probitatis*] This and the following genitives are *genitivi definitivi*, 'in real glory (which consists in) honesty,' &c.: cp. *Pericles hac laude dicendi clarissimus fuit*, Brut. 7; exactly similar is pro Mur. 23, *aliis virtutibus continentiae gravitatis iustitiae fidei*: so *mercedem gloriae* is 'the reward (which consists) of glory:' Tusc. i. 15; Madv. § 286; Draeg. Hist. Syn. i. p. 466.

*cum a fraterno . . . discessi*] 'in affection towards me, after that of my brother and family, I place you first.' Cf. Fam. i. 9, 18; vi. 12, 2. Nearly similar is Off. ii. 6, *cum ab hoc discendi genere discesseris*.

7. *Qua re et illa*] 'The rupture between you and Quintus will be healed, and the ties between us which have been so religiously guarded will remain as sacred as ever.' The last words might be more accurately rendered 'will make good their

nostra, quae sunt sanctissime conservata, suam religionem obtinebunt. 8. Nos hic in re publica infirma, misera commutabilique versamur. Credo enim te audisse nostros equites paene a senatu esse disiunctos: qui primum illud valde graviter tulerunt, promulgatum ex senatus consulto fuisse, ut de eis, qui ob iudicandum accepissent, quaereretur. Qua in re decernenda cum ego casu non adfuissem sensissemque id equestrem ordinem ferre moleste neque aperte dicere, obiurgavi senatum, ut mihi visus sum, summa cum auctoritate et in causa non verecunda admodum gravis et copiosus fui. 9. Ecce aliae deliciae equitum vix ferendae! quas ego non solum tuli, sed etiam ornavi. Asiam qui de censoribus conduxerunt, questi sunt in senatu se cupiditate prolapsos nimium magno conduxisse: ut induceretur locatio, postulaverunt. Ego princeps in adiutoribus atque adeo secundus: nam, ut illi auderent hoc postulare, Crassus eos impulit. Invidiosa res, turpis postulatio et confessio temeritatis. Summam erat periculum ne, si nihil impetrassent, plane alienarentur a senatu. Huic quoque rei sub-

former sanctity:' that is, 'I shall be able, with your other friends, to assure Quintus that your declining a place in his retinue is not due to any ill feeling, but is in consequence of a resolution already formed by you and communicated to us. This will heal the quarrel, and be a new proof of our good feeling for you.'

8. *ob iudicandum*] I have not ventured to read with Klotz *ob rem iudicandam pecuniam accepissent*. Cicero uses *accipere* absolutely in the sense of 'to take offerings or bribes.' Cf. Att. v. 21, 5; Q. Fr. i. 1, 13 (Ep. xxx.).

*in causa non verecunda*] 'considering my case was not a very respectable one.' *Non verecunda* is selected as being an expression conveying somewhat less than *impudens*, which he afterwards applied to the same case (Att. ii. 1, 8). Cf. De Or. ii. 361, habetis sermonem . . . hominis utinam non *impudentis*, illud quidem certe, non nimis *verecundi*.

9. *deliciae*] 'piece of coolness (swagger, presumption) on the part of the knights.' Cf. Att. ii. 1, 8, *quid impudentius?*

*Asiam*] *Asiani* of the Med. would mean 'Asiatics;' *Asiatici* is the word which would be applied to the Equites who farmed the taxes of Asia. But *Asiani* of the M is probably a corruption of *Asiam*, as Malaspina suggested.

*ut induceretur*] 'cancelled;' Greek *διαγράφειν*, 'to draw a pen through' a document.

*atque adeo*] Mr. Pretor translates 'I was their leading counsel, and, for the matter of that, their junior, too,' explaining '*senior*, if you take into account the service I did them; *junior*, if you regard the fact that I did not originate the plea.' But surely this is extremely farfetched. The obvious meaning of the passage is (as Boot takes it) 'I was their leader, or rather the second; for it was Crassus who urged them to demand the cancelling of the contract.' Boot does not give instances of this usage of *atque adeo*, which Mr. Pretor says 'it would be extremely hard to justify.' Surely he has overlooked Att. xv. 13, 3, *Quod ad te antea atque adeo prius scripsi (sic enim maioris)*, where Mr. Pretor's rendering 'and what's more' would be nonsense. To this should be added a good example of this use of *atque adeo* in Pis. 41, *tunc etiam atque adeo vos*; and an excellent example from Plautus, which I owe to Prof. A. Palmer.

Cf. Tibi daretur illa? St. Mihi enim—Ah non id volui dicere  
Dum mihi volui, huic dixi—atque adeo  
dum mihi cupio—perperam  
Iamdudum hercle fabulor—

Cas. ii. 6, 14.

ventum est maxime a nobis perfectumque, ut frequentissimo senatu et libentissimo uterentur, multaque a me de ordinum dignitate et concordia dicta sunt Kal. Decembr. et postridie. Neque adhuc res confecta est, sed voluntas senatus perspecta. Unus enim contra dixerat Metellus consul designatus, cum erat dicturus—ad quem propter diei brevitatem perventum non est—heros ille noster Cato. 10. Sic ego conservans rationem institutionemque nostram tueor, ut possum, illam a me conglutinatam concordiam, sed tamen, quoniam ista sunt tam infirma, munitur quaedam nobis ad retinendas opes nostras tuta, ut spero, via, quam tibi litteris satis explicare non possum, significatione parva ostendam tamen. Utor Pompeio familiarissime. Video quid dicas. Cavebo quae sunt cavenda ac scribam alias ad te de meis consiliis capessendae rei publicae plura. 11. Luceium scito consulatum habere in animo statim petere: duo enim soli dicuntur petituri. Caesar cum eo coire per Arrium cogitat et Bibulus cum hoc se putat per C. Pisonem posse coniungi. Rides? Non sunt haec ridicula, mihi crede. Quid aliud scribam ad te? quid? Multa sunt, sed in aliud tempus. Si expectare velis, cures ut sciam. Iam illud modeste rogo, quod maxime cupio, ut quam primum venias. Nonis Decembribus.

11. *cum eo*] Luceius.

*cum hoc*] Luceius again: *cum hoc* would seem to refer to Caesar, but this is impossible; for the agency of Piso would not have been used by Bibulus to secure the co-operation of Caesar, who was on the worst possible terms with Piso at the time (Sal. Cat. 49).

*Si expectare velis*] M omits *si*; Klotz inserts it after *expectare*, but it would more easily have fallen out after *tempus*. The meaning is, 'if you mean to remain absent from Rome till you hear from me again (to wait for this fuller letter), let me know.' *Expectari si velis*, which is

sometimes read, would mean 'if you wish me to stay in Rome till you return thither.' Cicero, we find, visited the country in the beginning of the year. He was desirous of timing his return so as to be at Rome when Atticus arrived there.

*modeste*] of the mss is absolutely required by the need of an antithesis to *maxime*.| Orelli, with Manutius and Lambinus, reads *molesto rogo* = 'I beseech you even to importunity.' The question between *modeste* and *molesto* again arises in Att. ii. 1, 9.

## LETTERS OF THE NINTH YEAR OF CICERO'S CORRESPONDENCE.

EPP. XXIV.-XXX.

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A. U. C. 694; B. C. 60; AET. CIC. 46.

COSS. Q. CAECILIUS METELLUS CELER, L. AFRANIUS.

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THE letters of this year trace the course of the dissolution of that *ordinum concordia* which was the political aspiration of the *optimates* under Catulus and Cicero, who announces himself as the successor of Catulus on his death, which took place this year. Cicero complains (Att. i. 18, 3), 'Ille annus duo firmamenta reipublicae per me unum constituta evertit: nam et *senatus auctoritatem* abiecit et *ordinum concordiam* disiunxit.' The causes of this are to be found in the obstinate conservatism of Cato, and the unhappy position of Pompeius with regard to his soldiers, to whom he had promised grants of land. To obviate the latter source of disunion, Cicero defended the Agrarian Law of Flavius, but without success. The Equites, already offended by the laws passed against judicial corruption, and the failure of their attempt to bring about the cancelling of the contract for farming the taxes of Asia, in which they found themselves unable to carry out their estimate, were further alienated by the perseverance of Cato, whose views Cicero describes as Utopian. The party of Hortensius and Lucullus Cicero contemptuously styles 'fish-fanciers,' as they seem to have abandoned politics, and devoted themselves to the formation of aquariums. Cicero accordingly betrays symptoms of a desire to seek a coalition with Pompeius, for which Atticus is

disposed to take him gently to task (*molli brachio obiurgat*, Att. ii. 1, 6). The other topics of the letters of this year are the early and unsuccessful attempts of Clodius to become a plebeian, so as to be eligible for the tribunate; the rumours of war in Gaul, and an analysis of the advantages of a coalition with Caesar on the formation of the First Triumvirate. Cicero ultimately pronounces against such a step (Att. ii. 3, 3), on the ground that it would be inconsistent with the spirit of his poem on the consulship (which he probably wrote this year), and of a memoir (*ὑπόμνημα*) of the same eventful year in Greek, which, he tells us, Posidonius thought so good, that he said he would hesitate to treat the same subject in Greek himself after it had been so well handled by Cicero.

The only other literary production of this year was his revision of an early translation of the 'Prognostica' of Aratus. His version of this poem probably supplied materials to both Virgil and Lucretius.

The most remarkable letter of 694 is his first letter to his brother Quintus, which is an Essay on Provincial Administration, probably suggested by his brother's 'Manual of Electioneering Tactics' (Ep. xii.).

Cicero visited the country in the beginning of the year, spending some time in the neighbourhood of Pompeii, but soon returning to Rome. On the Kalends of June he left Rome for Antium, and visited his Tusculan estate on his way back to the city.

## XXIV. TO ATTICUS, IN EPIRUS (ATT. I. 18).

ROME, A. U. C. 694 ; B. C. 60 ; AET. CIC. 46.

M. Cicero queritur sibi deesse quicum libere quae sentiat communicet, cum Q. frater absit et a se etiam Atticus frustra maximo opere desideretur: de domesticis sollicitudinibus et de miserrimo rei publicae statu.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Nihil mihi nunc scito tam deesse quam hominem eum, quocum omnia, quae me cura aliqua adficiunt, [una] communicem: qui me amet, qui sapiat quicum ego ita loquar, ut nihil fingam, nihil dissimulem, nihil obtegam. Abest enim frater ἀφελέστατος et amantissimus. Metellus non homo, sed

*littus atque aër et solitudo mera!*

Tu autem, qui saepissime curam et angorem animi mei sermone et

1. *ita loquar ut*] Boot is perhaps right in understanding these words to be (like the immediately subsequent description of Metellus) a quotation from some poet; reading, with Peerlkamp, *ut necum* for *ita*, we should have a troch. tetr. cat.—

—“qui me amet qui sapiat quicum ego ut necum loquar,

and *nihil fingam* . . . *obtegam* would be Cicero's explanation of *ut necum loquar*.

ἀφελέστατος] ‘ingenu, open-hearted.’ He is thus contrasted with Metellus.

*Metellus*] I do not see why this passage should be regarded as corrupt. Cicero says, ‘you and Quintus are away, and Metellus (*whom I see more than anyone else*, as may be gathered from the expression, *socio laborum*, applied to him in *or. pro Sest.* 131) is as unsociable as “sea-shore or waste of sky or deserts idle,”’ quoting, no doubt, these last words from some lost poet. In § 4 of the next letter he says in a most emphatic way, *Metellus est consul sane bonus, et nos admodum diligit*, so that but for his unsocial character Metellus might have been a fair substitute for Quintus or Atticus. See also note on Att. 1. 20, 5. As to the extravagance of the metaphor, (1) it is a quotation from poetry, as is shown by its metrical form (it forms a cretic verse); (2) *non homo sed* is precisely the

phrase to introduce a violent metaphor, as in *non hominem sed scopas solutas*, Att. vii. 13, 6. *Non homo sed* introduces a disparaging criticism, so on no arrangement of the passage can it be made to refer to Quintus. For other illustrations of *non homo sed* in this sense, see Bücheler in Rhein. Mus. 1880, p. 400. Moreover, the mention of some person of high position like Metellus is demanded by the words below, *nam illae ambitiosae* . . . *non habent*, ‘for such unreal and political friendships (*sc.* as I have referred to) confer a sort of *éclat* before the world, but are not a source of any private and personal enjoyment.’ Matthiae for *Metellus* in this passage reads *En! tellus*, ‘see what a world I am living in,’ which seems to me to be utterly bad Latin. Wessenberg rewrites the passage with a most perverted ingenuity: for *Metellus* he reads *Mē tellus!* and supposes these, as well as the following words, to belong to the poetical quotation, which would thus run (with, be it observed, a false quantity in *aër*)—

*Me tellus! Non homo est, sed littus atque aër  
Et solitudo mera.*

These are supposed by him to be words put into the mouth of Philoctetes in Lemnos by Accius in a tragedy on the subject. *Me tellus* (*sc. devoret*) is defended, he thinks,

consilio levasti tuo, qui mihi et in publica re socius et in privatis omnibus conscius et omnium meorum sermonum et consiliorum particeps esse soles, ubinam es? Ita sum ab omnibus destitutus, ut tantum requietis habeam, quantum cum uxore et filiola et mellito Cicerone consumitur. Nam illae ambitiosae nostrae fucosaeque amicitiae sunt in quodam splendore forensi, fructum domesticum non habent. Itaque, cum bene completa domus est tempore matutino, cum ad forum stipati gregibus amicorum descendimus, reperire ex magna turba neminem possumus quocum aut iocare libere aut suspirare familiariter possimus. Qua re te expectamus, te desideramus, te iam etiam arcessimus: multa sunt enim, quae me sollicitant anguntque, quae mihi videor aures nactus tuas unius ambulationis sermone exhaustire posse. 2. Ac domesticarum quidem sollicitudinum aculeos omnes et scrupulos occultabo, neque ego huic epistolae atque ignoto tabellario committam. Atqui hi—nolo enim te permoveri—non sunt permolesti, sed tamen insident et urgent et nullius amantis consilio aut sermone, requiescunt. In re publica vero quamquam animus est praesens

by τότε μοι χάνοι in Q. Fr. iii. 9, 1, and Philoctetes is supposed to call on the earth to 'gape open wide and eat him quick,' because he finds himself deserted and alone with the elements. Certainly nothing but the complete absence of auditors could excuse Philoctetes for such an unintelligible ellipse as *Me tellus* (sc. *devoret*).

*ambitiosae . . . amicitiae*] A very brilliant reviewer of the 1st ed. of this volume in the *London Times*, Aug. 14, 1880, thus renders this passage:—'My public friendships, like rouged beauties, are brilliant in a sort of way before the world, but give me no private enjoyment; and so, when my house has been crowded with its morning levée, and I have gone down to the forum with a whole retinue of friends, I cannot find in the whole throng a single person with whom I can joke freely, or whisper as to an intimate.'

*tantum . . . consumitur*] This is a careless expression for *requiem habeo tantum temporis quantum consumitur*, 'I find ease only during that time which I spend,' &c. Cp. *quod . . . temporis datur*, Ep. xxvi. 7.

*bene completa*] Cf. *prima salutantes at-*

*que altera continet hora* Mart. iv. 8, 1.

*reperire*] From this word to *visus est et talis*, almost the last words of the next letter, we lose the guidance of the Med., some leaves of the ms being lost.

*iam etiam*] 'in fact;'  
*et iam*, Fam. i. 1, 3; Brut. 96; *iamque*, Fam. iv. 6, 9; *iam ergo*, Clu. 113: are used in this sense; so *ac iam*, *iam et*, and sometimes *iam*.

2. *domesticarum . . . sollicitudinum*] 'Perhaps from debt, or from a suspicion (afterwards realised) that Clodius was plotting his ruin,' says Schütz. Perhaps rather from *both* causes. *Aculei* would refer to the attacks made on him by Clodius: cf. *fuerunt nonnulli aculei in Caesarem, contumeliae in Gellium*, Q. Fr. ii. 1, 1; *scrupulos* would refer to money, cf. Att. ii. 4, 1, *nummi potius reddantur quam ullus sit scrupulus*.

*In re publica vero . . . efficit*] No satisfactory correction of this sentence has been proposed. *Ipsa* certainly refers to *res publica*, but it is rash to expel *voluntas* as a gloss. I suggest the following correction, which certainly suits the context better than the others, and can call to its aid a very parallel passage not yet brought

†tamen voluntas etiam atque etiam ipsa medicinam efficit.† Nam, ut ea breviter, quae post tuum discessum acta sunt, colligam, iam exclames necesse est res Romanas diutius stare non posse. Etenim post profectionem tuam primus, ut opinor, introitus fuit in causam fabulae Clodianae in qua ego nactus, ut mihi videbar, locum reseccandae libidinis et coercendae iuventutis, vehemens flavi et omnes profundi vires animi atque ingenii mei, non odio adductus alicuius, sed spe non corrigendae, sed sanandae civitatis. 3. Adflicta res publica est empto constupratoque iudicio. Vide quae sint postea consecuta. Consul est impositus is nobis, quem nemo praeter nos philosophos aspicere sine suspirio posset. Quantum hoc vulnus? Facto senatus consulto de ambitu, de iudiciis, nulla lex perlata, exagitatus senatus, alienati equites Romani. Sic ille annus duo firmamenta rei publicae per me unum constituta evertit: nam et senatus auctoritatem abiecit et ordinum concordiam disiunxit.

to bear on this difficulty:—*In republica vero quamquam animus est praesens et voluntas, tamen etiam atque etiam ipsa medicina EFFUDIT*: compare Att. ii. 9, 1, qui omnia remedia reipublicae effuderunt. *Animus* and *voluntas* are attributes of the Republic which is personified, as is clearly shown by the words *ipsa medicinam effudit*. See Adn. Crit.

*causam . . . fabulae*] ‘the Clodian scandal,’ Mr. Pretor renders, so as to avoid the confusion of metaphors, which Orelli and Koch would respectively remedy by changing *causam* to *scenam* or *caveam*. I believe, however, that Cicero purposely used *introitus in causam* to indicate what we would express by saying, ‘the Clodian drama was the first that made its entry on the stage of public discussion.’ *Causa* is simply ‘a topic, or definite, practical subject of discussion:’ cf. Top. 79, Quaestionum duo sunt genera alterum infinitum, definitum alterum; definitum est quod ὑπεθεῖν Graeci, nos *causam*, appellamus; infinitum quod illi θέσιν, nos *propositum*. So in De Inv. i. 8, he defines *causam* as *rem quae habeat in se controversiam in dicendo positam cum personarum certarum interpositione*. *Fabula* is undoubtedly ‘a drama.’ Cicero is very prone to the use of the word in this sense, e.g. *Staienus . . . istam dedit conciliationis et gratiae fabulam*, pro Cluent. 84; *non solum unum actum sed*

*totam fabulam confecissem*, Phil. ii. 34. So De Sen. 64 and 70. *Fabula* is, however, used for ‘scandal’ by Q. Cicero above, Ep. xii. 54.

*reseccandae*] a vox propria of the medical art; cf. *quae sanari poterunt sanabo, quae reseccanda erunt*, &c., or. in Cat. ii. 11. Cp. Soph. Ai. 581, θρηνεῖν ἐπαδὰς πρὸς τομῶντι πρήματι.

*flavi*] This word is restored from the Ed. Crat. by Klotz for *fui*, which is very weak, taken with the rest of the sentence. Quintilian, xii. 6, 5, has *omisso magna semper flandi tumore*; and Cic. Att. ii. 16, 2, has the precisely similar Greek expression *φυσῆ* in this sense.

*sed spe non*] Here again Klotz follows Crat., and gives a much more pointed sense than the vulgate: ‘I thus spoke, not through spite against Clodius, but in the hope—I will not say of administering an alternative to the State, but—of effecting a radical cure of its disease.’ He recurs to the metaphor from a diseased human organism which appears above in *remedia effudit* and *reseccandae libidinis*.

3. *constupratoque*] Cf. Att. i. 16, 5.

*Facto*] For the *senatus consultum de ambitu*, see Att. i. 16, 12; for that *de iudiciis*, Att. i. 17, 8.

*duo firmamenta rei publicae*] Here we have a very distinct statement of Cicero’s political creed.



Instat hic nunc ille annus egregius. Eius initium eius modi fuit, ut anniversaria sacra Iuventatis non committerentur. Nam M. Luculli uxorem Memmius suis sacris initiavit. Menelaus aegre id passus divortium fecit. Quamquam ille pastor Idaeus Menelaum solum contempserat, hic noster Paris tam Menelaum quam Agamemnonem liberum non putavit. 4. Est autem C. Herennius quidam tribunus pl., quem tu fortasse ne nosti quidem—tametsi potes nosse: tribulis enim tuus est, et Sextus, pater eius, nummos vobis dividere solebat—is ad plebem P. Clodium traducit, idemque fert, ut universus populus in campo Martio suffragium de re Clodii ferat. Hunc ego accepi in senatu, ut soleo, sed nihil est illo homine lentius. 5. Metellus est consul egregius et nos amat, sed imminuit auctoritatem suam, quod habet dicis causa promulga-

*hic nunc ille*] This is the reading of all the mss and edd. *Ille* is very unlikely to have been inserted by any copyist or gloss-writer, so it seems bad criticism to omit it. Klotz for *ille* reads *item*; but Boot points out that *ille* is the same as *talis* in Plaut. Capt. iii. 4, 61, where *illic hic* is *talis hic*, 'a man mad like him.' In Introduction, ii. § 2, I have referred to the great importance of a Plautine analogue, when a usage in the letters requires defence.

*Eius initium*] The sacred rites of Iuventas were pretermitted this year, because Memmius initiated the wife of M. Lucullus into certain mysteries of his own (i. e. *stupravit*). The only plausible attempt to explain the *vis consequentiae* of this passage is made by Boot, who, quoting Liv. xxxvi. 36, to show that it was a Lucullus who first dedicated the temple of Iuventas, suggests that the Luculli always presided at the sacred rites and games in honour of Iuventas, but this year declined to hold them on account of the domestic trouble of M. Lucullus. Memmius was curule aedile. It was to him that Lucretius addressed his poem.

*Menelaus*] 'The injured husband, M. Lucullus, divorced his wife. [But the modern Paris, Memmius, has acted even worse than the ancient, for] though the Paris of Ida treated with indignity only the husband (Menelaus), the modern Paris shows scant courtesy, even to Agamemnon (i. e., the injured husband's brother.)' Not only did Memmius injure Menelaus (M. Lucullus) by his intrigue with his wife, but he injured Agamemnon (L. Lu-

cullus, the brother of M. Lucullus) by resisting his claims to a triumph on his return from the East. *Liberum non putavit* is 'played him a scurvy trick,' 'did a knavish piece of work by him,' literally, 'did not treat him as a free man,' 'gave him a varlet's usage.'

4. *nummos*] His father was a bribing agent, *divisor*, and in this capacity used to pay out money to your tribe.

*tradicuit*] 'he is trying to transfer Clodium to the *plebs*' (by adoption).

*idemque*] 'and at the same time,' when *idem* means 'yet, nevertheless,' there is no copula.

*ut universus*] i. e., wishes to give the *adrogatio* or *adoption*. to the *comitia centuriata*, though it was usually performed in the *comitia curiata*, Gell. v. 17, 6: cp. Gaius i. 99, with Poste's note.

*Hunc*] 'I gave him my usual reception in the senate, but the fellow is amazingly thick-skinned.'

5. *dicis causa*] 'Metellus is an excellent consul, and much attached to me, but he has lessened his weight by having made, as a mere matter of form, the same proposal (as Herennius made with deliberate design) about Clodium (about giving the cognizance of Clodium' claim to the *comitia centuriata*). *Promulgatum habet* is a pregnant circumlocution for the *perf.*: cp. *inclusum habere*, Att. vi. 2, 8; *descriptam*, Rep. 2, 9; *cognitum*, Brut. 147; *deportatas*, 2 Verr. iii. 36; *domitas*, de Or. i. 194. *Habuerant leges promulgatas* occurs in Vat. 16. *Dicis causa* is the Greek *δῶτας ἐκαστῶν*. Metellus did not see the significance of the bill of Herennius.

tum illud idem de Clodio. Auli autem filius, o di immortales! quam ignavus ac sine animo miles! quam dignus, qui Palicano, sicut facit, os ad male audiendum cotidie praebeat! 6. Agraria autem promulgata est a Flavio, sane levis, eadem fere, quae fuit Plotia. Sed interea πολιτικὸς ἀνὴρ οὐδ' ὅναρ quisquam inveniri potest. Qui poterat, familiaris noster—sic est enim: volo te hoc scire—Pompeius togulam illam pictam silentio tuetur suam. Crassus verbum nullum contra gratiam. Ceteros iam nosti: qui ita sunt stulti, ut amissa re publica piscinas suas fore salvas sperare videantur. 7. Unus est qui curet constantia magis et integritate quam, ut mihi videtur, consilio aut ingenio, Cato: qui miseros publicanos, quos habuit amantissimos sui, tertium iam mensem vexat, neque iis a senatu responsum dari patitur. Ita nos cogimur reliquis de rebus nihil decernere ante quam publicanis responsum sit. Qua re etiam legationes reiectum iri puto. 8. Nunc vides quibus fluctibus iactemur, et, si ex iis, quae scripsimus tanta, etiam a me non scripta perspicis, revise nos aliquando et, quamquam sunt haec fugienda, quo te voco, tamen fac ut amorem

Metellus opposed the bill when he saw its significance, which fact (not to refer to the unnatural order of the words) puts out of court the reading of Schütz, *quod habere dicit causam promulgatum illud idem.*

*miles*] Perhaps an allusion to the fact that Afranius had been a lieutenant of Pompeius in the East; but the contentions of the *comitia* are often alluded to by Cicero under military figures: cf. for example Att. i. 16, 1, minus quam soleam *praeliatus* sim . . . quas ego *pugnas* et *strages* edidi . . . te spectatorem *pugnarum* desideravi.

6. πολιτικὸς] 'we have no one who has a conception, a dream, of what statesmanship is.' Or, perhaps, rather 'No one can point to, no one can even dream of, a real statesman.' οὐδ' ὅναρ = 'not even in a dream.'

*togulam . . . pictam*] Boot quotes Vell. Pat. ii. 40, *Absente Cn. Pompeio T. Ampius et T. Labienus tribuni plebis legem tulerunt, ut is ludis Circensibus corona laurea et omni cultu triumphantium uteretur, scenicis autem praetexta coronaque laurea. Id ille non plus quam semel, et hoc sane nimium fuit, usurpare sustinuit.* This bill was passed A. U. C. 690 (b. C. 64). The words *et hoc sane nimium fuit* show how general was that feeling of contempt

for the vanity of Pompeius, which here betrays itself in the use of the diminutive form, *togula*: cf. on Att. ii. 1, 8.

7. *qui curet*] 'able to do good.' *legationes*] The month of February was set apart for the receiving of foreign embassies.

8. *ex iis, quae scripsimus tanta*] An attraction precisely parallel to Att. xiii. 37, 4, *de ceteris quae scribis ἀνεμοφόρητα*. The meaning is not exactly the same in *ex iis tantis quae scripsimus* and *ex iis quae scripsimus tanta*: the latter expression means, 'those topics which I have treated at such length,' 'with such emphasis;' the former would mean 'those important topics which I dwell on in my letter.' Cic. wants here a neat phrase like our 'to read between the lines.' Mr. Pretor would omit *tanta*, because *tanta* occurs after twenty-three intervening words. In the same way he treats *ille* above, § 3, and on the same grounds. This is rash. *Ille* in § 3, and *tanta* here, are exactly the sort of words to be omitted, though genuine, and exactly the sort of words *not* to be inserted *unless* genuine; for they make the passage more difficult, but admit of explanation on a careful view.

*quo*] = *ad quae*.

nostrum tanti aestimes, ut eo vel cum his molestiis pervenire velis. Nam, ne absens censeare, curabo edicendum et proponendum locis omnibus. Sub lustrum autem censerī germani negotiatoris est. Qua re cura ut te quam primum videamus. Vale. XI Kal. Febr. Q. Metello L. Afranio coss.

## XXV. TO ATTICUS, IN EPIRUS (ATT. I. 19).

ROME, A. U. C. 694 ; B. C. 60 ; AET. CIC. 46.

In summis occupationibus suis vult tamen M. Cicero Attico copiose et de rebus publicis et de privatis suis exponere. Et primum de rei publicae statu et imprimis de metu belli Gallici exponit, tum de rebus urbanis, maxime de lege agraria a Flavio tr. pl. proposita, dein significat de consilio suo in re publica inito et obtinendo, postea de negotio Attici, ut a Sicyoniis pecuniam exigat, per senatus consultum impedito scribit, tum de commentario consulatus sui Graece composito et Latine etiam nunc scribendo et de poemate eiusdem argumenti ; addit de Q. fratre et de Cossinio, cui has litteras dabat.

### CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Non modo, si mihi tantum esset otii, quantum est tibi, verum etiam, si tam breves epistolas vellem mittere, quam tu soles, facile te superarem et in scribendo multo essem crebrior quam tu. Sed ad summas atque incredibiles occupationes meas accedit, quod nullam a me epistolam ad te sino absque argumento ac sententia pervenire. Et primum tibi, ut aequum est civi amanti patriam,

*ne absens censeare.*] In early times the *incensus* was liable to arrest, imprisonment, and even loss of freedom or death: cf. Gaius 1, 160 ; Livy 1, 44 ; Dionys. 4, 15 ; Cic. Caec. 99. According to late practice, as appears from this passage, the citizen who did not appear either in person or by his procurator, was rated by the censor's officers, and lost all power of objection to his rating. To prevent this in Atticus's case, Cicero put up placards everywhere (no doubt where Atticus had property or offices), notifying that the latter would not fail to appear for the census : see Mommsen, St. R. ii. 355. The force of *nam* is not clear at first sight. Cic. means 'come to see me ; your business matters of course I shall look after, so do not think you must come for

them.'

*Sub lustrum*] 'to have your name registered just before the lustration which closes the census is the part of too thoroughgoing a stockbroker.' Atticus was a knight who did a little money-lending, and not a regular *negotiator*. So it was not becoming in him to follow the example of persons regularly engaged in business, who made it a practice to register their property just before the close of the *census*, lest they should be entered as possessed of more or less than they really had. If he dealt in excisable articles, a tradesman would lose if the amount of his stock was overstated in the *census*, but if it was underrated, he might appear guilty of dishonesty.

1. *absque argumento ac sententia*] 'with-

quae sunt in re publica, exponam : deinde, quoniam tibi amore nos proximi sumus, scribemus etiam de nobis ea, quae scire te non nolle arbitramur. 2. Atque in re publica nunc quidem maxime Gallici versantur metus. Nam Aedui, fratres nostri, pugnam nuper malam pugnarunt et Helvetii sine dubio sunt in armis excursionesque in provinciam faciunt. Senatus decrevit, ut consules duas Gallias sortirentur, dilectus haberetur, vacationes ne valerent, legati cum auctoritate mitterentur qui adirent Galliae civitates darentque operam ne eae se cum Helvetiis coniungerent. Legati sunt Q. Metellus Creticus et L. Flaccus et τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ φακῇ μύρον, Lentulus Clodiani filius. 3. Atque hoc loco illud non queo praeterire, quod, cum de consularibus mea prima sors exisset, una voce senatus frequens retinendum me in urbe censuit. Hoc idem post me Pompeio accidit, ut nos duo quasi pignora rei publicae retineri

out matter and moral : ' *absque sententia* occurs in Quintilian vii. 2, 44, in the sense of 'without premeditation.'

2. *Gallici metus*] 'alarms from Gaul ;' *metus* is concrete, 'a cause of fear :' cp. *nulli nocte metus*, Juv. iii. 198 ; *Lybici metus*, 'the Gorgon's head,' Stat. Th. xii. 606.

*fratres nostri*] *Soli Gallorum fraternitatis nomen cum populo Romano usurpant*, Tac. A. xi. 25.

*pugnam nuper malam*] See Adn. Crit. τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ φακῇ μύρον] The context seems to show that the proverb should indicate 'a good thing thrown away,' 'pearls before swine.' The words occur in a verse from the Phoenissae of Strattis preserved by Athenaeus, 160 :

παραινέσαι δὲ σφῶν τι βούλομαι σοφὸν,  
ὅταν φακὴν ἐψήτε μὴ τιχεῖν μύρον.

This is certainly the verse which Cicero has in his mind, though I have not found it referred to by the commentators. Lentulus, who had never held any office, is an unworthy associate of Metellus Creticus and L. Flaccus. Lentulus is the *φακῇ* (*lens*, whence the pun) ; the commission is the *μύρον*. There is no use in pouring unguents on lentils, and this important commission is thrown away on such an one as Lentulus. Mr. Pretor says this Lentulus had been consul in 682 (b.c. 72). If that were so he would have been no unfit associate for the other two. He was the son of the consul of 682 (b.c. 72). L. Flaccus had been praetor during Cicero's

consulate. Q. Metellus Creticus was consul in 685 (b.c. 69), and triumphed in 692 (b.c. 62). Flaccus distinguished himself under Metellus in the Cretan War, *bellum Cretense ex magna parte gessit atque una cum summo imperatore sustinuit*, or. pro Flacc. 6. Suidas gives a different account of the proverb ; he says that the words refer to a *nouveau riche* who, abandoning his lentil fare, can now afford unguents, and with him agrees the scholium on Ar. Plut. 1005—

ἔπειτα πλουτῶν οὐκέθ' ἡδέεται φακῇ,  
προτοῦ δ' ὑπὸ τῆς πενίας ἀπαντ' ἐπίσθηε.

The meaning of the words on this theory would be 'a great piece of promotion for such an obscure person as Lentulus.' It is also possible that Cic. means here to speak *well* of Lentulus, and to describe him as an ornament to the commission, he being the *μύρον*, and the rest the *φακῇ*. A subsequent quotation in the same passage of Athenaeus would seem to favour this view. It is from the *Nekyia* of Sopatros.

\*Ἰθακος Ὀδυσσεὺς τοῦπὶ τῇ φακῇ μύρον  
πάρεστι· θάρσει, θυμέ

But then there would be no pun ; and it is so like Cic. to pun on a name : cp. *guttam adspersit huic Bulbo*, Cluent. 72. Besides, Lentulus was in fact obscure. Accordingly, the first interpretation is most probably right. See Meineke (Com. F. ii. 780), who does not notice] the account of Suidas.

videremur. Quid enim ego aliorum in me ἐπιφωνήματα expectem, cum haec domi nascentur? 4. Urbanae autem res sic se habent. Agraria lex a Flavio tribuno pl. vehementer agitabatur auctore Pompeio, quae nihil populare habebat praeter auctorem. Ex hac ego lege secunda contionis voluntate omnia illa tollebam, quae ad privatorum incommodum pertinebant: liberabam agrum eum, qui P. Mucio L. Calpurnio consulibus publicus fuisset: Sullanorum hominum possessiones confirmabam: Volaterranos et Arretinos, quorum agrum Sulla publicarat neque diviserat, in sua possessione retinebam: unam rationem non reiiciebam, ut ager hac adventicia pecunia emeretur, quae ex novis vectigalibus per quinquennium reciperetur. Huic toti rationi agrariae senatus adversabatur, suspiciens Pompeio novam quamdam potentiam quaeri. Pompeius vero ad voluntatem <sup>ex</sup>preferendae legis incubuerat. Ego autem magna cum agrariorum gratia confirmabam omnium privatorum possessiones—is enim est noster exercitus hominum, ut tute scis, locupletium—populo autem et Pompeio—nam id quoque volebam—satis faciebam emptione, qua constituta diligenter et sentinam urbis exhauriri et Italiae solitudinem frequentari posse arbitrabar. Sed haec tota res interpellata bello refrixerat. Metellus est consul sane bonus et nos admodum diligit. Ille alter nihili ita est, ut plane quid emerit nesciat. 5. Haec sunt in re publica, nisi etiam illud ad rem publicam putas pertinere, Herennium quemdam, tribunum pl., tribulem tuum, sane hominem nequam atque egentem, saepe iam de P. Clodio ad plebem

3. ἐπιφωνήματα] 'why, indeed, should I look for the *bravos* of foreigners when I have such a supply at home?' The word ἐπιφωνήματα is taken in its grammatical sense of 'an interjection,' like *tua ἐκφώνησις ὕπερ*, 'your cries of bravo' in Att. x. 1, 3.

4. liberabam] 'I was for releasing from its operation;' so the other imperfects in this sentence.

Volaterranos] See *pro dom.* 79.

rationem] 'section of the act.'

ut ager] 'the purchase of the land with the foreign revenue coming for the next five years from the new tributary states' (i.e. the states which Pompeius had made tributary by his conquests in the East); *ut emeretur* is the *definitive* subjunctive with *ut* commented on in

Ep. xii. 42.

agrariorum] *Agrarii* in Cicero always means the same as *agripetae*, so we must here render 'while thoroughly preserving the good will of the applicants for grants of land.' These were chiefly the soldiers of Pompeius.

solitudinem] τὰ πλείστα τῆς Ἰταλίας ἡρημαμένα αὐθις συνφκίζετο Dio. xxxviii. 1.

quid emerit nesciat] This is a proverb equivalent to our homely expression 'to buy a pig in a poke.' When Afranius bought the consulship (as we know he did from Att. i. 16, 12) he did not know that his feebleness would prevent him from making any use of his purchase. The proverb is found in Ter. Eun. iv. 4, 23.

traducendo agere coepisse: huic frequenter interceditur. Haec sunt, ut opinor, in re publica. 6. Ego autem, ut semel Nonarum illarum Decembrium iunctam invidia ac multorum inimicitiiis eximiam quamdam atque immortalem gloriam consecutus sum, non destiti eadem animi magnitudine in re publica versari et illam institutam ac susceptam dignitatem tueri, sed postea quam primum Clodii absolute levitatem infirmitatemque iudiciorum perspexi, deinde vidi nostros publicanos facile a senatu disiungi, quamquam a me ipso non divellerentur, tum autem beatos homines—hos piscinarios dico, amicos tuos,—non obscure nobis invidere, putavi mihi maiores quasdam opes et firmiora praesidia esse quaerenda. 7. Itaque primum eum, qui nimium diu de rebus nostris tacuerat, Pompeium, adduxi in eam voluntatem, ut in senatu non semel, sed saepe multisque verbis huius mihi salutem imperii atque orbis terrarum adiudicaret. Quod non tam interfuit mea—neque enim illae res aut ita sunt obscurae, ut testimonium, aut ita dubiae, ut laudationem desiderent—quam rei publicae, quod erant quidam improbi, qui contentionem fore aliquam mihi cum Pompeio ex rerum illarum dissensione arbitrarentur. Cum hoc ego me tanta familiaritate coniunxi, ut uterque nostrum in sua ratione munitior et in re publica firmior hac coniunctione esse possit. 8. Odia autem illa libidinosae et delicatae iuventutis, quae erant in me incitata, sic mitigata sunt comitate quadam mea, me unum ut omnes illi colant. Nihil iam denique a me asperum in quemquam fit, nec tamen quidquam populare ac dissolutum, sed ita temperata tota ratio est, ut rei publicae constantiam praestem, privatis rebus meis propter infirmitatem bonorum, iniquita-

*frequenter*] always means 'in crowds' or 'at short intervals' in Class. Lat.; *frequenter* = 'frequently' is only found in Silver Latin. *So subinde* (*souvent*).

6. *Nonarum . . . Decembrium*] The day on which the execution of Lentulus and his accomplices took place. *Nonarum* depends perhaps on *diei* understood: cf. Att. iv. 1, 5, *qui fuit dies Non. Sept.* = *Nonarum Septembrium*.

*beatos*] 'well-to-do.'

7, *rerum illarum diss.*] 'A quarrel on those matters.' Cp. *virtutis certamen*, Fin. v. 72, and the note of Madv. there; he compares *dissensio huius ordinis* = *ab hoc ordine*, Catil. iv. 15; *divinarum humana-*

*rumque rerum consensio*, Lael. 20; *hominis nobilissimi coniunctio*, Fam. iii. 10, 9; *suffragatio consulatus*, Mil. 34.

8. *libidinosae et delicatae*] 'the dissipated jeunesse dorée of Rome.'

*Nihil . . . asperum*] 'I am never strait-laced, but neither do I ever seek popular favour by relaxing my principles.'

*temperata*] 'well-balanced;' *ita . . . ut* have here their usual meaning *so . . . that*, but the *ita tamen . . .* which follow are used in a more idiomatic way, 'involved as I am in my new friendships, yet I do not let them prevent me from having constantly in my ears the shrewd Sicilian's song.'

tem malevolorum, odium in me improborum adhibeam quamdam cautionem et diligentiam, atque ita tamen his novis amicitiiis implicati sumus, ut crebro mihi vafer ille Siculus insusurret [Epicharmus] cantilenam illam suam :

Νᾶφε καὶ μέμας' ἀπιστεῖν. ἄρθρα ταῦτα τῶν φρενῶν.

Ac nostrae quidem rationis ac vitae quasi quamdam formam, ut opinor, vides. 9. De tuo autem negotio saepe ad me scribis, cui mederi nunc non possumus. Est enim illud senatus consultum summa pedariorum voluntate, nullius nostrum auctoritate factum.

*vafer ille Siculus*] 'that shrewd Sicilian,' Epicharmus. Cicero speaks of Ep. as *acuti nec insulsi hominis ut Siculi*, Tusc. i. 15. These words are rendered by Sir Wm. Hamilton in his notes on Reid—

Be sober, and to doubt prepenze,  
These are the sinews of good sense.

This version hardly reproduces the *cynicism* of the original, which implies that to trust anyone is to be in a state of intellectual drunkenness. The verse is quoted by Quintus in his *Commentariolum*: see above, Ep. xii. § 39.

*formam*] 'a sketch.'

9. *De tuo . . . negotio*] What this *senatus consultum* was which seems to have been prejudicial to Atticus we cannot lay down for certain. It was *not* a refusal of the senate to interfere between Atticus and the Sicyonians, for that would not have excited such general interest as to give rise to 'indignation meetings' (*conkursus*), and is not borne out by the next letter (§ 4). The Sicyonians undoubtedly owed money to Atticus. Unluckily for Atticus, a clause was added to some *senatus consultum* passed for some other purpose, providing (we may perhaps infer) that debts incurred by *populi liberi* were not cognizable by Roman courts of law. It cannot have been a clause conferring on the Sicyonians the *status* of *populi liberi*, for they seem to have already held this *status*, and the matter would have been dwelt on more fully had it now been conferred on them for the first time. If the clause was to exempt them from taxation, how could this have affected Atticus, of whom Cornelius Nepos expressly records (6) *Nullius rei neque praes neque manceps factus est*? He never took a contract nor went security. He cannot

therefore have gone security to the publicans for the payment of their taxes by the Sicyonians, and consequently could not have lost by their being exempted. It may be said, he had lent money to the publicans, and he feared that if they lost by the exemption of the Sicyonians they would be unable to pay him; but this is quite inconsistent with *tu si tuis blanditiis tamen a Sicyoniis nummularum aliquid expresseris*. He could not hope to 'coax taxes from them' if they were exempt. But if we suppose that Atticus had lent them money, and finding them slow about paying, had intended to prosecute them, he would be greatly mortified by a clause such as I have suggested (following the *πρόσθενσις* of Boot). The objectionable clause was due to the Quixotism of Servilius, an imitator of Cato (Att. ii. 1, 10). The next letter (§ 4) lends itself to this view. The *alia via* spoken of there may perhaps derive light from Att. ii. 13, 2, *tu si litteras ad Sicyonios habes*. Atticus hoped to get some letter from the senate or consuls recommending them to pay. That Atticus, though he did not go security for anyone, yet advanced large sums of money for States on the faith of being repaid by them, is plain from Att. xvi. 16a, 5, where we are told that Atticus *pecuniam numeravit de suo*, to save from confiscation the lands of Buthrotum, which had incurred the displeasure of Caesar.

*pedariorum*] The order in which senators were asked their opinions by the presiding magistrate being one fixed by custom, it followed that there must have been a large number of senators, who, as a rule, were not asked their opinions, the subject of debate being exhausted before the question came to them. Such had the right to speak as well as vote, but generally did not press for the former. These

Nam, quod me esse ad scribendum vides, ex ipso senatus consulto intellegere potes aliam rem tum relatam, hoc autem de populis liberis sine causa additum, et ita factum est a P. Servilio filio, qui in postremis sententiam dixit, sed immutari hoc tempore non potest. Itaque conventus, qui initio celebrabantur, iam diu fieri desierunt. Tu si tuis blanditiis tamen a Sicyoniis nummularum aliquid expresseris, velim me facias certiorum. 10. Commentarium consulatus mei Graece compositum misi ad te: in quo si quid erit quod homini Attico minus Graecum eruditumque videatur, non dicam, quod tibi, ut opinor, Panhormi Lucullus de suis historiis dixerat, se, quo facilius illas probaret Romani hominis esse, idcirco barbara quaedam et *σόλοικα* dispersisse: apud me si quid erit eius modi, me imprudente erit et invito. Latinum si perfecero, ad te mittam. Tertium poemā expectato, ne quod genus

were the *pedarii*, so called probably because they asserted themselves chiefly by voting in the divisions (*pedibus ire in sententiam*). They were thus not a class that had any legal existence. See *Adenda to the Commentary*, Note 4.

*esse ad scribendum*] 'that the decree bears my signature' = *scribendo adesse*: cp. Fam. viii. 8, 5.

10. *misi*] probably an *epistolary* perfect, 'I send herewith:' cf. Att. iv. 2, 5, where we must take *misi* in this sense.

*ut opinor, Panhormi*] 'I send you herewith a memoir of my consulate, in Greek. If there is anything in it which to your *Attic* taste seems bad Greek or unclassical, I will not put forward the plea that Lucullus made to you—at Panhormus, I think it was—that he had introduced here and there a few barbarisms and solecisms, to show that the history was the work of a Roman. No: if there is any such slip in my work, it will be without my knowledge and against my will.' Mr. Pretor's version, 'Lucullus (I think it was) of Panhormus' is a very bad solecism; *Lucullus Panhormi* is not Latin for 'Lucullus of Panhormus.' I fancy, too, L. Licinius L. F. L. N. Lucullus Ponticus, consul and grandson of a consul, would have stared if addressed as Lucullus of Panhormus. It is quite possible that we should render, 'I shall not say what Lucullus said, at Panhormus, to you (I think it was).' Some of his friends had told Cicero that at Panhormus Lucullus had made to him the remark quoted in the text. Cicero

thought it was Atticus who had told him, but was not sure. *Opinor* and *ut opinor* in this sense would naturally follow the words which they qualify: cf. Fam. xv. 6, 1, *inquit Hector opinor, apud Naevium*. The comma is usually put after *Hector*; but surely it is more likely that Cicero felt an uncertainty about the speaker of the words in Naevius than about the authorship of the passage—that he said, 'Hector (I think), in Naevius,' rather than 'Hector, in Naevius (I think)': cf. also *Rhinton, ut opinor*, Att. i. 20, 3. But *ut opinor* sometimes precedes the words which it qualifies, e.g. Att. ii. 3. 1, *primum, ut opinor, εὐαγγέλια*, and I think it is here better taken as referring to *Panhormi* than to *tibi*; it is more probable that Cicero should feel uncertain about where the remark was made by Lucullus than about the person to whom it was addressed. The subject of Lucullus's history was the Marsian war. We learn that he had been in Sicily from *or. pro. Arch.* 6. Perhaps it was Archias who reported the remark to Cicero. This is the Lucullus who is 'Agamemnon' in the last letter. Cic. again mentions the place at which a thing was said in Ep. xxvii. 5.

*Latinum*] Perhaps this refers to Cicero's letter to Pompeius on his exploits: see *or. pro Sulla*, 67, *epistolam quam ego Cn. Pompeio de meis rebus gestis et de summa re publica misi*.

*poëma*] See. Att. ii. 3, 3, and *De Div.* i. 17, 18.

*Hic*] = *in hac re*.



a me ipso laudis meae praetermittatur. Hic tu cave dicas, τίς πατέρ' αἰνήσει; si est enim apud homines quidquam quod potius [sit] laudetur, nos vituperemur qui non potius alia laudemus. Quamquam non ἐγκωμιστικά sunt haec, sed ἱστορικά, quae scribimus. 11. Quintus frater purgat se mihi per litteras et adfirmat nihil a se cuiquam de te secus esse dictum. Verum haec nobis coram summa cura et diligentia sunt agenda: tu modo nos revise aliquando. Cossinius hic, cui dedi litteras, valde mihi bonus homo et non levis et amans tui visus est et talis, qualem esse eum tuae mihi litterae nuntiarant. Idibus Martiis.

τίς πατέρ' αἰνήσει] The whole proverb is found in Plutarch's Life of Aratus, τίς πατέρ' αἰνήσει εἰ μὴ κακοδαίμονες υἱοί, 'none but poor creatures of sons will praise their fathers;' that is, 'if a man has to fall back on his father's distinctions, he can have none of his own to boast of.' This, applied to Cicero, would mean, 'you must be playing a very poor part now, since you are always falling back on your consulate.' But perhaps Cicero did not think of the end of the verse which he does not quote, and means, 'the proverb tells us not to praise our fathers; therefore, *a fortiori*, self-praise is no praise.' But in either case the explanation is unsatisfactory, and the next sentence is very strange. Cicero says, 'if there is among men anything better (than my consulate), let it be the subject of my eulogy, and let me be blamed for not choosing a different subject in preference.' This is a very arrogant utterance, and very strangely expressed (which is a more important objection). The expressions *apud homines* ('in the world,' cf. Att. ii. 19, 4) and *potius* are not the expressions which Cicero would have used to convey such a sentiment; he would have written 'si est enim *post hominum memoriam* quidquam *splendidus*,' or some such words. It is to be observed that *sit* in *quod potius sit* is a conjecture; the ms gives *si*. I believe that *si* should be omitted, as having arisen from a dittography of the last syllable of *potius*. The whole passage would then run, *si est enim apud homines quidquam quod potius laudetur, nos vituperemur qui non potius alia laudemus*, and admits, I

believe, of a much more *robust* interpretation than either of those already mentioned. I think Cicero actually did introduce into his poem an elaborate eulogy of his father, which he fears Atticus may condemn as a breach of taste, but which he is ready to defend in the words 'if there is in the world (*apud homines*) any fitter subject for the pen of a son than the praise of a father, then (and then only) let me be blamed for not having chosen rather some other theme; though, indeed (he adds), my work is not a eulogy at all, but a statement of facts.' A fragment from this very poem is quoted by Cicero in a subsequent letter (Att. ii. 3, 3), and it seems to me strongly to corroborate my view: the lines are—

Interea cursus quos prima a parte iuventae  
quosque adeo consul virtute animoque petisti,  
hos retine atque auge famam laudesque bonorum.

The words which I have italicised show, I think, that Cicero introduced into his poem an eulogy on his early training, in which, no doubt, he lauded his father to an extent which he thought some might condemn. In *De Orat.* ii. 1, Cicero speaks very highly of the early training imparted by his father, whom he describes as *optimi ac prudentissimi viri*. It will be observed that this new interpretation does not depend on the change in the text which I suggest. I think this change is equally necessary, even though the old interpretations be preferred; and my interpretation is as consistent as the old with the received text.

## XXVI. TO ATTICUS, IN EPIRUS (ATT. I. 20).

ROME, A. U. C. 694; B. C. 60; AET. CIC. 46.

M. Cicero respondet epistolae ab Attico acceptae, et laetatur quidem quod in causa familiari ac domestica sibi ac suis tantum humanitatis ille praestiterit, etiam in eo, quod in ea epistola Atticus de re publica disputaverit, maximam inter se et amicum consensionem intercedere neque se umquam a sententia sua recessurum. Dein significat senatus consultum, quo negotia Sicyonia Attici impediuntur, non facile posse tolli, laudat Metellum consulem, addit de commentario consulatus sui Graece scripto. Tum flagitat ab Attico ut bibliothecam a Ser. Claudio relictam et a L. Papirio Paeto sibi donatam diligenter ad se perferendam curet et ipsius Paeti negotia Attico commendat, et ut ipse Romam veniat suadet.

## CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Cum e Pompeiano me Romam recepissem a. d. III Idus Maias, Cincius noster eam mihi abs te epistolam reddidit, quam tu Idibus Febr. dederas. Ei nunc epistolae litteris his respondebo. Ac primum tibi perspectum esse iudicium de te meum laetor, deinde te in iis rebus, quae [mihi] asperius a nobis atque nostris et iniucundius actae videbantur, moderatissimum fuisse vehementissime gaudeo, idque neque amoris mediocris et ingenii summi

1. *e Pompeiano*] a country house near Pompeii.

*perspectum esse*] 'that you were well aware of the nature of my opinion of you,' as expressed in Att. i. 17, 5, 6, 7; *iudicii* is used in the same sense in Att. i. 17, 1.

*a nobis atque nostris*] I cannot believe that Cicero here accuses himself of any harshness towards Atticus, since he does not hint at such a thing in Att. i. 17, therefore *nobis* cannot refer to Cicero. Nor can I believe that *nobis* means Quintus and *nostris* Pomponia. I think Boot's correction, *vobis*, has much to recommend it, especially if the words *aequid tantum causae sit ignoro* (Att. i. 17, 4) be explained as Boot has explained them; for, according to that explanation, Cicero hints that Atticus had no sufficient reason for his resentment, and therefore it would not be impossible that he should here ascribe harshness to Atticus. But *vobis* is not

altogether satisfactory. The words *a nobis* are not likely to be wrongly inserted, and I think the passage admits of a less violent remedy. If *tibi* were substituted for *mihi*, or (better) *mihi* were omitted—*tibi* being easily understood—all would be right; for *nobis* would then refer to Cicero and *tibi* to Atticus: and Atticus certainly did see something to complain of in the conduct of Cicero, else why did he recapitulate his services to Cicero and the chances he had lost for his sake, as we know that he did? (see Att. i. 17, 5). The passage would then be thus rendered: 'I am glad to hear of the great forbearance you have shown in that matter in which you think you experienced harshness and unfriendliness from me and mine' (from Quintus and myself).

*neque amoris mediocris*] = *et amoris non mediocris*; and the *et* taken out of *neque* corresponds to the following *et* and *ac*.

ac sapientiae iudico. Qua de re cum ad me ita suaviter, diligenter, officiose, humaniter scripseris, ut non modo te hortari amplius non debeam, sed ne expectare quidem abs te aut ab ullo homine tantum facilitatis ac mansuetudinis potuerim, nihil duco esse commodius quam de his rebus nihil iam amplius scribere. Cum erimus congressi, tum, si quid res feret, coram inter nos conferemus. 2. Quod ad me de re publica scribis, disputas tu quidem et amanter et prudenter et a meis consiliis ratio tua non abhorret—nam neque de statu nobis nostrae dignitatis est recedendum neque sine nostris copiis intra alterius praesidia veniendum, et is, de quo scribis, nihil habet amplum, nihil excelsum, nihil non summissum atque popolare—verum tamen fuit ratio mihi fortasse ad tranquillitatem meorum temporum non inutilis, sed me hercule rei publicae multo etiam utilior quam mihi, civium improborum impetus in me reprimi, cum hominis amplissima fortuna, auctoritate, gratia fluctuantem sententiam confirmassem et a spe malorum ad mearum rerum laudem convertissem. Quod si cum aliqua levitate mihi faciendum fuisset, nullam rem tanti aestimassem, sed tamen a me ita sunt acta omnia, non ut ego illi adsentiens levior, sed ut ille me probans gravior videretur. 3. Reliqua sic a me aguntur et agentur, ut non committamus ut ea, quae gessimus, fortuito gessisse videamur. Meos bonos viros, illos quos significas, et eam, quam mihi dicis obtigisse, Σπάρταν, non modo numquam deseram, sed etiam, si ego ab illa deserar, tamen in mea pristina sententia permanebo. Illud tamen velim existimes, me hanc viam

*officiose humaniter*] *off. et humaniter* is the reading of M, but edd. rightly omit the *et*. When three or more coördinate words stand together, the last and last but one are *not* connected by a copula after the manner of modern languages. Madv. Opusc. Acad. I., p. 333, note on Fin. iv. 56.

2. *praesidia*] ‘the enemy’s lines.’  
*is de quo scribis*] Pompeius.  
*summissum atque popolare*] ‘low and timeserving:’ cf. the similar estimate of Pompeius in Att. i. 13, 4.

*verum tamen*] resumes after the parenthesis: cf. Att. i. 10. 1.

*meorum temporum*] ‘my life.’  
*quam . . . confirmassem*] ‘I gave stability to the wavering principles of a man of the highest position and moral and social influence,’ i. e. Pompeius.

*cum aliqua levitate*] ‘with some sacrifice of principle’ (Pretor).

*tanti*] ‘so important’ (as to justify a sacrifice of principle).

3. Σπάρταν] An anapaestic dimeter verse is preserved among the fragments of the *Telephus* of Euripides, in which Agememnon admonishes his brother Menelaus to confine his attention to his own province: the words are Σπάρτην ἔλαχες, κείνην κόσμει. Cicero quotes this proverb in the form Σπάρταν ἔλαχες ταύταν κόσμει in Att. iv. 6, 2 (Ep. cx.). There his Sparta or ‘peculiar province’ is to follow the triumvirs; here it is to preserve the *senatus auctoritas* and the *ordinum concordia*. He is now the sole exponent of the optimate policy since Catulus is dead.

*ab illa deserar*] For *deserar*, compare *desertus ab officiis*, Ep. xv. 10.; *a mente de-*

optimatem post Catuli mortem nec praesidio ullo nec comitatu tenere. Nam, ut ait Rhinton, ut opinor,

Οἱ μὲν παρ' οὐδέν ἐῖσι, τοῖς δ' οὐδέν μέλει.

Mihi vero ut invideant piscinarii nostri aut scribam ad te alias aut in congressum nostrum reservabo. A curia autem nulla me res divellet, vel quod ita rectum est vel quod rebus meis maxime consentaneum vel quod a senatu quanti fiam minime me paenitet. 4. De Sicyoniis, ut ad te scripsi antea, non multum spei est in senatu. Nemo est enim iam qui queratur. Qua re, si id exspectas, longum est. Alia via, si qua potes, pugna. Cum est actum, neque animadversum est ad quos pertineret et raptim in eam sententiam pedarii cucurrerunt. Inducendi senatus consulti maturitas nondum est, quod neque sunt qui querantur et multi partim malevolentia, partim opinione aequitatis delectantur. 5. Metellus tuus est egregius consul: unum reprehendo, quod otium e Gallia nuntiari non magno opere gaudet. Cupit, credo, triumphare. Hoc vellem mediocrius: cetera egregia. Auli filius vero ita se gerit, ut eius consulatus non consulatus sit, sed Magni nostri ὑπώπιον. 6. De meis scriptis misi ad te Graece perfectum consulatum meum. Eum librum L. Cossinio dedi. Puto te Latinis meis delectari, huic autem Graeco Graecum invidere. Alii si scripserint, mittemus ad te, sed, mihi crede, simul atque hoc nostrum legerunt, nescio quo pacto retardantur. 7. Nunc, ut ad rem meam redeam, L. Papirius Paetus, vir bonus amatorque noster, mihi libros eos,

serar, Ep. 73, 2. But *theabis* not here used in the same way; *Sparta* is personified, as referring to 'the party of the optimates.'

[*Rhinton, ut opinor*] See on Att. i. 19, 10 (Ep. xxv.).

Οἱ μὲν] 'some of the optimates are insignificant, others are indifferent.'

[*a senatu quanti fiam*] 'I am by no means dissatisfied with the position I hold in the estimation of the senate.'

4. *Alia via*] We see by Att. ii. 13, 2 (xl.), that the *alia via* to which Atticus looked was a letter to the Sicyonians from the senate or consuls.

[*neque . . . pertineret*] See on Ep. xxv. 9; the *populi liberi* were brought under the act by an inadvertence.

5. *Metellus tuus*] So Metellus was a

friend of Atticus as well as of Cicero—another reason why the mention of Metellus is appropriate in Att. i. 18, 1. See also or. pro Sestio, 131, *socio laborum periculorum consiliorum meorum*.

[*ὕπῳπιον*] 'a blot on the fame of Pompeius,' whose *protégé* Afranius was. This word literally means 'a black eye.' The Latin expression, which Cic. might just as well have used here, is *sugillatio*; we have *sugillatio consulum*, 'an insult to the consuls,' Liv. xliii. 14, 5.

6. *Puto te*] 'I fancy you regard my Latin writings with pleasure; but being a Greek, you look on this Greek essay with envy.'

7. *amatorque*] 'an admirer;' *amans* is 'an attached friend:' cf. *amatores* huic

quos Ser. Claudius reliquit, donavit. Cum mihi per legem Cinciam licere capere Cincius amicus tuus diceret, libenter dixi me accepturum, si attulisset. Nunc si me amas, si te a me amari scis, enitere per amicos, clientes, hospites, libertos denique ac servos tuos, ut scida ne qua depereat. Nam et Graecis iis libris, quos suspicor, et Latinis, quos scio illum reliquisse, mihi vehementer opus est. Ego autem cotidie magis, quod mihi de forensi labore temporis datur, in iis studiis conquiesco. Per mihi, per, inquam, gratum feceris, si in hoc tam diligens fueris quam soles in iis rebus, quas me valde velle arbitraris, ipsiusque Paeti tibi negotia commendo, de quibus tibi ille agit maximas gratias, et, ut iam invisas nos, non solum rogo, sed etiam suadeo.

(Catoni) desunt sicuti . . . Thucydidi Brut. 66. Ser. Claudius is called the *frater* of Papirius in next letter, § 12. Probably he was his *frater patruelis*, or *cousin*. See Ep. i. 1.

*Cinciam*] The Cincian Law, A. U. C. 550 (b.c. 204), forbade presents beyond a certain amount. In De Sen. 10, it is called *legis Cinciae de donis et muneribus*. Tac. Ann. xi. 5, says it forbade the taking of fees or presents for pleading causes. There is no evidence that Cicero ever acted as advocate for Papirius. So the remark may be merely playful—a coincidence of name in the friend of Atticus recalling the old Law.

*scida*] 'A leaf,' from *scindo*. The Greek *σχέδη* was probably a late corruption of the Latin word. Mart. iv. 91, nec summa potes in *scida* (al. *scheda*) teneri.

*cotidie magis*] This seems at first sight irregular for *in dies magis*; but there is a difference in meaning between (a) *cotidie magis conquiesco* and (b) *in dies magis conquiesco*: (a) may be rendered 'there is not

a day but I feel my increased sense of recreation in literature,' that is, 'a greater sense than I used to have;' (b) would mean 'that sense becomes stronger and stronger every day.' In Att. v. 7, 1 Cic. contrasts these two expressions—*cotidie*, *vel potius in dies singulos, breviores litteras ad te mitto*, 'I find myself day after day sending you shorter letters (than I used), or rather my letters are becoming shorter every day;' he goes on *cotidie enim magis suspicor*, 'for there is not a day but I feel an increased suspicion,' &c. Cp. *cotidie mitigamur*, Ep. xix. 3.

*Per*] Cic. affects *per* in tmesis; cp. *per mihi gratum*, Ep. ix. 3, *pergrata perque iucunda* de Or. i. 205; *per enim magni*, Att. x. 1, 1; *per videre velim = videre pervelim*, Att. xv. 4, 2. This tmesis is common to the letters and dialogues of Cic. and the comic poets, e.g. Pl. Cas. ii. 6, 18; Ter. And. 455, 486; Hec. 58. It is also found in Gellius, but not in the speeches of Cicero.

XXVII. TO ATTICUS, IN GREECE, ON HIS WAY TO ROME  
(ATT. II. 1).

ROME, A. U. C. 694 ; B. C. 60 ; AET. CIC. 46.

M. Cicero Attico scribit de commentariis consulatus sui Graece et ab Attico et ab ipso compositis, de orationibus consularibus suis : dein cur Atticum in urbem arcessierit exponit : cupere P. Clodium tribunum pl. fieri, sed impediri a Metello consule et a se frangi et reprehendi urbanis dicteriis : de lege agraria rem refraxisse : de sua et Cn. Pompeii familiaritate, quae prosit rei publicae : Catonem non satis caute agere : de Favonii comitiis et accusatione Nasicae, de Lucceio, de Sicyoniis, qui Atticum laedant, de Amalthea sua, de Tusculano et Pompeiano, de prognosticis suis, de adventu Attici, de libris a Paeto sibi donatis ab Attico conservandis et mittendis, de Octavio.

✓ CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Kal. Iuniis eunti mihi Antium et gladiatores M. Metelli cupide relinquenti venit obviam tuus puer. Is mihi litteras abs te et commentarium consulatus mei Graece scriptum reddidit. In quo laetatus sum me aliquanto ante de iisdem rebus Graece item scriptum librum L. Cossinio ad te perferendum dedisse. Nam, si ego tuum ante legissem, furatum me abs te esse diceres. Quamquam tua illa—legi enim libenter—horridula mihi atque incompta visa sunt, sed tamen erant ornata hoc ipso, quod ornamenta neglexerant, et, ut mulieres, ideo bene olere, quia nihil olebant, videbantur. Meus autem liber totum Isocrati myrothecium atque omnes eius discipulorum arculas ac non nihil etiam Aristotelia

1. *gladiatores M. Metelli*] This was the brother of Q. Metellus Creticus. The commentators raise a needless question here as to why he gave a gladiatorial show. I think we may gather from Att. iv. 4b, 2, that it was a practice with wealthy Romans to buy gladiators as a speculation, to have them trained, then to give a show as a specimen of their powers, so as to dispose of them at a profit to the aediles for the public games.

*cupide relinquenti*] Cp. *cupide et libenter mentiar*, pro Q. Rosc. com. 49 ; *cupide reliquisset*, Suet. Tib. 11. In Fam. vii. 1, 1, Cicero expresses a very enlightened dislike for such spectacles. He

passed a law against the giving of games as an electioneering device, Vat. 37. He does not, however, seem to regard the games with so much dislike in Att. ii. 8, 2 ; 10, 1. The provisions of the *Lex Tullia de ambitu* were—(1) It made the *divisores* amenable to law ; (2) it forbade the giving of games as an electioneering device ; (3) it punished those convicted by ten years' exile : Lange iii. 245.

*commentarium*] i. e. by Atticus.  
*ideo bene olere*] *ecastor mulier recte olet ubi nil olet*, Plaut. Most. i. 3, 116.

*arculas*] here 'paint-boxes ;' in Off. ii. 25, it means 'jewel-cases ;' see on *ληκίδους*, Att. i. 14, 3.

pigmenta consumpsit: quem tu Coreyrae, ut mihi aliis litteris significas, strictim attigisti, post autem, ut arbitror, a Cossinio accepisti: quem tibi ego non essem ausus mittere, nisi eum lente ac fastidiose probavissem. 2. Quamquam ad me rescripsit iam Rhodo Posidonius se, nostrum illud ὑπόμνημα cum legeret, quod ego ad eum, ut ornatius de iisdem rebus scriberet, miseram, non modo non excitatum esse ad scribendum, sed etiam plane perterritum. Quid quaeris? conturbavi Graecam nationem. Ita, vulgo qui instabant ut darem sibi quod ornarent, iam exhibere mihi molestiam destiterunt. Tu, si tibi placuerit liber, curabis ut et Athenis sit et in ceteris oppidis Graeciae. Videtur enim posse aliquid nostris rebus lucis adferre. 3. Oratiunculas autem et quas postulas et plures etiam mittam, quoniam quidem ea, quae nos scribimus adolescentulorum studiis excitati, te etiam delectant. [Fuit enim mihi commodum, quod in eis orationibus, quae Philippicae nominantur, enituerat civis ille tuus Demosthenes, et quod se ab hoc refractariolo iudiciali dicendi genere abiunxerat, ut σεμνότερός τις et πολιτικώτερος videretur, curare ut meae quoque essent orationes, quae consulares nominarentur. Quarum una est in senatu Kal. Ianuariis, altera ad populum de lege agraria, tertia de Othone, quarta pro Rabirio, quinta de proscriptorum filiis, sexta, cum provinciam in contione deposui, septima, cum Catilinam

*strictim attigisti*] 'turned over:' cf. De Or. ii. 201, *perquam breviter perstrinxi atque attigi*, and pro Cael. 28, *extremis ut dicitur digitis attingunt*.

2. *Quamquam*] 'however;' here, as often in Cic., *quamquam* is merely a rhetorical particle of transition.

2. *Quid quaeris? conturbavi*] 'In a word, I have astonished them out of their wits,' 'I have brought them to their wits' end:' cf. Fam. vii. 3, 1, *Vidisti me ita conturbatum ut non explicarem*. The prevailing sense of *conturbo* is 'to confuse:' cf. Phil. ii. 32, *Quid est? num conturbo te?* Non enim . . . intellegis.

*aliquid . . . lucis*] 'some lustre,' 'éclat.'

3. *Fuit enim mihi commodum . . . offerbam*] There are many reasons for supposing the passage enclosed within brackets to be spurious. Orelli, who disbelieves in the authenticity of the last three speeches against Catiline, ascribes to Tiro those speeches, as well as this passage vouching

for them. The arguments for its spuriousness are these:—(1) *civis ille tuus Demosthenes* smacks of the imitator, almost the parodist, of Cicero; (2) *refractariolo* ('polemical'), *abiungo*, *involverunt* (which is a more probable correction than *indicarunt* of *invocarunt* of the Med.) are ἀπαξ εἰρημένα in Cicero; (3) *σῶμα* is not rightly applied to speeches having no internal bond of connexion, but only the *external* common attribute of having been delivered in the consulate of Cicero, (4) *orationes consulares* should mean 'belonging to a consul,' or 'worthy of a consul' (as *consulare dictum* below), not 'delivered in the consulship;' (5) the omission in the list of the speeches *pro C. Pisone* and *pro L. Murena*. I have therefore bracketed the passage with Boot. *Fuit mihi commodum* is 'I took a fancy.' The first two speeches referred to are the 1st and 2nd *contra Rullum*.

*deposui*] 'refused,' 'declined.'

emisi, octava, quam habui ad populum postridie quam Catilina profugit, nona in contione, quo die Allobroges involgarunt, decima in senatu Nonis Decembribus. Sunt praeterea duae breves, quasi ἀποσπασμάτια legis agrariae. Hoc totum σῶμα curabo ut habeas. Et quoniam te cum scripta tum res meae delectant, iisdem ex libris perspicies et quae gesserim et quae dixerim, aut ne poposcisses: ego enim tibi me non offerebam] 4. Quod quaeris quid sit quo te arcessam ac simul impeditum te negotiis esse significas neque recusas quin, non modo si opus sit, sed etiam si velim, accurras, nihil sane est necesse, verum tamen videbare mihi tempora peregrinationis commodius posse describere. Nimis abes diu, praesertim cum sis in propinquis locis, neque nos te fruimur et tu nobis cares. Ac nunc quidem otium est, sed, si paullo plus furor Pulchelli progredi posset, valde ego te istim excitarem. Verum praeclare Metellus impedit et impedit. Quid quaeris? Est consul φιλόπατρις et, ut semper iudicavi, natura bonus. 5. Ille autem non simulat, sed plane tribunus pl. fieri cupit. Qua de re cum in senatu ageretur, fregi hominem et inconstantiam eius reprehendi, qui Romae tribunatum pl. peteret, cum in Sicilia Herae aedilitatem se petere dictitasset: neque magno

*emisi]* sc. *ex urbe.*

*aut ne poposcisses]* 'else (if you did not take an interest in my deeds and words) you ought not to have asked me' (for the *oratiunculas quas postulas*, above). In the imperf. and pluperf. the subjunctive is used *jussively* of a thing which ought to have been done, as *potius diceret*, Cic. Off. iii. 88; *saltem aliquid detraxisset*, Fin. iv. 57; the negative is *ne*, as *frumentum ne emisses*, 2 Verr. iii. 195. A full list of the examples of this jussive subjunctive is given by Madv. in Fin. ii. 36. One of the best-known exx. is *at tu dictis, Albane, maneres*, Virg. Aen. viii. 643. It is common in the comic poets (who sometimes used *non* instead of *ne*) in the imperf., but never occurs in the pluperf. in the comic drama: Lorenz on Pseud. i. 3, 52. A good ex. is *restitisses, repugnasses, mortem pugnans oppetisses*, Sest. 45. Mr. Reid, *pro Sulla*, 25, says, 'a past imperative is an inconceivable thing; and the *ne* in passages like this is merely equivalent to *non*, as *ne* often was in early Latin.' The usage he explains as an elliptical conditional proposition. But is not the Hibernicism 'don't be after telling,' an undoubted past imperative?

See Roby, § 1604.

4. *Quo te arcessam]* = *ad quam rem*, 'for what purpose.' Klotz rightly restores *quo* of the Med. for *quod*.

*describere]* 'to arrange the various periods of your foreign sojourns.'

*istim]* 'thither,' an archaism found only in Ennius, the comic drama, and Cicero's letters.

*Metellus]* Metellus, who at first looked on the proposal of Herennius to give the adoption to the *comitia centuriata* as a mere matter of form, opposed it when he saw its significance. This Metellus (to whom is addressed Fam. v. 2, and whose unfitness for a confidant is put strongly in Att. i. 18, 1) was the brother-in-law of Clodius, a fact of which Cicero makes a point against Clodius in *de Harusp. resp.* 45.

5. *Ille autem non simulat]* Clodius is really desirous of becoming a tribune; it is not a mere pretence to frighten me.

*cum in Sicilia]* See Adn. Crit. *Herae* depends on the testimony of Bosius, and may therefore be rejected, except in so far as it may seem to lie hid under *hereditatem*. I agree with Junius that, if *her-* indicates any lost word, we should



opere dixi esse nobis laborandum, quod nihilo magis ei licitum esset plebeio rem publicam perdere quam similibus eius me consule patriciis esset licitum. Iam, cum se ille septimo die venisse a freto neque sibi obviam quemquam prodire potuisse et noctu se introisse dixisset in eoque se in contione iactasset, nihil ei novi dixi accidisse: ex Sicilia septimo die Romam, tribus horis Roma Interamnam: noctu introisse, item ante: non esse itum obviam, ne tum quidem, cum iri maxime debuit. Quid quaeris? hominem petulantem modestum reddo non solum perpetua gravitate orationis, sed etiam hoc genere dictorum. Itaque iam familiariter cum ipso cavillor ac iocor: quin etiam, cum candidatum deducere-mus, quaerit ex me num consuessem Siculis locum gladiatoribus dare? Negavi. 'At ego,' inquit, 'novus patronus instituiam, sed soror, quae tantum habeat consularis loci, unum mihi solum pedem dat.' 'Noli,' inquam, 'de uno pede sororis queri: licet etiam

read *cum in Sicilia heri aedilitatem se petere dictitasset*, 'when it was only yesterday that,' &c., a vigorous phrase found only in poetry elsewhere, but harmonising well with *inconstantiam* above, and with the vivacity of the epistolary style. But perhaps *hereditatem* is but a conjecture of the copyist, who perhaps found *aedilitatem* miswritten *aeditatem*; and then we should read *cum in Sicilia aedilitatem saepe dictitasset* (*se petere* being understood from *qui peteret*), the meaning being that it was inconsistent in Clodius to look for the tribunate now after declaring that it was his intention to seek the aedileship. He had already been quaestor. I think *Herae* is most probably sound.

*Herae*] For the mention of the place at which a thing was said, cp. *Panhormi* . . . *dixerat*, Ep. xxv. 10.

*neque*] = *ne* . . . *quidem*, *Madv. de Fin. Excursus*, iii. p. 805.

*septimo die*] Clodius boasts of the despatch with which he came from the Strait of Messina to Rome, and the modesty with which he entered the city. Cicero replies by ironically referring to the still greater despatch he must have used when he travelled from Rome to Interamna in three hours, as he must have done if his plea of *alibi*, in the case of the Bona Dea, were true. Clodius swore that he was at Interamna at the time of the alleged sacrilege. Cicero swore that he saw him in Rome three hours before, *or. pro dom.*

80; Quintil. iv. 2, 88.

*in eoque*] Cic. in his letters often uses *in eo*, &c., for the more regular *in ea re*, &c.: cp. *in hoc esse*, for *in hac re esse*, in this section below.

*cum iri maxime debuit*] 'when his course should have been checked.' A play on the two meanings of *obviam ire*: 'to go to meet,' and 'to check,' 'resist.' We might use 'go out to meet' in both senses.

*hominem petulantem*] 'the bully:' cf. *ebrius ac petulans*, Juv. iii. 278.

*cavillor*] 'rally him.'

*deducere-mus*] 'when we were escorting some friend of ours who was standing for office;' *deducere* is to escort to the forum or the comitia, to escort into the city; *reducere* is to escort home.

*Siculis locum . . . dare*] The Sicilians seem to have looked on Cicero as their patron. He had been quaestor in Sicily. So also had Clodius, who appears to charge Cicero with want of attention to his Sicilian clients. 'I,' he says, 'will supersede you as their patron, and give them a place at the gladiatorial games. [Not that it is a simple matter for me], for though my sister is wife of the consul Metellus, and has command of all the space in the amphitheatre reserved for the consul, she will not give me more than mere standing-room—a single foot.' Cicero's reply is an obscene allusion to Clodius' intrigue with his sister. It was customary to reserve places at the games for friends: see *or.*

alterum tollas.' Non consulare, inquires, dictum: fateor, sed ego illam odi male consularem. *Ea* est enim *seditiosa*, *ea cum viro bellum gerit*, neque solum cum Metello, sed etiam cum Fabio, quod eos in hoc esse moleste fert. 6. Quod de agraria lege quaeris, sane iam videtur refrixisse. Quod me quodam modo molli brachio de Pompeii familiaritate obiurgas, nolim ita existimes, me mei praesidii causa cum illo coniunctum esse, sed ita res erat instituta, ut, si inter nos esset aliqua forte dissensio, maximas in re publica discordias versari esset necesse. Quod a me ita praecautum atque ita provisum est, non ut ego de optima illa mea ratione deciderem, sed ut ille esset melior et aliquid de populari levitate deponeret: quem de meis rebus, in quas eum multi incitarant, multo scito gloriosius quam de suis praedicare. Sibi enim bene gestae, mihi conservatae rei publicae dat testimonium. Hoc facere illum mihi quam prosit nescio, rei publicae certe prodest. Quid si etiam Caesarem, cuius nunc venti valde sunt secundi, reddo meliorem, num tantum obsum rei publicae? 7. Quin etiam, si mihi nemo invideret, si omnes, ut erat aequum, faverent, tamen non minus esset probanda medicina, quae sanaret vitiosas partes rei publicae quam quae exsecaret. Nunc vero, cum equitatus ille, quem ego

*pro Mur. 72*, quod tempus fuit . . . quo haec sive ambitio sive liberalitas non fuerit, ut locus et in circo et in foro daretur amicis et tribulibus?

*Non consulare*] 'unworthy of a consul.' Even this degree of refinement shows Cicero in advance of his age.

*male consularem*] 'so unworthy of a consul,' especially a consul whom Cicero admired and liked.

*seditiosa*] 'a shrew,' a *vox propria* for matrimonial jars: cf. Ter. An. v. 1, 11, *filiam ut darem in seditionem atque in incertas nuptias*. This Clodia is the 'Lesbia' of Catullus. *Ea . . . gerit* is a comic senarius; probably a verse from some lost poet.

*Fabio*] probably a lover of Clodia.

*in hoc esse*] sc. *hoc agere, operam dare ne Clodius trib. plebis fiat*: cf. Hor. Ep. i. 1, 11, *omnis in hoc sum*. This is the reading of Med., which Boot has restored and explained.

6. *refraxisse*] 'to have hung fire.'

*molli brachio*] 'gently': cf. *levi brachio*, Att. iv. 16, 6.

*ita res erat instituta, ut*] 'the position of affairs is such that.'

*ratione*] 'policy': cf. *optima causa*

above = 'the cause of the *optimates*.'

*populari levitate*] 'his timeserving abandonment of principle.'

*cuius nunc venti*] 'who has the wind in his sails now.' Abeken observes that this is the first mention of the great Julius Caesar in the letters. It is not the first mention, for he is above spoken of in connexion with the Clodian sacrilege, and as meditating a coalition with Lucceius. It is, however, the first criticism of his political position, and it is remarkable that these should be words so suitable for the introduction of this great actor to the stage of politics. Cf. Fam. xii. 25, 5, *quicunque venti erunt, ars nostra certe non aberit*.

7. *medicina, quae sanaret*] See on Att. i. 18, 2. This mild remedy is described below; it is merely to effect. *ut nolint obesse qui possunt*.

*equitatus*] These are here so called instead of equites, by a metaphor taken from military service. So *collocaram, signifero, principe*. Cicero called the equites into council with the senate in the temple of Concord on the Capitoline hill.

in clivo Capitolino te signifero ac principe collocaram, senatum deseruerit, nostri autem principes digito se caelum putent attingere, si nulli barbati in piscinis sint qui ad manum accedant, alia autem neglegant, nonne tibi satis prodesse videor, si perficio ut nolint obesse qui possunt? 8. Nam Catonem nostrum non tu amas plus quam ego, sed tamen ille optimo animo utens et summa fide nocet interdum rei publicae. Dicit enim tamquam in Platonis πολιτεία, non tamquam in Romuli faece, sententiam. Quid verius quam in iudicium venire qui ob rem iudicandam pecuniam acceperit? Censuit hoc Cato: adsensit senatus. Equites curiae bellum, non mihi: nam ego dissensi. Quid impudentius publicanis renuntiantibus? Fuit tamen retinendi ordinis causa facienda iactura. Restitit et pervicit Cato. Itaque nunc consule in carcere incluso, saepe item seditione commota, adspiravit nemo eorum, quorum ego concursu itemque ii consules, qui post me fuerunt, rem publicam defendere solebant. Quid ergo? istos, inquires, mercede conductos habebimus? Quid faciemus, si aliter non possumus? an libertinis atque etiam servis serviamus? Sed, ut tu ais, ἄλις σπουδῆς. 9. Favonius meam tribum tulit honestius quam suam, Luceii

*ad manum accedant*] See Mart. x. 30; Plin. H. N. ix. 80.

8. *in Romuli faece*] translated ἐν Ῥωμύλον ὑποστάθμῃ. Plut. Phoc. 3. We cannot therefore construe *in Romuli* (πολιτείας) *faece*, which would besides weaken the expression. But is not the phrase very strange? 'The dregs of Romulus' reminds one of the Plautine *hallex viri*. What one would expect is, 'the dregs of the city of Romulus,' *Romulea faece*; or would it be rash to suggest *Romulae faece*, rendering 'Cato speaks as if he were in the Fair City of Plato, not amid the lees of our degenerate Rome?' The diminutive form conveys contempt, just as in *togulam* (Att. i. 18, 6), and *voculae* 'my poor voice' (Att. ii. 23, 1). Juvenal's *turba Remi* does not defend *faex Romuli*, for *faex* unqualified is not equivalent to *turba*, but only when qualified, as in *faex urbis* (Att. i. 16). *Faex Romuli* could only mean 'the colluvio brought together by Romulus to populate the city at its foundation,' and this is foreign to the antithesis. It is true that we find in Lucr. v. 1141:—

*Res itaque ad summam faecem turbasque redibat,*

but would not this be a very strange expression in prose, and in a letter?

*verius*] 'fairer:' cf. De Legg. ii.

*consule in carcere*] 'Though Flavius threw the consul into prison (for his opposition to the Agrarian Law), not one of the knights gave him a thought—those knights who used to rally round the consul so staunchly that it was by their aid that my successors as well as myself used to maintain the constitution.' *Adspiravit* used absol. is very strange; perhaps we should read *ad eum adsp.*

*Quid, ergo?*] 'What, then, are we to purchase the support of the equites? What else can we do if we cannot get it except by purchase? Are we to be the slaves of the freedmen, aye, and slaves, who sway the popular assemblies?'

ἄλις σπουδῆς] 'But, as you say, enough of the *grand sérieux*;' i. e. let us talk no more of these very weighty matters and in this earnest style.

9. *Favonius*] 'Favonius, in his suit for the praetorship, made a better fight in my tribe than in his own, but was rejected by the tribe of Luceius' (in which we may presume the influence of Caesar was paramount, for Luceius was a friend of Caesar,

perdidit. Accusavit Nasicam inhoneste ac modeste tamen: dixit ita, ut Rhodi videretur molis potius quam Moloni operam dedisse. Mihi, quod defendissem, leviter susceperat. Nunc tamen petit iterum rei publicae causa. Lucceius quid agat scribam ad te, cum Caesarem videro, qui aderit biduo. 10. Quod Sicyonii te laedunt, Catoni et eius aemulatori attribuis Servilio. Quid? ea plaga nonne ad multos bonos viros pertinet? Sed st, ita placuit, laudemus, deinde *ne* in discessionibus soli relinquamur! 11. Amalthea mea te exspectat et indiget tui. Tusculanum et Pompeianum valde me delectant, nisi quod me, illum ipsum vindicem aeris alieni, aere non Corinthio, sed hoc circumforaneo obruerunt. In Gallia speramus esse otium. Prognostica mea cum oratiunculis propediem exspecta. Et tamen quid cogites de adventu tuo scribe ad nos. Nam mihi Pomponia nuntiarum iussit te mense Quintili Romae fore. Id a tuis litteris, quas ad me de censu tuo miseras, discrepabat. 12. Paetus, ut antea ad te scripsi, omnes libros, quos

and therefore Favonius, the admirer and imitator of Cato, would be rejected).

*Accusavit*] Favonius seems to have been unsuccessful in his candidature for the praetorship, and to have prosecuted Scipio Nastica, his successful rival, for bribery. Cicero says 'it was a shabby act to prosecute his successful rival, yet he conducted the prosecution with moderation; he spoke so badly that you would have thought he had spent his time in Rhodes in working at the *molae* instead of studying under Molon'—that is, one would have thought that he had been engaged in *servile* labour, and not in acquiring a liberal education. I cannot suggest any method of reproducing the pun on *molae* and *Molon*. Boot takes *molae* to mean *liba*, but it never bears this sense, and the mention of working at a mill as the typical penal task of slaves is very apt. The conjecture of Rinkes, who (adopting Malaspina's *molestae* for *modeste*) for *inhoneste* reads *honeste*, is very rash: *honeste* could not mean 'from a good motive merely, though bad in other respects'; it would give a comprehensive approbation to the whole transaction. 'With the best intentions' is expressed by *optimo animo utens* in § 8.

*petit iterum*] 'he is again a candidate (probably for the tribunate this time), just to give the state a chance' (ironical).

*Lucceius*] See Att. i. 17, 11.

10. *Sicyonii*] See on Att. i. 19, 9.

*Sed st, ita placuit*] 'But, hist! no more. Such was the will of the senate. It is ours only to acquiesce—lest on the next question we be left alone,' *i. e.* abandoned by our former friends the *equites*, whom this measure will have alienated. *Ne* is inserted by Mr. Purser. *St* is the conjecture of Boot for *si*. In Cicero at least *si* does not mean *since*. Both in Att. xv. 3, 1, and Fam. xvi. 24, 2, *st* is the certain correction of *si* of the mss. *St, tace*, is very common in Plautus, and on the importance of this, see Introd. ii. § 2. See note on Att. i. 19, 9.

11. *vindicem aeris alieni*] Fam. v. 6, 2. *aere non Corinthio sed*] *aes Corinthium* refers to the Corinthian bronzes, which were much esteemed as articles of *virtu* and *aes circumforaneum* to the debts which Cicero was obliged to incur to the Roman bankers. The play on the words is difficult to reproduce; perhaps one might render: 'The only drawback is, that I am over head and ears in bills as well as bronzes.'

*speramus esse otium*] 'we hope that peace prevails' (and that we shall soon hear of it). We can hope for things past or present when the announcement of issue is still future (Reid *pro Arch.* 31).

*Prognostica*] his translation of Aratus' *Διοσμηεία*. This was probably used both by Lucretius and Virgil.

frater suus reliquisset, mihi donavit. Hoc illius munus in tua diligentia positum est. Si me amas, cura ut conserventur et ad me perferantur. Hoc mihi nihil potest esse gratius et cum Graecos tum vero <sup>1</sup>diligenter Latinos ut conserves velim. Tuum esse hoc munusculum putabo. Ad Octavium dedi litteras; cum ipso nihil eram locutus. Neque enim ista tua negotia provincialia esse putabam neque te in tocullionibus habebam. Sed scripsi, ut debui, diligenter.

## XXVIII. TO ATTICUS, ON HIS WAY TO ROME (ATT. II. 2).

TUSCULANUM A. U. C. 694; B. C. 60; AET. CIC. 46.

M. Cicero Attico Ciceronem suum commendat, Dicaearchum summis adfcit laudibus, Herodem vituperat: deinde de adventu Antonii quaerit et Atticum, ut pridie Kal. secum sit, rogat.

## CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Cura, amabo te, Ciceronem nostrum. Eī nos συννοσεῖν videmur. 2. Πελληναίων in manibus tenebam et hercule magnum

12. *frater*] Ser. Claudius, 'his cousin,' or perhaps his 'half-brother': see Att. i. 20, 7.

*reliquisset*] 'which (as he said) he had left;' this is the virtual *oblique*: see on Ep. x., § 3, *diceret*.

*Ad Octavium*] 'I wrote to Octavius on your behalf. I had no conversation with him about your business; for when I saw him last I did not know that your transactions extended to the provinces—I did not then look on you as a bit of an usurer.' This C. Octavius (father of the emperor Augustus) was the successor of Cicero's colleague, Antonius, in the governorship of Macedonia. Atticus probably wanted his good offices in collecting some debt. *Tocullio* (dim. fr. *τόκος*) is hardly 'a petty usurer,' which would be offensive, but 'a bit of a usurer,' which softens down the ugly name. Cicero was not aware that Atticus' transactions extended to the provinces, though he knew he had dealings in Epirus, Athens, Sicyon. So he did not think he could have any business in Macedonia. He calls Atticus

'a bit of a usurer,' on hearing that the area of his pecuniary transactions is wider than he had supposed. The *negotiationes* had a bad name in the provinces. *Tocullio* is a contemptuous term, here used playfully.

1. *Ciceronem nostrum*] the son of Quintus and Pomponia, who was now ill.

2. *Πελληναίων*] Sc. *πολιτείας*, 'an account of the constitution of Pellene,' by Dicaearchus: so *Κορινθίων* and *Ἀθηναίων* below.

*magnum acervum*] The Roman book consisted of strips of papyrus glued together, the last leaf (*scheda*, *scida*) being fastened to a stick, round which the whole was rolled. So that the more one had read of a book the more of the *papyrus* would be unrolled; and so it would lie on the floor at the feet of the reader, rising into a large heap according as more and more was unrolled from the stick. Cf. *millesima pagina surgit*, Juv. vii. 101.

It must be remembered that each book of a work formed a separate roll (*volumen*).

acervum Dicaearchi mihi ante pedes exstruxeram. O magnum hominem! et unde multo plura didiceris quam de Proclio. Κορινθίων et Ἀθηναίων puto me Romae habere. Mihi crede, si leges haec, dices 'mirabilis vir est.' Ἡρώδης, si homo esset, eum potius legeret quam unam litteram scriberet: qui me epistola petivit, ad te, ut video, comminus accessit. Coniurasse mallet quam restitisse coniurationi, si illum mihi audiendum putassem. 3. De Lollio, sanus non es: de vino, laudo. Sed heus tu, equid vides

If, then, Cic. had read several books of Dic. there would be several *volumina* together on the floor. Ovid speaks of his *Metamorphoses* as *mutatae ter quinque volumina formae*, Trist. i. 1, 117. The meaning of the word *umbilicus*, as applied to a *volumen*, is not quite ascertained. The expression itself would seem to point to the extremities of the cylinder round which the paper was rolled. According to Marquardt, when the ancients speak of *umbilicus* they mean the cylinder itself—the central stick—when they speak of *umbilici* they mean the projecting extremities of the central stick, also called *cornua*. *Frontes* were the flat surfaces of the rolled paper at top and bottom of the roll; these were smoothed with pumice stone, and sometimes coloured to produce a pleasant effect. The expression *ad umb. adducere*, meaning 'to finish the writing of a book, would seem to show that *umbilicus* was a 'knob' put into a cavity at each end of the rolled paper for ornament; which would be natural enough if the central stick was a little shorter than the roll of paper which enveloped it.

[Dicaearchi] Dicaearchus of Messene, a Peripatetic, was indeed a remarkable man. His theory of the soul is, to a great extent, in accordance with modern speculations. He held that the soul was a function of the organism, μηδὲν εἶναι αὐτὴν παρὰ τὸ πῶς ἔχον σῶμα. A consequence of this was that the βίος πρακτικός was superior to the βίος θεωρητικός (Att. ii. 16, 3). Accordingly his writings were naturally political, accounts of Hellenic constitutions, and such like works. In his *τριπολιτικός* he sought to show that a mixture of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy, was the best constitution; and he found it in Sparta. It was probably from this work that Polybius took (vi. 2-10) the theory that Rome owed her greatness to such an admixture in her constitution, than which there is, according to Mommsen (iii. 467), hardly a more foolish specula-

tion. Dic. was a great favourite of Cic., who calls him *deliciae meae* (Tusc. i. 77).

[Mihi crede] This is Boot's conjecture for *mihi credes, leges*; *haec doceo, mirabilis vir est*, which is by no means certainly wrong: *credes* and *leges* might be regarded as 'the polite imperative,' the future being thus used in Latin as the opt. with εἶν in Greek. For *mihi crede*, cf. Att. ii. 13, 2, 'trust me,' 'take my advice.'

[Ἡρώδης] was afterwards the instructor of Cicero's son, as seems to be shown by Att. xv. 16 a.

[si homo esset] a colloquialism common to Terence and Cicero. It here means 'if he had the ordinary sense of a man.' In other passages it sometimes has a moral sense—'if he had the feelings of a man.'

[litteram] γράμμα, a single letter of the alphabet. See note on Att. i. 14, 3.

[qui me epistola] 'who has assailed me by letter (as with a missile), while he has engaged you hand to hand' (as with a sword). Herodes seems to have written a memoir of Cicero's consulate, and concerning it to have made some request of Cicero by letter, and of Atticus personally. Probably he desired to read it to them, as Cicero says, *audiendum*, 'I should rather have chosen to be one of the conspirators than the suppressor of the conspiracy, if I thought I should have to pay such a price for my distinction as to listen to that fellow.'

3. Lollio . . . vino] To explain this, or to choose between *vino* and *Vinio*, *lollio* and *Lollio*, we should have the letter of Atticus to which this is a reply.

[Sed heus tu] 'But, I say, don't you observe that the Kalends of Jan. are approaching, and no Antonius; that the jury to try him for extortion is being empanelled. Such is the intelligence sent to me—that Nigidius threatens that he will serve a summons on any juror who does not attend.' This law seems to have been enacted by Cic. See the very

Kal. venire, Antonium non venire? iudices cogi? Nam ita ad me mittunt. Nigidium minari in contione se iudicem, qui non adfu-erit, compellaturum. Velim tamen, si quid est de Antonii adventu quod audieris, scribas ad me et, quoniam huc non venis, cenes apud nos utique pridie Kal. Cave aliter facias. Cura ut valeas.

## XXIX. TO ATTICUS, ON HIS WAY TO ROME (ATT. II. 3.).

ROME, A. U. C. 694; B. C. 60; AET. CIC. 46.

De absolutione Valerii, de fenestrarum angustiiis, quas Cyri architecti culpae attribuit, de ratione rei publicae tractandae inde a mense Ianuario, de rebus domesticis.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Primum, ut opinor, εὐαγγέλια. Valerius absolutus est Hortensio defendente. Id iudicium Auli filio condonatum putabatur, et Epicratem suspicor, ut scribis, lascivum fuisse. Etenim mihi caligae eius et fasciae cretatae non placebant. Quid sit sciemus,

difficult passage *pro Mur.* 47, and Lange, iii. 245. Antonius was to be prosecuted by Caelius on his return from Macedonia. P. Nigidius Figulus was one of the senators chosen by Cicero to take down the evidence of the informers against Catiline, *or. pro Sulla*, 42. Cicero gives a flattering description of him in the beginning of the *Timaeus*.

*huc*] To his Tusculanum, whence this letter was probably written.

*apud nos*] 'at my town house:' cf. Att. iv. 5, 3. 'Tu "de via recta in hortos;" videtur commodius ad te,' 'you tell me "come straight to my suburban villa." I think it would be better to go to your town house.'

1. *Primum, ut opinor*] 'First of all, good news, as I think you will consider it. Valerius has been acquitted, with Hortensius as his advocate. It is generally supposed that his acquittal was a compliment to Afranius, and I suspect, as you say in your letter, that Epicrates has been going it. I did not like the

look of his military boots, and pipe-clayed bandage.' One might take *ut opinor* with *primum*, as Cicero seems fond of the collocation: cf. De Fin. ii. 31, *a primo, ut opinor, animantium ortu*: Att. i. 18, 2, *primus, ut opinor, introitus fuit in causam*, i. e. 'the first thing that happened since you set out was the Clodian affair.' εὐαγγέλια in classical Greek would be 'rewards for good news,' but Cicero follows the post-classical usage. Whether this is ironical, as Boot supposes, or there really was some reason why Atticus should welcome the acquittal of Valerius, we have no means of judging, knowing nothing about Valerius except that it was not the Val. Flaccus whom Cicero, with Hortensius, defended in 695 (b. c. 59). Here, and here only, Pompeius is called *Epicrates*, 'our influential (successful) friend.' It seems to me to want point and colour as a *sobriquet*, especially as Cicero abounds in nicknames for Pompeius, such as *Hierosolymarius*, *Alabarches*, *Sampsiceramus*. I have suggested in *Hermathena*, vol. i. p. 201, that

cum veneris. 2. Fenestrarum angustias quod reprehendis, scito te Κύρον παιδείαν reprehendere. Nam, cum ego idem istuc dicerem, Cyrus aiebat viridariorum διαφάσεις latis luminibus non tam esse suaves. Etenim ἔστω ὄψις μὲν ἡ α, τὸ δὲ ὁρώμενον β, γ, ἀκτίνες δὲ δ καὶ ε. Vides enim cetera. Nam, si κατ' εἰδῶλων ἐμπτώσεις videremus, valde laborarent εἰδῶλα in angustiiis: nunc fit lepide illa ἔκχυσις radiatorum. Cetera si reprehenderis, non feres tacitum, nisi si quid erit eius modi quod sine sumptu corrigi possit. 3. Venio nunc ad mensem Ianuarium et ad ὑπόστασιν nostram ac πολιτείαν, in qua Σωκρατικῶς εἰς ἐκάτερον, sed tamen ad extremum, ut illi solebant, τὴν ἀρέσκουσαν. Est res sane magni consilii. Nam aut fortiter resistendum est legi agrariae in quo est quaedam dimicatio, sed plena laudis, aut quiescendum, quod est non dissimile atque ire in Solonium aut Antium, aut etiam

the word which should stand here is *Iphicratem*. The Athenian Iphicrates is well known to have invented a new sort of legging or military boot called ἱφικρατίδες, so that Wellington and Blücher are not the first generals who have supplied bootmakers with a designation. Pompeius must have affected some singularity in the colour or shape of his *caligae* and *fasciae* (for the mere wearing of such was usual, and would not have provoked remark), and hence Cicero nicknames him *Iphicrates*. E and I are very often confused in Latin mss, the horizontal strokes of the E, especially the middle one, being very short. In Virg. Aen. ii. 340, *Epytus* and *Iphytus* are variants. Pompeius is said to have worn the *fasciae* to conceal a sore in his leg.

2. *Fenestrarum*] 'You criticise the narrowness of the windows in my villa, where you put up on your journey. Let me tell you you are criticising *The Education of Cyrus*. For when I made the same remark to Cyrus, he said that the view of a pleasure-ground was not so pleasant when the windows were large. For let the point of vision be α, the object of vision β, γ, the rays δ, ε—of course you see what follows. For if the true theory of vision were the incidence of images on the eyes (the Epicurean theory), then the images would be hampered in the narrow space; whereas the emission of rays from the eyes (the converse doctrine) goes on merrily. If you have any other criticism, it won't go undisputed, unless it is some

defect which can be remedied without expense.' Cyrus was Cicero's architect. There is of course a play on the name of the historical novel composed by Xenophon, the *Cyropaedeia*. Boot, objecting to διαφάσεις = 'view through,' a sense which it often bears, prefers *vi radiatorum*. But *vi* means 'violence,' and is quite unsuitable. The whole passage is a pretended demonstration of a jocular character, reminding one of the scene between Moses and the squire in the Vicar of Wakefield. He says, if the Epicurean theory were right, and material, though minute, copies of the object passed into the eye, there would be jostling in the narrow windows; but a rival theory (says he) is right, there is an emission of rays from the eyes, and that works splendidly (*i. e.* is not impeded by the narrowness of the windows); *nunc* is strongly adversative, as in Fam. i. 9, 15, *nunc, ut Apelles*, 'whereas, just as Apelles,' &c., *nunc parvulus nobis dedit*, Tusc. iii. 2. The rival theory is Platonic. For a full account of this and other ancient theories of vision, see Grote's Plato, iii. 265, note.

*non feres tacitum*] 'you will not be unopposed' (by me); so Liv. i. 50, 9; iii. 45, 6; but *tacita auferas* in Plaut. As. iv. 2, 7.

3. *Venio nunc ad*] 'I now come to January, and to my attitude and policy, in which, after the fashion of Socrates, I shall first give both alternatives, and then, finally, like the Socratic School, indicate the view I prefer.'



adiuvandum, quod a me aiunt Caesarem sic exspectare, ut non dubitet. Nam fuit apud me Cornelius: hunc dico Balbum, Caesaris familiarem. Is adfirmabat illum omnibus in rebus meo et Pompeii consilio usurum daturumque operam ut cum Pompeio Crassum coniungeret. Hic sunt haec: coniunctio mihi summa cum Pompeio: si placet, etiam cum Caesare: reditus in gratiam cum inimicis, pax cum multitudine, senectutis otium. Sed me κατακλείς mea illa commovet, quae est in libro III.

*Interea cursus, quos prima a parte iuventae  
Quosque adeo consul virtute animoque petisti,  
Hos retine atque auge famam laudesque bonorum.*

Haec mihi cum in eo libro, in quo multa sunt scripta ἀριστοκρατικῶς, Calliope ipsa praescripserit, non opinor esse dubitandum quin semper nobis videatur

Εἰς οἰωνὸς ἄριστος ἀμύνασθαι περὶ πάτρης.

Sed haec ambulationibus Compitaliciis reservemus. Tu pridie Compitalia memento. Balineum calferi iubebo, et Pomponiam Terentia rogat: matrem adiungemus. Θεοφράστου περὶ φιλοτιμίας adfer mihi de libris Quinti fratris.

*Cornelius: hunc dico Balbum*] a native of Gades whose citizenship Cicero successfully defended afterwards in 698 (b. c. 56). He became consul in 714 (b. c. 40).

*hic sunt haec*] 'This course (to support the Agrarian Law) has the following advantages.'

κατακλείς] 'wind up,' 'conclusion,' found in Att. ix. 18, 3, and here restored by Turnebus for the corrupt κατακρεσις of M. Boot reads κατάκλησις in the sense of *exhortation*, and Bosius κατάτασις in the same sense (comparing κατατείνειν δρόμον). But the mss on which he founds his argument are fictitious: see Introduction, iii.; *clausula*, which is precisely the Latin for κατακλείς, is used

in close connexion with *exhortation* in Fam. ii. 4, 2, *utar ea clausula qua soleo, teque cohortabor*. This is a fragment of his poem on his consulate. See Att. i. 19, 10. The words *prima a parte iuventae* seem to show that he had eulogised his father in the poem.

*ambulationibus Compitaliciis*] 'for our strolls at the Compitalia' The *Compitalia* were *feriae conceptivae*, generally held shortly after the *Saturnalia*.

*rogat*] 'invites.'

*matrem*] sc. tuam.

Θεοφράστου περὶ φιλοτιμίας] Quintus had probably used this work in drawing up his essay on the duties of a candidate for the consulship (Ep. xii.), above.

## XXX. TO QUINTUS, IN ASIA (Q. FR. I. 1).

ROME, A. U. C. 694; B. C. 60; AET. CIC. 46.

Cum Q. Cicero iam per duo annos Asiam provinciam pro praetore administrasset eiusque administrationis fama minus secunda esse videretur, M. Cicero hac ipsa epistola, qua ei in tertium iam annum imperium prorogatum esse nuntiat, eum cohortatur, ut famae suae consulat magis. Ipsa autem M. Ciceronis oratio duabus partibus constat, quarum prior pertinet ad rem publicam atque ad ipsum Q. fratris imperium, qua ei praecipit, ut et ipse summam integritatem et continentiam adhibeat et comitum omnium suorum modestiam praestet et in familiaritatibus hominum provincialium et Graecorum deligendis summa cautione utatur et gravem etiam servorum disciplinam obtineat, altera spectat ad ipsius Q. fratris officium atque humanitatem, qua eum vehementer adhortatur, ut in suppliciis sumendis acerbiter moderetur et summam in iure dicundo aequabilitatem retineat, onera provinciae sublevet sumptusque ac iacturas minuat, socios cum publicanorum ordine conciliet constituatque inter eos concordiam, iracundiam suam contineat ac naturae impetum reprimat.

## MARCUS Q. FRATRI SAL.

I. 1. Etsi non dubitabam quin hanc epistolam multi nuntii, fama denique esset ipsa sua celeritate superatura tuque ante ab aliis auditurus esses annum tertium accessisse desiderio nostro et labori tuo, tamen existimavi a me quoque tibi huius molestiae nuntium perferri oportere. Nam superioribus litteris non unis, sed pluribus, cum iam ab aliis desperata res esset, tamen tibi ego spem maturae decessionis adferebam, non solum ut quam diutissime te iucunda opinione oblectarem, sed etiam quia tanta adhibebatur et a nobis et a praetoribus contentio, ut rem posse confici

XXX.] This letter is closely imitated throughout by Pliny, Epp. viii. 24.

1. *nuntii fama denique . . . ipsa*] Ernesti supposes some words to have fallen out, as *denique* generally in Cicero ushers in the last term of a series, hardly ever consisting of less than three items; but we have in Rep. ii. 49, *qui sibi cum suis civibus, qui denique cum omni hominum genere nullam turis communionem velit*. So *nemo bonus, nemo denique civis*, or. in Pis. 45: for the *sentiment*, cf. Fam. ii. 8, 1. *annum tertium*] Quintus had been

already two years governor of Asia as praetor. Since his tenure of power has now been extended to a third year, Cicero takes occasion to warn his brother against his besetting sin, and begs him to turn this unwelcome prolongation of office into a blessing, by making his last year memorable for the excellence of his government. The besetting sin of Quintus was excessive irritability. For a sketch of his character, see Introduction, i. § 2.

*a praetoribus*] who wished to have a provincial government vacant in the hope that they might themselves be appointed.

non diffiderem. 2. Nunc quoniam ita accidit, ut neque praetores suis opibus neque nos nostro studio quidquam proficere possemus, est omnino difficile non graviter id ferre, sed tamen nostros animos maximis in rebus et gerendis et sustinendis exercitatos frangi et debilitari molestia non oportet. Et quoniam ea molestissime ferre homines debent, quae ipsorum culpa contracta sunt, est quiddam in hac re mihi molestius ferendum quam tibi. Factum est enim mea culpa, contra quam tu mecum et proficiscens et per litteras egeras, ut priore anno non succederetur. Quod ego, dum salutem sociorum consulo, dum impudentiae non nullorum negotiatorum resisto, dum nostram gloriam tua virtute augeri expeto, feci non sapienter, praesertim cum id commiserim, ut ille alter annus etiam tertium posset adducere. 3. Quod quoniam peccatum meum esse confiteor, est sapientiae atque humanitatis tuae curare et perficere, ut hoc minus sapienter a me provisum diligentia tua corrigatur. Ac si te ipse vehementius ad omnes partes bene audiendi excitaris, non ut cum aliis, sed ut tecum iam ipse certes, si omnem tuam mentem, curam, cogitationem ad excellentis in omnibus rebus laudis cupiditatem incitaris, mihi crede, unus annus additus labori tuo multorum annorum laetitiam nobis, immo vero etiam posteris nostris adferet. 4. Quapropter hoc te primum rogo, ne contrahas ac demittas animum neve te obrui tamquam fluctu, sic magnitudine negotii sinas, contraque erigas ac resistas sive etiam ultro occurras negotiis. Neque enim eius modi partem rei publicae geris, in qua fortuna dominetur, sed in qua plurimum ratio possit et diligentia. Quod si tibi bellum aliquod magnum et periculosum administranti prorogatum imperium viderem, tremere animo, quod eodem tempore esse intellegerem etiam fortu-

2. *Quod ego*] Cicero confesses that he had made a mistake in neglecting his brother's request to oppose the continuance of his provincial government after the expiration of the first year of it; he did so for the sake of the allies, through a desire of opposing certain provincial bankers (Paconius and Tuscanus), who sought, on account of a personal grudge, to prevent the reappointment of Quintus, and because he hoped to see his own distinction enhanced by the good administration of his brother. 'In all this,' he says, 'I acted imprudently, especially as I incurred the risk that the second year of government should entail a third'—as it

actually did. For the impers. *succederetur*, cp. Pis. 88; Fam. iii. 6, 2.

3. *ad omnes partes bene audiendi*] 'to win "golden opinions from all sorts of people."'

4. *ne contrahas ac demittas animum*] 'not to let yourself be downcast or dejected.'

*erigas*] sc. *animum*. 'Be spirited and don't flinch from the weight of your affairs—nay, rather actually face them boldly.'

*quod eodem*] 'because I should see that in getting a new lease of your government you were giving fortune a new lease of her power over your affairs.'

nae potestatem in nos prorogatam. 5. Nunc vero ea pars tibi rei publicae commissa est, in qua aut nullam aut perexiguam partem fortuna tenet, et quae mihi tota in tua virtute ac moderatione animi posita esse videatur. Nullas, ut opinor, insidias hostium, nullam proelii dimicationem, nullam defectionem sociorum, nullam inopiam stipendii aut rei frumentariae, nullam seditionem exercitus pertimescimus: quae persaepe sapientissimis viris acciderunt, ut, quem ad modum gubernatores optimi vim tempestatis, sic illi fortunae impetum superare non possent. Tibi data est summa pax, summa tranquillitas, ita tamen, ut eadem dormientem gubernatorem vel obruere, vigilantem etiam delectare possit. 6. Constat enim ea provincia primum ex eo genere sociorum, quod est ex hominum omni genere humanissimum, deinde ex eo genere civium, qui aut quod publicani sunt, nos summa necessitudine attingunt aut quod ita negotiantur, ut locupletes sint, nostri consulatus beneficio se incolumes fortunas habere arbitrantur.

II. 7. At enim inter hos ipsos existunt graves controversiae, multae nascuntur iniuriae, magnae contentiones consequuntur.—Quasi vero ego id putem, non te aliquantum negotii sustinere. Intellego permagnum esse negotium et maximi consilii, sed memento consilii me hoc esse negotium magis aliquanto quam fortunae putare. Quid est enim negotii continere eos, quibus praesis, si te ipse contineas? Id autem sit magnum et difficile ceteris, sicut est difficillimum: tibi et fuit hoc semper facillimum et vero

5. *tranquillitas*] 'fair weather' harmonises with the rest of the simile: cf. *tranquillitates aucupaturi sumus*, Att. vi. 8, 4; 'fair weather of such a kind as to be a positive pleasure to a vigilant pilot, though it might even shipwreck one that slept at his post.' *Etiam* is hard to explain. If it is right, it probably means that so charming was the weather encountered by Quintus, that his voyage was not merely safe (provided he did not sleep at the helm), but even quite a pleasure-trip, a delightful cruise; that is, so well disposed were the provincials (§ 6), and so safe was he from the freaks of fortune (§ 5), that his government (with ordinary care) would be not only easy, but a positive source of pleasure. It is impossible that *delectare* could be here used in the sense of 'to lull into a false repose.' This sense would suit the context well, but

could not be defended by usage. Could Cicero have written *allectare*?

6. *sociorum . . . civium*] The *socii* are the provincials. The *cives* are the Roman dwellers in the province, who were *publicani* or *negotiatores*, and would therefore be specially bound to Cicero as the champion of the equites and the *vindex aeris alieni*. See Att. ii. 1, 10.

*summa necessitudine attingunt*] See above, Ep. xii. § 56, *suos magnopere necessarios*, 'those to whom they are bound by the closest ties.'

7. *At enim*] "'But," some one may say, "even though these are the classes of which the province is composed, yet,"' &c. *At enim* introduces an objection. The answer is given in *quasi vero*, 'as if I ever supposed that your government entailed no trouble.' Observe the strong *chiasmus in existunt . . . consequuntur*.

esse debuit, cuius natura talis est, ut etiam sine doctrina videatur moderata esse potuisse, ea autem adhibita doctrina est, quae vel vitiosissimam naturam excolere possit. Tu cum pecuniae, cum voluptati, cum omnium rerum cupiditati resistes, ut facis, erit, credo, periculum ne improbum negotiatorem, paullo cupidiores publicanum comprimere non possis! Nam Graeci quidem sic te ita viventem intuebuntur, ut quemdam ex annalium memoria aut etiam de caelo divinum hominem esse in provinciam delapsum putent. 8. Atque haec nunc non ut facias, sed ut te facere et fecisse gaudeas scribo. Praeclarum est enim summo cum imperio fuisse in Asia triennium, sic ut nullum te signum, nulla pictura, nullum vas, nulla vestis, nullum mancipium, nulla forma cuiusquam, nulla condicio pecuniae, quibus rebus abundat ista provincia, ab summa integritate continentiaeque deduxerit. 9. Quid autem reperiri tam eximium aut tam expetendum potest quam istam virtutem, moderationem animi, temperantiam non latere in tenebris neque esse abditam, sed in luce Asiae, in oculis clarissimae provinciae atque in auribus omnium gentium ac nationum esse positam? non itineribus tuis proteri homines, non sumptu exauriri, non adventu commoveri? esse quocumque veneris et publice et privatim maximam laetitiam, cum urbs custodem, non tyrannum, domus hospitem, non expilatorem recepissee videatur?

III. 10. His autem in rebus iam te usus ipse profecto erudit nequaquam satis esse ipsum has te habere virtutes, sed esse circumspiciendum diligenter, ut in hac custodia provinciae non te unum, sed omnes ministros imperii tui sociis et civibus et rei

*vitiosissimam*] 'most defective.'

*Nam Graeci*] 'For such will be the feelings with which the Greeks will look on such a life as you lead, that they will fancy that some character of old historic purity—aye, that some inspired and miraculous ruler has dropped down from heaven into the province.' *Nam Graeci* depends on an ellipse. Having mentioned the *negotiatores* and *publicani* as likely to be easily kept within bounds, he adds, the remaining element of the provincial population, the Greeks, I will not include in the same class—they will be filled with the highest enthusiasm for you, and will never need a controlling hand. The Greeks were not chary of divine honours.

They made Theophanes a god.

8. *nulla condicio pecuniae*] 'no pecuniary offer.' Cf. *Attalici condicionibus*, 'by all the wealth that Attalus could offer.' Hor. Carm. i. 1, 12.

9. *in luce Asiae*] 'in the full blaze of Asia.' Cf. Brut. 32, *forensi luce caruit*; Att. iii. 19, *lucem omnino fugerem*.  
*in auribus*] Cp. *in vestris auribus*, Fin. v. 75.

*proteri*] 'to be trampled under foot in your progress through your province.' *Proteri* is the brilliant conjecture of Orsini for *perterreri*: if we preserved *perterreri* we should have a repetition involving an anticlimax in the words *adventu commoveri* immediately following.

publicae praestare videare. Quamquam legatos habes eos, qui ipsi per se habituri sint rationem dignitatis suae, de quibus honore et dignitate et aetate praestat Tubero, quem ego arbitror, praesertim cum scribat historiam, multos ex suis annalibus posse deligere quos velit et possit imitari, Allienus autem noster est cum animo et benevolentia tum vero etiam imitatione vivendi. Nam quid ego de Gratio dicam? quem certo scio ita laborare de existimatione sua, ut propter amorem in nos fraternum etiam de nostra laboret. 11. Quaestorem habes non tuo iudicio delectum, sed eum, quem sors dedit. Hunc oportet et sua sponte esse moderatum et tuis institutis ac praeceptis obtemperare. Quorum si quis forte esset sordidior, ferres eatenus, quoad per se neglegeret eas leges, quibus esset astrictus, non ut ea potestate, quam tu ad dignitatem permisisses, ad quaestum uteretur. Neque enim mihi sane placet, praesertim cum hi mores tantum iam ad nimiam lenitatem et ad ambitionem incubuerint, scrutari te omnes sordes, excutere unum quemque eorum, sed quanta sit in quoque fides tantum cuique committere. Atque inter hos eos quos tibi comites et adiutores negotiorum publicorum dedit ipsa res publica, dumtaxat finibus iis praestabis, quos ante praescripsi.

#### IV. 12. Quos vero aut ex domesticis convictionibus aut ex

10. *praestare*] 'to be responsible for all your staff, to the allies, the Roman inhabitants of the province, and the State.'

*Tubero*] L. Aelius Tubero is highly spoken of as a literary man by Cicero. In *pro Planc.* 100, Cicero calls him *necessarius meus*.

*Allienus*] A. Allienus was afterwards praetor, 705 (b. c. 49), and governed Sicily as proconsul, 708 (b. c. 46). To him are addressed *Fam.* xiii. 78, 79.

*Gratidius*] M. Gratio of Arpinum is mentioned by Cicero, *Brut.* 168, *De Legg.* iii. 36. He was the brother of Gratidia, Cicero's grandmother. If Quintus' legate was this man's grandson, he would be a cousin of Cicero. Hence *amorem in nos fraternum*, 'cousinly.' So *soror* is often 'female cousin.'

*ita . . . ut*] See *Introd.*, p. 65.

11. *sordidior*] 'a blot on your government' cf. *Att.* v. 21, 5, *has a nostro Q. Titinio sordes accepimus*.

*per se*] 'in his private capacity, 'personally.'

*cum hi mores*] 'considering what a

bias the present state of society has towards undue laxity of principle and self-seeking.' Baiter's conjecture, *levitas*, is rejected by Klotz; *levitas* would be reprehensible even though not *nimiam*: cf. *Gell.* xi. 18, 8, *remissa nimis lenitas*.

*excutere*] 'to turn inside out,' 'thoroughly sift and examine.' The metaphor is taken from shaking out the garments to look for concealed property.

*quos tibi comites*] 'the companions and assistants in public business which the State has given you you must be responsible for, at any rate, within the limits just laid down' (*ferres eatenus quoad . . . uteretur*). These *comites* were like our *attachés* or secretaries of legation. Catullus was comes to Memmius. See *Arnold's Roman Provincial Administration*, p. 59.

12. *Quos vero*] 'But your private friends and your staff of personal attendants, whom you have chosen yourself (such as lictors, scribes, criers, &c., who are afterwards spoken of)—for these your responsibility is wider—you are responsible for their words as well as their conduct.'

necessariis apparitionibus tecum esse voluisti, qui quasi ex cohorte praetoris appellari solent, horum non modo facta, sed etiam dicta omnia praestanda nobis sunt. Sed habes eos tecum, quos possis recte facientes facile diligere, minus consulentes existimationi tuae facillime coërcere: a quibus, rudis cum esses, videtur potuisse tua liberalitas decipi: nam ut quisque est vir optimus, ita difficillime esse alios improbos suspicatur: nunc vero tertius hic annus habeat integritatem eandem quam superiores, cautiorem etiam ac diligentiore. 13. Sint aures tuae, quae id, quod audiunt, existimentur audire, non in quas ficta et simulata quaestus causa insusurrentur. Sit anulus tuus non ut vas aliquod, sed tamquam ipse tu: non minister alienae voluntatis, sed testis tuae. Accensus sit eo numero, quo eum maiores nostri esse voluerunt, qui hoc non in beneficii loco, sed in laboris ac muneris non temere nisi libertis suis deferebant: quibus illi quidem non multo secus ac servis imperabant. Sit lictor non suae, sed tuae lenitatis apparitor, maioraque praeferant fascēs illi ac securēs dignitatis insignia quam potestatis. Toti denique sit provinciae cognitum tibi omnium, quibus praesis, salutem, liberos, famam, fortunas esse carissimas. Denique haec opinio sit non modo iis, qui aliquid acceperint, sed iis etiam, qui dederint, te inimicum, si id cognoveris, futurum. Neque vero

*quasi ex cohorte*] 'a sort of praetorian cohort,' for they were not military. For *quasi*, cp. Att. ii. 17, 3 (Ep. xlv.).

13. *Sint aures tuae*] 'let it be generally understood that you give ear only to what you do hear, and that you will not make your ears receptacles for false and slanderous whispers prompted by private interest.' Compare *et audio et quia cognovi existimo*, § 14; and *bene te ut homines nosse loquantur et existiment*, Ep. xii. 50.

*ficta . . . insusurrentur*] See Adn. Crit.

*Sit anulus*] 'Let your signet ring not be a mere utensil (article of wearing apparel, transferable to others), but let it be as inseparable from you as if it were your very self; thus let it be not the instrument of the will of others, but the proof that the act is yours.'

*Accensus*] The *accensus* was certainly a menial, and this advice of Cicero's is directed against the *valet de chambre* government which was becoming usual, examples of which were the influence of Theophanes with Pompeius, and of Sta-

tius with Quintus. The *accensi* were generally freedmen of the magistrates whom they attended.

*non suae, sed*] 'let your lictor be not the dispenser of his own clemency, but the executor (instrument) of yours.' Cicero refers to the lictors' practice of taking bribes to mitigate the severity of the punishments which it was their duty to inflict. See Verr. v. 118, *Lictor Sextius cui ex omnium gemitu doloreque certa merces comparabatur. Quid? ut uno ietu securis afferam mortem filio tuo quid dabis? ne diu crucietur, ne saepe feriatur*. But the zeugma in *apparitor* is very awkward. Perhaps Cicero wrote *non suae sector, sed tuae lenitatis apparitor*, 'a trafficker in reprieves.' Lucan uses *sector* in this sense, *sectorque favoris ipse sui populus*, i. 178. This exactly expresses the required sense, and *sector* might have fallen out on account of its juxtaposition with a word so closely resembling it as *lictor*.

*qui aliquid acceperint*] 'took a bribe;' *accepit* is used absolutely in this sense. See on Att. i. 17, 8.

quisquam dabit, cum erit hoc perspectum, nihil per eos, qui simulant se apud te multum posse, abs te solere impetrari. 14. Nec tamen haec oratio mea est eius modi, ut te in tuos aut durum esse nimium aut suspiciosum velim. Nam si quis est eorum qui tibi biennii spatio numquam in suspicionem avaritiae venerit, ut ego Caesium et Chaerippum et Labeonem et audio et, quia cognovi, existimo, nihil est quod non et iis et si quis est alius eiusdem modi et committi et credi rectissime putem. Sed si quis est in quo iam offenderis, de quo aliquid senseris, huic nihil credideris, nullam partem existimationis tuae commiseris.

V. 15. In provincia vero ipsa, si quem es nactus, qui in tuam familiaritem penitus intrarit, qui nobis ante fuerit ignotus, huic quantum credendum sit vide non quin possint multi esse provinciales viri boni, sed hoc sperare licet, iudicare periculosum est. Multis enim simulationum involucris tegitur et quasi velis quibusdam obtenditur unius cuiusque natura: frons, oculi, vultus persaepe mentiuntur, oratio vero saepissime. Quam ob rem qui potes reperire ex eo genere hominum, qui pecuniae cupiditate adducti careant iis rebus omnibus, a quibus nos divulsi esse non possumus, te autem, alienum hominem, ament ex animo ac non sui commodi causa simulent? Mihi quidem permagnum videtur,

14. *avaritiae*] 'rapacity,' not 'avarice.'

*Caesium . . . audio*] cf. Fam. iii. 10, 11, *te censorem audiemus*.

*offenderis*] sc. *suspicionem avaritiae*.

*nullam . . . commiseris*] 'do not leave your reputation in his hands in any respect.'

15. *frons . . . oratio*] cf. Ep. xii. 50.

*Quam ob rem*] 'wherefore how can you expect to find in such a class men who, for the sake of gain, will forego all these things from which we cannot tear ourselves away, and yet will entertain a sincere regard for you, a stranger, and not rather simulate such a feeling to gain their own ends?' The ellipse of *eos* is very awkward. *Hominum* would naturally be the antecedent to *qui*, which follows it. Yet the sense requires that the antecedent to *qui* should be some word such as *homines* understood. I would either (1) correct *hominum* to *homines*, or (2) would insert *homines* after *hominum*. The latter course I should prefer. The

things *a quibus divulsi esse non possumus* are that city life and polite society which these Roman adventurers have exchanged for the dulness of provincial life through desire of gain. We see how Quintus pined in his province for Rome, and Marcus, during his provincial government, expresses quite touchingly his feeling of home-sickness: *ne provincia nobis prorogetur, per fortunas! dum ades quidquid provideri potest provide; non dici potest quam flagrem desiderio urbis, quam via harum rerum insulsiatam feram*, Att. v. 11, 1. This is one of those traits which the ancient Roman seems to have had in common with the modern Parisian. See I<sup>2</sup>, Introd. p. 40.

*permagnum*] 'To me it seems that to find such would be a hard task.' *Permagnum* is used thus absolutely in Tusc. i. 111, *permagnum existimans tres Olympionicas una e domo prodire*. But perhaps we should read *permagni*: cf. § 22, *permagni hominis est*.



praesertim si iidem homines privatum non fere quemquam, praetores semper omnes amant. Quo ex genere si quem forte tui cognosti amantiorem—fieri enim potuit—quam temporis, hunc vero ad tuum numerum libenter ascribito: sin autem id non perspicies, nullum genus erit in familiaritate cavendum magis, propterea quod et omnes vias pecuniae norunt et omnia pecuniae causa faciunt et, quicum victuri non sunt, eius existimationi consulere non curant. 16. Atque etiam in Graecis ipsis diligenter cavendae sunt *intimae* quaedam familiaritates praeter hominum perpaucorum si qui sunt vetere Graecia digni. Sic vero fallaces sunt permulti et leves et diuturna servitute ad nimiam adsentationem eruditi. Quos ego universos adhiberi liberaliter, optimum quemque hospitio amicitiaeque coniungi dico oportere: nimiae familiaritates eorum neque tam fideles sunt—non enim audent adversari nostris voluntatibus—et invident non nostris solum, verum etiam suis.

VI. 17. Iam qui in eius modi rebus, in quibus vereor etiam ne durior sim, cautus esse velim ac diligens, quo me animo in servis esse censes? quos quidem cum omnibus in locis tum praecipue in provinciis regere debemus. Quo de genere multa praecipi possunt, sed hoc et brevissimum est et facillime teneri potest, ut ita se gerant in istis Asiaticis itineribus, ut si iter Appia via faceres, neve interesse quidquam putent utrum Tralles an Formias venerint. Ac si quis est ex servis egregie fidelis, sit in domesticis rebus et privatis: quae res ad officium imperii tui atque ad

*temporis*] 'your position.' *Tempus* is used for *consulatus* in Att. i. 14; Fam. x. 1, 2, *quae si ad tuum tempus perducitur facilis gubernatio est*: for its sense here, cf. § 31.

*ad tuum numerum*] i. e. *ad tuorum numerum*: cf. Phil. ii. 33, *adscribere me talem in numerum*; and Phil. xi. 25, *de suo numero*.

*vias pecuniae*] 'all the ways and means of making money.'

16. *Sic vero*] 'As things now stand,' in contradistinction to the preceding words, *si qui sunt vetere Graecia digni*.

*fallaces*] The whole sentence would serve as a good description of the natives of India under British rule.

*neque tam fidelis*] 'not so trustworthy as one could wish.'

17. *Iam qui*] 'Now what do you think

will be my opinions on the subject of slaves, considering how careful and particular I am in these matters, in which, indeed, I fear I am too strict?' I would prefer *Iamque* for *Iam qui*. I would then render, 'and now on a subject on which I fear I am too strict, but certainly would wish to be careful and vigilant—on the subject of slaves—what do you think my opinions are?' The meaning is, 'Now seeing that I am for vigilance, even where I may incur blame for over-severity, you may fancy that I am for great strictness in the matter of slaves.'

*Tralles*] *Tralles* perhaps here, certainly in Juv. iii. 70, is used as typical of a foreign place, as we say *Hong Kong* or *Timbuctoo* or *Kamschatka*. Horace uses *Gades* in the same way, and so Cic. *pro domo*, 80.

aliquam partem rei publicae pertinebunt, de his rebus ne quid attingat. Multa enim, quae recte committi servis fidelibus possunt, tamen sermonis et vituperationis vitandae causa committenda non sunt. 18. Sed nescio quo pacto ad praeciendi rationem delapsa est oratio mea, cum id mihi propositum initio non fuisset. Quid enim ei praecipiam, quem ego in hoc praesertim genere intellegam prudentia non esse inferiorem quam me, usu vero etiam superiorem? Sed tamen si ad ea, quae faceres, auctoritas accederet mea, tibi ipsi illa putavi fore iucundiora. Qua re sint haec fundamenta dignitatis tuae: tua primum integritas et continentia, deinde omnium, qui tecum sunt, pudor, dilectus in familiaritatibus et provincialium hominum et Graecorum percautus et diligens, familiae gravis et constans disciplina. 19. Quae cum honesta sint in his privatis nostris cotidianisque rationibus, in tanto imperio, tam depravatis moribus, tam corruptrice provincia divina videantur necesse est. Haec institutio atque haec disciplina potest sustinere in rebus statuendis et decernendis eam severitatem, qua tu in iis rebus usus es, ex quibus non nullas simultates cum magna mea laetitia susceptas habemus: nisi forte me Paconii nescio cuius, hominis ne Graeci quidem ac Mysi aut Phrygis potius, querellis moveri putas aut Tuscenii, hominis furiosi ac sordidi, vocibus, cuius tu ex impurissimis faucibus inhonestissimam cupiditatem eripuisti summa cum aequitate.

VII. 20. Haec et cetera plena severitatis, quae statuisti in ista provincia, non facile sine summa integritate sustinuerimus: qua re sit summa in iure dicundo severitas, dum modo ea ne varietur gratia, sed conservetur aequabilis. Sed tamen parvi re fert abs te ipso ius dici aequabiliter et diligenter, nisi idem ab iis fiet, quibus tu eius muneris aliquam partem concesseris. Ac mihi quidem videtur non sane magna varietas esse negotiorum in administranda Asia, sed ea tota iuris dictione maxime sustineri. In qua scientiae

18. *dilectus*] 'selection.' This is the correct form of the word, not *delectus*.

19. *corruptrice*] 'demoralising.' *sustinere*] 'to bear up against,' 'to counterbalance:' cf. *tueretur*, § 21.

*severitatem*] 'strictness.'

*nisi forte*] This explains *cum magna mea laetitia*, 'those animosities which you have incurred to my great delight, for surely you do not suppose that I regard the complaints of Paconius and Tuscenius.'

*hominis furiosi ac sordidi*] 'a low, crazy fellow.'

*cupiditatem*] The 'thing desired' is rather strangely called 'the desire:' cf. Phil. xiv. 8, *Antonius insigne odium omnium hominum*, and *Pompeius, nostri amoris*, Att. ii. 19, 2.

20. *sustineri*] 'the bulk of the duties of a governor of Asia turns on judicial functions.'

*In qua*] sc. *iuris dictione*. 'In which

praesertim provincialis ratio ipsa expedita est: constantia est adhibenda et gravitas quae resistat non solum gratiae, verum etiam suspicioni. 21. Adiungenda etiam est facilitas in audiendo, lenitas in decernendo, in satis faciendo ac disputando diligentia. Iis rebus nuper C. Octavius iucundissimus fuit, apud quem primum licitor quievit, tacuit accensus, quotiens quisque voluit dixit et quam voluit diu. Quibus ille rebus fortasse nimis lenis videretur, nisi haec lenitas illam severitatem tueretur. Cogebantur Sullani homines quae per vim et metum abstulerant reddere. Qui in magistratibus iniuriose decreverant, eodem ipsis privatis erat iure parendum. Haec illius severitas acerba videretur, nisi multis condimentis humanitatis mitigaretur. 22. Quod si haec lenitas grata Romae est, ubi tanta adrogantia est, tam immoderata libertas, tam infinita hominum licentia, denique tot magistratus, tot auxilia, tanta vis contionis, tanta senatus auctoritas, quam iucunda tandem praetoris comitas in Asia potest esse, in qua tanta multitudo civium, tanta sociorum, tot urbes, tot civitates unius hominis

the theory of administration, especially that of the provinces, is in a nutshell: 'provincialis agrees with scientiae. Scientia prov. is 'provincial philosophy,' as we talk of 'political philosophy'; meaning a system of the principles on which provinces are administered—more theoretical than 'knowledge of the provinces.'

21. *lenitas . . . diligentia* 'courtesy in pronouncing judgment, and a practice of giving carefully reasoned grounds for one's decision, no matter what trouble it may cost one (lit. 'application in satisfying and arguing'). The passage may be illustrated by a reference to the *or. pro Quinct.* 30, where the friends of Quinctius objected to the justice of the decision of Dolabella the praetor, and were expelled by his lictors from the court—an instance of the absence of the qualities here enjoined. Manutius proposed *disceptando* for *disputando*. In Part. Or. 10, Cicero defines *disceptator* as *rei sententiaeque moderator*. So in *disceptando* would mean, 'in acting as umpire or arbitrator.' But the change spoils the sense.

*C. Octavius*] The father of Augustus: see Att. ii. 1, 12. He was at this time praetor in Macedonia, but the present passage refers to his conduct as praetor in the city before he went to Macedonia. Hence *nuper*. The words of Suet. (Aug. 3) would seem to lead to a different conclu-

sion. But he seems to have misunderstood this passage. There can hardly have been *Sullani homines* in Macedonia.

*primum licitor*] *Proximus* is the conjecture of Orelli for *primus* of the mss. The lictors walked in a line in front of the magistrate, and the one nearest to him is called *proximus licitor* in Liv. xxiv. 44. But Orelli's conjecture is bad. There is no reason to correct *primus* of the mss: the *licitor* who is called *proximus* in Livy might well be called *primus* in the very same sense. But both *primus* and *proximus* are out of place here. Why specify the *licitor primus*? I believe that *primum*, the conjecture of Malaspina, is the true reading: 'Before Octavius, for the first time, the licitor had nothing to do, the *accensus* nothing to say—everyone was allowed to speak as often as he wished, and as long as he wished.' It was the duty of the licitor to keep back the people from the tribunal—Octavius let them approach; it was the duty of the beadle to proclaim and enforce silence—Octavius allowed everyone to speak as often and as long as he wished.

*illam*] 'the following.'

*Sullani*] See *Addenda to Comm.*, note 3: cp. Ep. xxv. 4.

*eodem iure*] 'on the same principles.' *nisi multis*] 'had it not been sweetened by the greatest courtesy.'

nutum intuentur, ubi nullum auxilium est, nulla conquestio, nullus senatus, nulla contio? Qua re [cum] permagni hominis est et cum ipsa natura moderati, tum vero etiam doctrina atque optimarum artium studiis eruditi sic se adhibere in tanta potestate, ut nulla alia potestas ab iis, quibus is praesit, desideretur.

VIII. 23. Cyrus ille a Xenophonte non ad historiae fidem scriptus, sed ad effigiem iusti imperii, cuius summa gravitas ab illo philosopho cum singulari comitate coniungitur (quos quidem libros non sine causa noster ille Africanus de manibus ponere non solebat: nullum est enim praetermissum in his officium diligentis et moderati imperii:) ea [que] si sic coluit ille, qui privatus futurus numquam fuit, quonam modo retinenda sunt iis, quibus imperium ita datum est, ut redderent, et ab iis legibus datum est, ad quas revertendum est? 24. Ac mihi quidem videntur huc omnia esse referenda iis, qui praesunt aliis, ut ii, qui erunt in eorum imperio, sint quam beatissimi: quod tibi et esse antiquissimum et ab initio fuisse, ut primum Asiam attigisti, constante fama atque omnium sermone celebratum est. Est autem non modo eius, qui sociis et civibus, sed etiam eius qui servis, qui mutis pecudibus praesit, eorum, quibus praesit, commodis utilitatique servire. 25. Cuius quidem generis constare inter omnes video abs te summam adhiberi diligentiam: nullum aes alienum novum contrahi civitatibus, vetere autem magno et gravi multas abs te esse liberatas: urbes complures dirutas ac paene desertas, in quibus unam Ioniae nobilissimam, alteram Cariae, Samum et Halicarnassum, per te esse recreatas: nullas esse in oppidis seditiones, nullas discordias:

22. *nulla alia potestas*] no other magistrate to whom to appeal against the praetorian power.

23. *Cyrus ille*] Cp. Ep. liii. 7. Cicero recognises the true character of this semi-historical novel. Its parallel in Latin literature is the life of Alexander by Q. Curtius. This sentence is an ungraceful *anacoluthon*. Lambinus proposed to insert *Si* before *Cyrus*; by doing so, and omitting the *que* after *ea*, we shall have a correct sentence, *Si Cyrus ille . . . ea si sic coluit ille*. But even the *Si* before *Cyrus* may be dispensed with: 'If he, Cyrus, though destined never to play the part of a private citizen, so assiduously cultivated these principles, how carefully must they

be guarded by him to whom authority is given only on condition that it be again given up, and conferred by those laws under whose sway he must again return.' The laws are the causes or sources of the authority; hence *ab iis legibus*. *Ea* refers to *gravitas* and *comitas*, 'these qualities:' cf. *hoc* in § 13, and *ea quae diversa sunt*, § 36, where *ea* refers to *publicani et socii*. See, also, *Tusc.* i. 4, *ergo in Graecia musici floruerunt, discabantque id omnes*, and note on *cum idem sis adeptus*, Ep. xii. § 13.

24. *Ac mihi quidem*] 'to me it seems that governments have but one end—the greatest possible happiness of the governed.'

*pecudibus*] Cf. *Plat. Rep.* 345 D.

provideri abs te, ut civitates optimatum consiliis administrentur, sublata Mysiae latrocinia, caedes multis locis repressas, pacem tota provincia constitutam, neque solum illa itinerum atque agrorum, sed multo etiam plura et maiora oppidorum et fanorum [furta et] latrocinia esse depulsa, remotam a fama et a fortunis et ab otio locupletium illam acerbissimam ministram praetorum avaritiae, calumniam, sumptus et tributa civitatum ab omnibus, qui earum civitatum fines incolant, tolerari aequabiliter, facillimos esse aditus ad te, patere aures tuas querellis omnium, nullius inopiam ac solitudinem non modo illo populari accessu ac tribunali, sed ne domo quidem et cubiculo esse exclusam tuo, toto denique in imperio nihil acerbum esse, nihil crudele atque omnia plena clementiae, mansuetudinis, humanitatis.

IX. 26. Quantum vero illud est beneficium tuum, quod iniquo et gravi vectigali aedilicio, cum magnis nostris simultatibus, Asiam liberasti! Etenim, si unus homo nobilis queritur palam te, quod edixeris, NE AD LUDOS PECUNIAE DECERNERENTUR, HS CC sibi eripuisse, quanta tandem pecunia penderetur, si omnium nomine, quicumque Romae ludos facerent, quod erat iam institutum, erogaretur? Quamquam has querellas hominum nostrorum illo consilio oppressimus (quod in Asia nescio quonam modo, Romae quidem non mediocri cum admiratione laudatur), quod

25. *optimatum consiliis administrentur*] This was a prominent feature of Roman administration under the republic; a cardinal feature under the Empire.

*ministram praetorum avaritiae*] The praetors used actually to suborn persons to accuse rich men before them, so that they might receive a bribe from the accused to procure his acquittal. This was *calumnia*. *Calumniari* is 'to bring false accusations.' *Calumniari* est falsa crimina intendere; *praevaricari* vera crimina abscondere; *tergiversari* in universum ab accusatione desistere, Dig. 48. 16, 1.

*solitudinem*] Cf. or pro Quinct. § 5, quod si tu iudex nullo praesidio fuisse videbere contra vim et gratiam solitudinis atque inopiae.

*crudele*] 'heartless.'

*clementiae, . . . humanitatis*] 'indulgence, suavity, and fellow-feeling.'

26. *vectigali aedilicio*] Requisitions made by the aediles on the provinces for the purpose of defraying the expenses of

the games.

*cum magnis nostris simultatibus*] 'at the cost of incurring great private animosity.'

*Etenim, si*] 'if one man of high position complains without any concealment that your decree has taken 200,000 sesterces out of his pocket, what would be the sum paid by the province, if they were taxed for everyone who gave games at Rome—a practice which was already being established?'

*hominum nostrorum*] 'our friends,' said with irony and contempt.

*illo consilio*] The construction is rather involved by three parentheses: but I have endeavoured to make it clear by punctuation; it is *quamquam has querellas oppressimus illo consilio, quod (tamen) non accipiendum putavi*, 'yet these complaints I stifled by my policy of resolving not to accept (in spite of all the considerations which might have justified it, *tamen*), the money for a monument voted to me.'

—cum ad templum monumentumque nostrum, civitates pecunias decrevisset, cumque id et pro meis magnis meritis et pro tuis maximis beneficiis summa sua voluntate fecissent, nominatimque lex exciperet, UT AD TEMPLUM ET MONUMENTUM CAPERE LICERET, cumque id, quod dabatur, non esset interiturum, sed in ornamentis templi futurum, ut non mihi potius quam populo Romano ac dis immortalibus datum videretur—tamen id (in quo erat dignitas, erat lex, erat eorum, qui faciebant, voluntas), accipiendum non putavi cum aliis de causis tum etiam ut animo aequiore ferrent ii, quibus nec deberetur nec liceret. 27. Quapropter incumbere toto animo et studio omni in eam rationem, qua adhuc usus es, ut eos, quos tuae fidei potestatique senatus populusque Romanus commisit et credidit, diligas et omni ratione tueare et esse quam beatissimos velis. Quod si te sors Afris aut Hispanis aut Gallis praefecisset, immanibus ac barbaris nationibus, tamen esset humanitatis tuae consulere eorum commodis et utilitati saluti-que servire. Cum vero ei generi hominum praesimus, non modo in quo ipso sit, sed etiam a quo ad alios pervenisse putetur humanitas, certe iis eam potissimum tribuere debemus, a quibus accepimus. 28. Non enim me hoc iam dicere pudebit, praesertim in ea vita atque iis rebus gestis, in quibus non potest residere inertiae aut levitatis ulla suspitio, nos ea, quae consecuti sumus, iis studiis et artibus esse adeptos quae sint nobis Graeciae monumentis disciplinisque tradita. Qua re praeter communem fidem, quae omnibus debetur, praeterea nos isti hominum generi prae-

*nominatimque*] διαφρόνη, 'in so many words.'

*lex*] G. Bossier (*Religion Romaine*, i., p. 114), uses this passage, to show that the Romans were disposed to actually encourage the provincials in paying semi-divine honours to governors. To such a pitch did their obsequiousness go, that Theophanes, the *protégé* of Pompeius, was deified by Mitylene.

*dignitas*] 'real merit' (i. e. on my part), 'conduct deserving of a monument.'

*quibus nec deberetur nec liceret*] 'who had earned no such honour, and in whose case it was not legal' (as it was in mine).

27. *rationem*] 'policy.'

*humanitas*] 'culture,' 'refinement.' This whole passage, *Cum vero ei generi . . . velimus expromere*, affords an instance

of high-pitched sentiment such as rarely meets us in a Latin writer.

28. *praesertim in ea*] 'especially since such has been my life and conduct, that they cannot afford ground for even a suspicion of remissness or shallowness' (absence of deep convictions, want of principle). In saying that he owes his success to the study of Greek thought, he says he may make that declaration without shame, since his conduct has been such that it cannot lie open to the suspicion of having been influenced by the bad side of the Greek character, *inertia* and *levitas*: cf. pro Flac. 24, *homines levitate Graeci, crudelitate barbari*.

*studii et artibus*] 'principles and qualities.'

*praeter . . . praeterea*] Cp. *praeterquam quod . . . praeterea*, Fin. v. 61.

cipue debere videmur, ut, quorum praeceptis sumus eruditi, apud eos ipsos, quod ab iis didicerimus, velimus expromere.

X. 29. Atque ille quidem princeps ingenii et doctrinae Plato tum denique fore beatas res publicas putavit, si aut docti et sapientes homines eas regere coepissent aut ii, qui regerent, omne suum studium in doctrina et sapientia collocassent. Hanc conjunctionem videlicet potestatis et sapientiae saluti censuit civitatibus esse posse. Quod fortasse aliquando universae rei publicae nostrae, nunc quidem profecto isti provinciae contigit, ut is in ea summam potestatem haberet, cui in doctrina, cui in virtute atque humanitate percipienda plurimum a pueritia studii fuisset et temporis. 30. Qua re cura, ut hic annus, qui ad laborem tuum accessit, idem ad salutem Asiae prorogatus esse videatur. Et quoniam in te retinendo fuit Asia felicior quam nos in deducendo, perfice ut laetitia provinciae desiderium nostrum leniatur. Etenim, si in promerendo, ut tibi tanti honores haberentur, quanti haud scio an nemini, fuisti omnium diligentissimus, multo maiorem in his honoribus tuendis adhibere diligentiam debes. 31. Equidem de isto genere honorum quid sentirem scripsi ad te ante. Semper eos putavi, si vulgares essent, viles, si temporis causa constituerentur, leves: si vero, id quod ita factum est, meritis tuis tribuerentur, existimabam multam tibi in iis honoribus tuendis operam esse ponendam. Qua re quoniam in istis urbibus cum summo imperio et potestate versaris, in quibus tuas virtutes consecratas et in decorum numero collocatas vides, in omnibus rebus, quas statues, quas decernes, quas ages, quid tantis hominum opinionibus, tantis de te iudiciis, tantis honoribus debeas cogitabis. Id autem erit eius modi, ut consulas omnibus, ut medeare incommotis hominum, provideas salutē, ut te parentem Asiae et dici et haberi velis.

XI. 32. Atque huic tuae voluntati ac diligentiae difficultatem magnam adferunt publicani: quibus si adversamur, ordinem de

*expromere*] 'to exercise.'

29. *Plato*] De Rep. 473 D. This condition was fulfilled under Marcus Aurelius and under Julian. Yet the world seems to have hardly achieved bliss even then.

*fortasse aliquando*] sc. *continget*, possibly; but I fear that *contigit* is to be supplied, and that Cicero refers to his consulate.

30. *ut hic annus*] 'that this year,

which is a new period of labour for you, may give to Asia a new lease of prosperity.'

*in deducendo*] 'in striving to effect your release from provincial government: 'deducere is the correlative term to *decedere*: cp. *deportare*, De Sen. 1, and Reid's note.

*tanti honores*] explained in § 31.

31. *temporis*] see above, § 15, note.

nobis optime meritum et per nos cum re publica coniunctum et a nobis et a re publica diiungemus: sin autem omnibus in rebus obsequemur, funditus eos perire patiemur, quorum non modo saluti, sed etiā commodis consulere debemus. Haec est una, si vere cogitare volumus, in toto imperio tuo difficultas. Nam esse abstinentem, continere omnes cupiditates, suos coërcere, iuris aequabilem tenere rationem, facilem se in rebus cognoscendis, in hominibus audiendis admittendisque praebere, praeclarum magis est quam difficile. Non est enim positum in labore aliquo, sed in quadam inductione animi et voluntate. 33. Illa causa publicanorum quantam acerbiter adferat sociis intelleximus ex civibus, qui nuper in portoriis Italiae tollendis non tam de portorio quam de non nullis iniuriis portitorum querebantur. Qua re non ignoro quid sociis accadat in ultimis terris, cum audierim in Italia querellas civium. Hic te ita versari, ut et publicanis satis facias, praesertim publicis male redemptis, et socios perire non sinas divinae cuiusdam virtutis esse videtur, id est, tuae. Ac primum Graecis id, quod acerbissimum est, quod sunt vectigales, non ita acerbum videri debet, propterea quod sine imperio populi Romani suis institutis per se ipsi ita fuerunt. Nomen autem publicani aspernari non possunt, qui pendere ipsi vectigal sine publicano non potuerint, quod iis aequaliter Sulla discriperat. Non esse autem leniores in exigendis vectigalibus Graecos quam nostros publicanos hinc intellegi potest, quod Caunii nuper omnesque ex insulis, quae erant a Sulla Rhodiis attributae, confugerunt ad senatum, nobis ut potius vectigal quam Rhodiis penderent. Qua re nomen publicani neque ii debent horrere, qui semper vectigales fuerunt, neque ii aspernari, qui per se pendere vectigal non potu-

32. *Non . . . enim positum*] 'it does not depend on any laborious exertion, but merely on an exercise of resolution and will.'

33. *qui nuper in portoriis*] Q. Metellus Nepos abolished port dues in Italy to conciliate the Italians. These port dues were payable in harbour on exports and imports. The *portitores* are the customs-officers employed by the publicani to collect the dues: see Att. ii. 16, 1. It was their oppressive conduct which was more offensive to the Italians than the port dues themselves.

*publicis male redemptis*] 'since they took the contract for the taxes of Asia at

a loss' (as they afterwards found out, see Att. i. 17, 9). For *male*, 'at a loss,' cf. Plaut. Pseud. ii. 1, 1, *male habiti male conciliati*, 'kept at a loss, and bought at a loss.'

*ita fuerunt*] sc. *vectigales*. Cp. Ep. liii. 9, lxxi. 2 *bis*.

*sine publicano*] Sulla had laid a poll-tax on the inhabitants of the Greek cities, but they were obliged to resort to publicani to collect it. For a very strong opinion against publicani, see Liv. xlv. 18.

*attributae*] 'made tributary to.' *Contribuere* is the term used by Livy, and all other classical writers except Cicero, who always uses *attribuere*.



erunt, neque ii recusare, qui postulaverunt. 34. Simul et illud Asia cogitet, nullam ab se neque belli externi neque domesticarum discordiarum calamitatem ad futuram fuisse, si hoc imperio non teneretur. Id autem imperium cum retineri sine vectigalibus nullo modo possit, aequo animo parte aliqua suorum fructuum pacem sibi sempiternam redimat atque otium.

XII. 35. Quod si genus ipsum et nomen publicani non iniquo animo sustinebunt, poterunt iis consilio et prudentia tua reliqua videri mitiora. Possunt in pactionibus faciendis non legem spectare censoriam, sed potius commoditatem conficiendi negotii et liberationem molestiae. Potes etiam tu id facere, quod et fecisti egregie et facis, ut commemores quanta sit in publicanis dignitas, quantum nos illi ordini debeamus, ut remoto imperio ac vi potestatis et fascium publicanos cum Graecis gratia atque auctoritate coniungas et ab iis, de quibus optime tu meritus es et qui tibi omnia debent, hoc petas, ut facilitate sua nos eam necessitudinem, quae est nobis cum publicanis, obtinere et conservare patiantur. 36. Sed quid ego te haec hortor, quae tu non modo facere potes tua sponte sine cuiusquam praeceptis, sed etiam magna iam ex parte perfecisti? Non enim desistunt nobis agere cotidie gratias honestissimae et maximae societates, quod quidem mihi idcirco iucundius est, quod idem faciunt Graeci. Difficile est autem ea, quae, commodis, utilitate et prope natura diversa sunt, voluntate coniungere. At ea quidem, quae supra scripta sunt, non ut te instituerem, scripsi—neque enim prudentia tua cuiusquam praecepta desiderat—sed me in scribendo commemoratio tuae virtutis delectavit: quamquam in his litteris longior fui quam aut vellem aut quam me putavi fore.

XIII. 37. Unum est, quod tibi ego praecipere non desinam, neque te patiar, quantum erit in me, cum exceptione laudari,

34. For the Roman justification of taxation in the provinces, see the *locus classicus*, in the speech of Cerealis, Tac. H. iv. 74.

35. *pactionibus*] 'the compacts or agreements made between the publicani and the inhabitants of the province.' These had especial reference to the tithe-payments, which would, of course, vary with the harvest. The *lex censoria* contained the conditions on which the state revenues should be let out for the current *lustrum*; but the provincials might make special covenants with the publicani: for

instance, they could substitute for the tithe a certain immediate payment, adjusted, of course, to the average harvests; they would thus get a speedy settlement, and would be saved from the annoyance of the constant dunning (*flagitatio*) of the tax-farmers.

*facis, ut*] See on Ep. xii. 42, 45.  
*obtinere*] 'make good.'

36. *societates*] sc. publicanorum.

*ea, quae*] See note on § 23.

37. *cum exceptione laudari*] 'your praise to be qualified.'

Omnes enim, qui istinc veniunt, ita de tua virtute, integritate, humanitate commemorant, ut in tuis summis laudibus excipiant unam iracundiam. Quod vitium cum in hac privata cotidianaque vita levis esse animi atque infirmi videtur, tum vero nihil est tam deforme quam ad summum imperium etiam acerbiter naturae adiungere. Qua re illud non suscipiam, ut, quae de iracundia dici solent a doctissimis hominibus, ea nunc tibi exponam, cum et nimis longus esse nolim et ex multorum scriptis ea facile possis cognoscere; illud, quod est epistolae proprium, ut is, ad quem scribitur, de iis rebus, quas ignorat, certior fiat, praetermittendum esse non puto. 38. Sic ad nos omnes fere deferunt: nihil, cum absit iracundia, dicere solent te fieri posse iucundius, sed cum te alicuius improbitas perversitasque commoverit, sic te animo incitari, ut ab omnibus tua desideretur humanitas. Qua re quoniam in eam rationem vitae nos non tam cupiditas quaedam gloriae quam res ipsa ac fortuna deduxit, ut sempiternus sermo hominum de nobis futurus sit, caveamus, quantum efficere et consequi possumus ut ne quod in nobis insigne vitium fuisse dicatur. Neque ego nunc hoc contendo, quod fortasse cum in omni natura tum iam in nostra aetate difficile est, mutare animum et, si quid est penitus insitum moribus, id subito evellere, sed te illud admo-  
neo, ut, si hoc plene vitare non potes, quod ante occupatur animus ab iracundia quam providere ratio potuit ne occuparetur, ut te ante compares cotidieque meditare resistendum esse iracundiae, cumque ea maxime animum moveat, tum tibi esse diligentissime linguam continendam: quae quidem mihi virtus interdum non minor videtur quam omnino non irasci. Nam illud est non solum gravitatis, sed non numquam etiam lentitudinis; moderari vero et animo et orationi, cum sis iratus, aut etiam tacere et tenere in sua potestate motum animi et dolorem, etsi non est perfectae sapientiae, tamen est non mediocris ingenii. 39. Atque in hoc genere multo te esse iam commodiorem mitioremque nuntiant. Nullae

*illud . . . illud]* ‘one topic (*ut . . . exponam*) I will not enter on; but that which is the chief end of a letter (*ut . . . fiat*) I do not think I ought to premit.’ Cp. Fam. ii. 4, 1.

38. *ut ne]* Cf. Att. iii. 10, fin. *ut prorsus ne quid ignorem.*

*ut . . . ut]* Cp. Liv. iii. 64.

*quae . . . mihi virtus . . . non irasci]*

‘To avoid *showing* anger deserves almost as much praise as not to *feel* it.’ But St. Paul (Eph. iv. 26, ‘be ye angry, and sin not’) does not look on resentment as in itself a sin; and with him is Butler in his sermon on Resentment. So also Aristotle, when he makes ἀοργησία an ἐλλειψίς.

*lentitudinis]* ‘a lymphatic, phlegmatic temper.’

tuae vehementiores animi concitationes, nulla maledicta ad nos, nullae contumeliae perferuntur: quae cum abhorrent a litteris, ab humanitate, tum vero contraria sunt imperio ac dignitati. Nam si implacabiles iracundiae sunt, summa est acerbitas: sin autem exorabiles, summa levitas: quae tamen, ut in malis, acerbitati anteponenda est.

XIV. 40. Sed quoniam primus annus habuit de hac reprehensione plurimum sermonis—credo propterea, quod tibi hominum iniuriae, quod avaritiae, quod insolentia praeter opinionem accidebat et intolerabilis videbatur—secundus autem multo lenior, quod et consuetudo et ratio et, ut ego arbitror, meae quoque litterae te patientiorem lenioremque fecerunt, tertius annus ita debet esse emendatus, ut ne minimam quidem rem quisquam possit ullam reprehendere. 41. Ac iam hoc loco non hortatione neque praeceptis, sed precibus tecum fraternis ago, totum ut animum, curam cogitationemque tuam ponas in omnium laude undique colligenda. Quod si in medioeri statu sermonis ac praedicationis nostrae res essent, nihil abs te eximium, nihil praeter aliorum consuetudinem postularetur. Nunc vero propter earum rerum, in quibus versati sumus, splendorem et magnitudinem, nisi summam laudem ex ista provincia adsequimur, vix videmur summam vituperationem posse vitare. Ea nostra ratio est, ut omnes boni cum faveant tum etiam omnem a nobis diligentiam virtutemque et postulent et exspectent, omnes autem improbi, quod cum iis bellum sempiternum suscepimus, vel minima re ad reprehendendum contenti esse videantur. 42. Qua re quoniam eius modi theatrum [totius Asiae] es sortitus celebritate refertissimum, magnitudine amplissimum, iudicio eruditissimum, natura autem ita resonans, ut usque Romam significationes vocesque referantur, contende, quaeso, atque elabora, non modo ut his rebus dignus fuisse, sed etiam ut illa omnia tuis artibus superasse videare.

39. *iracundiae*] Cf. § 40, *avaritiae*, 'instances of rapacity.'  
*ut in malis*] 'as a choice among evils.'

41. *Quod si in medioeri*] 'if our conduct were but to a moderate degree the subject of conversation and commendation.'

42. *theatrum*] Cf. Tusc. ii. 64, nullum theatrum virtuti conscientia maius est.  
*ita resonans*] 'so reverberating,' 'such

a vehicle of sound.' The metaphor from the theatre is still kept up; Asia is compared to a theatre, the acoustic properties of which are so good that sound can be communicated to a great distance in it.

*significationes*] Cf. *ἐπισημασίαι* above, Att. i. 16, 11, and pro Sest. 105, *populi iudiciis atque omni significatione florebant*.

XV. 43. Et quoniam mihi casus urbanam in magistratibus administrationem rei publicae, tibi provincialem dedit, si mea pars nemini cedit, fac ut tua ceteros vincat. Simul et illud cogita, nos non de reliqua et sperata gloria iam laborare, sed de parta dimicare: quae quidem non tam expetenda nobis fuit quam tuenda est. Ac si mihi quidquam esset abs te separatum, nihil amplius desiderarem hoc statu, qui mihi iam partus est. Nunc vero sic res sese habet, ut, nisi omnia tua facta atque dicta nostris rebus istinc respondeant, ego me tantis meis laboribus tantisque periculis, quorum tu omnium particeps fuisti, nihil consecutum putem. Quod si, ut amplissimum nomen consequeremur, unus praeter ceteros adiuvisi, certe idem, ut id retineamus, praeter ceteros elaborabis. Non est tibi his solis utendum existimationibus ac iudiciis, qui nunc sunt, hominum, sed iis etiam, qui futuri sunt: quamquam illorum erit verius iudicium obtrectatione et malevolentia liberatum. 44. Denique illud etiam debes cogitare, non te tibi soli gloriam quaerere: quod si esset, tamen non neglegeres, praesertim cum amplissimis monumentis consecrare voluisses memoriam nominis tui: sed ea est tibi communicanda mecum, prodenda liberis nostris: in qua cavendum est ne, si neglegentior fueris, tibi parum consuluisse, sed etiam tuis invidisse videaris.

43. *mea pars nemini*] for *nullius parti*, the *comparatio compendiaria*, cf. *iis* for *eorum iudiciis* in this section below. This is a brachylogy often found in Cicero and Plautus; sometimes in other writers, e.g. Caes. B. G. vi. 22, 4. We have examples of this usage in Cic. Tusc. i. 2; De or. i. 15, 23; Fam. iv. 4, 1; in Plaut. Capt. ii. 2, 52, vis hostilis cum *istoc* fecit meas opes aquabiles. In Greek the usage is familiar in the Homeric phrase *κόμαι Χαρίτεσσιν ὁμοίαι*, and appears very strongly in the Herodotean *πυραμίδα τοῦ πατρὸς ἐλάσσω*, 'less than his father's.' See, also, Thuc. i. 71, *ἀρχαῖότροπα ὁμῶν τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔστιν*.

*reliqua*] 'future.'

*quae quidem*] 'the acquisition of which fame was not so great an object as is its maintenance when once acquired.'

*istinc*] is used because Cicero is thinking of the report of his brother's words and deeds brought from Asia to Rome.

*adiuvisi*] Prob. by the *Commentariolum*.

*Non est tibi . . . liberatum*] 'we must possess ourselves of the favourable esti-

mation and judgment not only of the present but even of future generations; and yet [we have not so much reason to fear their verdict, for] their judgment will be fairer than the verdict of our contemporaries, uninfluenced as it will be by detraction or malice.' For *iis* see note on *mea pars nemini* above. I can explain *quamquam* only by supplying the unexpressed train of ideas as above. Perhaps Cicero wrote *quantum*, 'how much.'

*illorum*] refers not (as is usual) to the thing more remote in the sentence, but to the thing more remote in actual fact, and therefore more remote in the mind of the reader: cf. Liv. xxx. 30, *melior tutiorque est certa pax quam sperata victoria*, HAEC (pax) in tua, ILLA (sperata victoria) in deorum potestate est.

44. *monumentis*] either the honours done to Quintus, and referred to above, § 31, or (as Manutius supposes) a history on which Quintus was engaged. This history is mentioned in Att. ii. 16, 4, *ut Annales suos emendem*.

*sed etiam*] The words *non solum* are

XVI. 45. Atque haec non eo dicuntur, ut te oratio mea dormientem excitasse, sed potius ut currentem incitasse videatur. Facies enim perpetuo, quae fecisti, ut omnes aequitatem tuam, temperantiam, severitatem integritatemque laudarent. Sed me quaedam tenet propter singularem amorem infinita in te aviditas gloriae, quamquam illud existimo, cum iam tibi Asia, sicuti uni cuique sua domus, nota esse debeat, cum ad tuam summam prudentiam tantus usus accesserit, nihil esse quod ad laudem attineat, quod non tu optime perspicias et tibi non sine cuiusquam hortatione in mentem veniat cotidie. Sed ego, qui, cum tua lego, te audire et qui, cum ad te scribo, tecum loqui videor, idcirco et tua longissima quaque epistola maxime delector et ipse in scribendo sum saepe longior. 46. Illud te ad extremum et oro et hortor, ut tamquam poetae boni et actores industrii solent, sic tu in extrema parte et conclusionem muneris ac negotii tui diligentissimus sis, ut hic tertius annus imperii tui tamquam tertius actus perfectissimus atque ornatissimus fuisse videatur. Id facillime facies, si me, cui semper uni magis quam universis placere voluisti, tecum semper esse putabis et omnibus iis rebus, quas dices et facies, interesse. Reliquum est ut te orem ut valetudini tuae, si me et tuos omnes valere vis, diligentissime servias. [Vale.]

inserted by all editors (against the mss) before *tibi parum consuluisse*; but *sed etiam* may stand in a subsequent clause without any such phrase as *non solum* in the foregoing: see note on Att. iii. 15, 5.

45. *currentem*] Cf. Att. v. 9, 1; vi. 7, 1 = *σπεύδοντ' ὀτρύνειν*.

*facies . . . fecisti ut*] See on Ep. xii. 42, 45. *in te*] 'for you,' 'in your case:' cf. Tusc. i. 45, *hic locus est contemnendus in nobis, non neglegendus in nostris*, Q. Fr. ii. 6, 5, *Pompeius in amicitia P. Lentuli vituperatur*.

*sicuti uni cuique sua domus*] Cf. Juv. i. 7, *nota magis nulli domus est sua quam mihi lucus Martis*.

*Sed ego . . . longior*] We have in these words, and in the words *quod si . . . unus praeter ceteros adiuvisti*, in § 43, an unmistakable intimation, as I think, that this letter is designed as a sort of repayment for Ep. xii.

46. *in extrema parte et conclusionem*] This is what he calls *clausula* in Att. vi. 3, 3. Somewhat parallel too is the Greek expression *κατακλείς* in Att. ii. 3, 3.

*tamquam tertius actus*] This simile would be appreciated by the author of the *Erigona*, *Electra*, *Troades*, and other tragedies. We can see in the letter of Quintus above (Ep. xii.) very clear indications of the effect of his tragic studies on his style, especially in §§ 9, 10, 11. We are told in Q. Fr. iii. 5 (6), 7, that Quintus wrote four tragedies in sixteen days. In using the words *tertius actus* Cicero seems to have before his mind not the Roman play, which was divided into five acts, but the Greek, which usually falls into three: the third act is then the last, as the third year was the last of Quintus' government. For a similar metaphor drawn from the stage, cf. or. pro Sest. 120, *Aesopus . . . semper partium in rep. tamquam in scena optimarum est*.

*perfectissimus*] Adjectives, participles, and adverbs compounded with *per* do not, as a rule, admit of degrees of comparison. Hence *perdifficilis*, Liv. xl. 21, is justly corrected. But we find *perfectissimus* in Brut. 118, Orat. 3 and 47; and *perditissime*, 2 Ver. iii. 65.

## LETTERS OF THE TENTH YEAR OF CICERO'S CORRESPONDENCE.

EPP. XXXI.-LV.

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A. U. C. 695; B. C. 59; AET. CIC. 47.

COSS. C. JULIUS CAESAR, M. CALPURNIUS BIBULUS.

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THIS is the year of the First Triumvirate, and of Caesar's first Consulship. The seeds of the Civil War were now sown by the Lex Vatinia, which gave to Caesar the government of Cisalpine Gaul with Illyricum, and the command of three legions for five years. To these powers the Senate felt themselves obliged to add another legion and Transalpine Gaul, *veritis patribus* (as Suetonius suggests, Jul. xxii.) *ne, si ipsi negassent, populus et hanc daret*; though this concession seems to be attributed to Pompeius in Att. viii. 3, 3. The Letters of this year have to do chiefly with the measures which Caesar brought forward to carry out his arrangement with the Triumvirs. Cicero seems dissatisfied with his own *rapprochement* towards Pompeius, with which Atticus had gently upbraided him. Cicero at this time seems far from hopeful about the prospects of the Optimate cause. The 'fish fanciers' are indifferent, Cato is Quixotic, Pompeius is 'vilely fallen away.' We have seen that Cicero ascribes to himself considerable influence over Pompeius, and even Caesar (Att. ii. 1, 6), and we have seen (Att. ii. 3, 3) how the overtures of Balbus proved powerless against his fidelity to his political *idée*. We shall see in the Letters of 695 (b.c. 59) how strongly he is influenced by fear of the charge of a desertion of his cause, and by an ambition for the favourable verdict of future

ages (Att. ii. 5, 1). We have a very unpleasant picture of the disingenuousness of Pompeius (Att. ii. 16, 2), and (Att. ii. 21, 4), a pathetic lamentation over the disfigurement of his idol. He describes the Triumvirs as extremely unpopular.

Clodius was elected to the Tribune, and gave out that his object in seeking the Tribune was to oppose all the measures of Caesar. Cicero seems at first to have been deceived by this statement. Afterwards he perceived clearly enough the real object of Clodius, but relied on the protection of Pompeius (Att. ii. 21, 6). See Introd. i. § 1, for a full account of the circumstances which led to the exile of Cicero.

We have in Ep. li. (Att. ii. 24) an account of the strange plot revealed by Vettius, the true character, object, and source of which are profoundly uncertain. The second letter to his brother Quintus, also among the letters of 695, shows that the latter had not been very successful in carrying out his brother's warnings against *iracundia*, conveyed in the last letter. The only literary product of this year, still surviving, is the successful defence of L. Valerius Flaccus, who was accused of malversation in Asia. But Cicero also defended, in a speech now lost, his former colleague, C. Antonius, on a similar charge with respect to Macedonia. Antonius was, however, condemned.

## XXXI. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. II. 4).

TUSCULANUM, A. U. C. 695 ; B. C. 59 ; AET. CIC. 47.

De libro Serapionis ab Attico ad se misso, de negotio cum Titinio transigendo, de Clodio legationem ad Tigranem cupiente, de geographia scribenda, quaerit quos consules futuros putet, de saltu Terentiae, de aliis rebus domesticis.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Fecisti mihi pergratum, quod Serapionis librum ad me misisti, ex quo quidem ego, quod inter nos liceat dicere, millesimam partem vix intellego. Pro eo tibi praesentem pecuniam solvi imperavi, ne tu expensum muneribus ferres. At quoniam nummorum mentio facta est, amabo te, cura ut cum Titinio quoquo modo poteris transigas. Si in eo, quod ostenderat, non stat, mihi maxime placet, ea quae male empta sunt reddi, si voluntate Pomponiae fieri poterit: si ne id quidem, nummi potius reddantur quam ullus sit scrupulus. Valde hoc velim ante quam proficiscare amanter, ut soles, diligenterque conficias. 2. Clodius ergo, ut

1. *quod . . . dicere*] cp. *ὅς γ' ἐν αὐτοῖς ἡμῖν εἰρήσθαι*, Plat. Protag. 1.

*ne tu expensum muneribus ferres*] 'lest you should put it down under the heading of gifts.' Atticus had sent him a work of Serapion on Geography, on which subject Cicero seems to have now meditated a treatise. Cicero tells Atticus that he had given directions to have him paid at once for it in ready money—*expensum ferre muneribus*, is 'to enter in one's books as paid away under the heading of gifts.'

*nummi potius reddantur*] *Reddantur* is the reading of the mss. Manutius suggested *addantur* as a certain correction, and *reddantur* is condemned by all the old edd. and by the modern Boot. Yet it is the one word which throws light on the whole transaction, of which nothing is known except what may be gathered from the present passage. When one man buys something for another, the latter in paying him is said *reddere num-*

*mos*, 'to pay him back what he gave for it:' see Ter. Ad. ii. 1, 46—

Ob malefacta haec tantidem emptam postulat sibi tradier . . .  
age iam cupio, si modo argentum *reddat*.

We must therefore infer that Titinius had undertaken to buy something for Atticus, at a certain price, but afterwards found that it would cost more. So Cicero says, 'If he does not keep to his agreement, I think the purchase for which he has made such a bad bargain should be given back on his hands, if Pomponia has no objection; but if she objects to this course, let him be paid what he gave for it, rather than that there should be any hitch in the matter ('that things should be at a dead lock, as they are now'). *Male emere* is quite an idiom for 'making a bad bargain:' see on last letter, § 33. *Reddere* often means 'to give as in duty bound,' Mayor on Juv. i. 93.



ais, ad Tigranem? Velim† Syrpie condicione, sed facile patior. Accommodatius enim nobis est ad liberam legationem tempus illud, cum et Quintus noster iam, ut speramus, in otio consederit et iste sacerdos Bonae deae cuius modi futurus sit scierimus. Interea quidem cum Misis nos delectabimus animo aequo, immo vero etiam gaudenti ac libenti: neque mihi umquam veniet in mentem Crasso invidere neque paenitere, quod a me ipse non desciverim. 3. De geographia dabo operam ut tibi satis faciam, sed nihil certi polliceor. Magnum opus est, sed tamen, ut iubes, curabo ut huius peregrinationis [aliquod] tibi opus exstet. 4. Tu quidquid indagaris de re publica et maxime quos consules futuros putes facito ut sciam: tametsi minus sum curiosus. Statui enim nihil iam de re publica cogitare. 5. Terentiae saltum perspeximus. Quid quaeris? Praeter quercum Dodonaeam nihil deside-

2. *Velim† Syrpie*] The triumvirs resolved on a temporary removal of Clodius at this time, hoping, perhaps, that they might thus win the unconditional adhesion of Cicero, who, however, does not appear to have as yet conceived those apprehensions of Clodius which would have made his removal seem desirable. They therefore chose Clodius as public ambassador to bear the good wishes of the Roman people to Tigranes, on entering on his new kingdom of Gordiene and Sophene. This is described afterwards (ii. 7) as *ieiuna tabellarii legatio*, 'a profitless mission which a mere letter-carrier might have executed;' but Cicero seems here to look on it as a distinction in saying 'but I take it easily, for it would not suit me at present.' No attempt worthy of mention has been made to solve the riddle of *velim Syrpie condicione*, but by the great Gronovius, whose conjecture seems to me as probable as it is brilliant. It is *velim SCEPSII condicione*. Metrodorus, a native of Scepsis, was sent by Mithridates to Tigranes to incite the latter to war with Rome. When Tigranes asked Metrodorus his own opinion of the prudence of such a step, Metrodorus replied 'as the ambassador of Mithridates I advise you; as Metrodorus I advise you not.' This afterwards came to the ears of Mithridates, who, in consequence, put Metrodorus to death (Plut. Lucull. 22). Cicero therefore says, 'So Clodius is going to Tigranes: I hope it will be on

the same terms (with the same result) as Metrodorus of Scepsis (who lost his life in consequence)—the honour I don't envy him, for it would not suit my plans at present.' Boot calls this *ingeniosum sed longius quaesitum*. It seems to me as certain as it is ingenious. It is true that *Scepsii condicione* would more naturally mean 'on the terms offered by S.' (cp. *Attalici condicionibus*, Hor.); but cp. *condicio testium*, 'the circumstances under which deponents are placed,' pro Rab. Post. 35. *consederit*] 'shall settle down in private life' after his three years' government of Asia.

*sacerdos*] of course Clodius. It is strange how Cicero seems to fail to see the real object of Clodius' tribunate. Clodius gave out that it was directed against the measures of Caesar (Att. ii. 12, 2), and this Cicero seems at first to have believed.

*Crasso invidere*] 'to envy Crassus his coalition with Caesar and Pompeius.' Above, in Att. i. 4, 3, Crassus is referred to in a different way, as the proverbial rich man, *Quod si assequor Crassum supero divitiis*.

*quod a me ipse*] 'that I have not been a traitor to myself.'

3. *peregrinationis*] 'this little tour in the country.' Cicero was now travelling about in the neighbourhood of Antium.

5. *saltum*] a piece of woodland belonging to Terentia, which Cicero now 'thoroughly explored.'

ramus quo minus Epirum ipsam possidere videamur. 6. Nos circiter Kal. aut in Formiano erimus aut in Pompeiano. Tu, si in Formiano non erimus, si nos amas, in Pompeianum venito. Id et nobis erit periucundum et tibi non sane devium. 7. De muro imperavi Philotimo, ne impediret quo minus id fieret, quod tibi videretur. Tu censeo tamen adhibeas Vettium. His temporibus, tam dubia vita optimi cuiusque, magni aestimo unius aestatis fructum palaestrae Palatinae, sed ita tamen, ut nihil minus velim quam Pomponiam et puerum versari in timore ruinae.

### XXXII. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. II. 5).

ANTIUM, A. U. C. 695; B. C. 59; AET. CIC. 47.

M. Cicero significat se iter in Aegyptum in animo habere, sed vereri sermones hominum et iudicium posteritatis; de rebus urbanis, de quibus Attici litteras expectare se dicit.

#### CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Cupio equidem et iam pridem cupio Alexandream reliquamque Aegyptum visere et simul ab hac hominum satietate nostri

7. *Philotimo*] Cicero's steward, of whose dishonesty we read in Att. vi. vii. *censeo . . . adhibeas*] The omission of *ut* is common in Plaut. Vettius was the freedman of Cyrus, Cicero's architect.

*unius . . . palaestrae Palatinae*] 'I greatly value one more summer's enjoyment of my *palaestra* on the Palatine. But, of course, I would not for the world have my brother's wife and son exposed to the risk of the wall falling.' M. and Q. Cicero had houses beside each other on the Palatine. There was a wall separating Cicero's *palaestra* from the premises of Quintus. This wall was in a dangerous state, at least Pomponia thought so. Cicero says it must be repaired if it is dangerous, but he sets a high value on the use of his *palaestra*, of which he will be deprived during the summer by the repairs which will be going on. This *palaestra* was probably intended for physical exercise, but there is nothing in the passage incon-

sistent with the theory that he used it as a sort of school of rhetoric: compare De Or. i. 81; Orat. 42; Brut. 27. Wieland's explanation, adopted by Boot, that from this wall they commanded a view of the exercises in a public *palaestra* in the Palatine is—(1) quite unsupported by any evidence that there was such a *palaestra*; (2) there is not a word suggesting a *view* in the passage; (3) a *wall* would be a strange place from which to enjoy a view. Observe the favourite use of *ita*—*ut*, cf. Att. i. 1, 1.

1. *Cupio*] 'I am eager, and have long been eager, to visit Alexandria, and the rest of Egypt, and to get away from here, where the public is tired of me, and return only when they have begun to feel my loss.' It was contemplated by the triumvirs to send Cicero on a mission to Ptolemy Auletes who was embroiled with his subjects.

discedere et cum aliquo desiderio reverti, sed hoc tempore et his mittentibus,

αἰδέομαι Τρῶας καὶ Τρωάδας ἐλκεσιπέπλους.

Quid enim nostri optimates, si qui reliqui sunt, loquentur? an me aliquo praemio de sententia esse deductum?

Πουλυδάμας μοι πρῶτος ἐλεγχεῖν ἀναθήσει,

Cato ille noster, qui mihi unus est pro centum milibus. Quid vero historiae de nobis ad annos DC praedicarint? quas quidem ego multo magis vereor quam eorum hominum, qui hodie vivunt, rumusculos. Sed, opinor, excipiamus et exspectemus. Si enim deferetur, erit quaedam nostra potestas et tum deliberabimus. Etiam hercule est in non accipiendo non nulla gloria. Qua re si quid Θεοφάνης tecum forte contulerit, ne omnino repudiaris. 2. De istis rebus exspecto tuas litteras: quid Arrius narret, et quo animo se destitutum ferat, et qui consules parentur, utrum, ut populi sermo, Pompeius et Crassus, an, ut mihi scribitur, cum Gabinio Servius Sulpicius, et num quae novae leges, et num quid

αἰδέομαι Τρῶας] Hector's words to Andromache, Il. vi. 442, often quoted by Cicero in his letters.

sententia] 'my design of opposing the coalition, and carrying out the old policy of the optimates.'

Πουλυδάμας] Hector's reply to Hecuba when she dissuades him from facing Achilles: Il. xxii. 100. Here Cato is Polydamas; afterwards in vii. 1, 4, Polydamas stands for Atticus himself. Perhaps Persius had this passage in his mind when he wrote (Sat. i. 4), *Ne mihi Polydamas et Troiades Labeonem Praetulerint*. See note on Att. i. 12, 1. Cicero very constantly thus personifies public opinion. Αἰδέομαι Τρῶας is used by him pretty much as a modern writer might use the phrase, 'What will Mrs. Grundy say?'

DC] 'Six hundred' is the number chosen by the Latins to express an indefinite number, as the Greeks said *μύριοι*, though they indicated indefiniteness by a difference in accent, 10,000 (a definite number) being *μύριοι*. However, it may here be questioned whether *sexcentos* is indefinite. Roman history had now extended over more than 600 years, and

Cicero asks, what will be the verdict of history on him when a similar period shall have elapsed 'in the course of the next six hundred years.'

rumusculos] 'chit-chat,' 'gossip,' 'scandal.'

excipiamus] 'let me lie in wait' (as the huntsman does for his quarry) until I see whether the embassy to Egypt will really be offered to me: cf. the Horatian *fruticeto latitantem excipere aprum*: Carm. iii. 12, 10.

deferetur] *sc.* legatio.

erit quaedam nostra potestas] 'it will to some extent lie in my own hands, and then it will be time to consider the reasons for and against it.'

Θεοφάνης] of Mitylene, a close confidant of Pompeius.

2. istis] 'such as the following.'

quo animo] 'how does he bear being thrown over by Caesar in his suit for the consulship.' Arrius was a creature of Caesar.

Gabinio] This was the author of the Lex Gabinia, which gave Pompeius the command against the pirates in 687 (b. c. 67). He was consul in the year 696 (b. c. 58) with L. Piso, and was exiled finally

novi omnino, et quoniam Nepos proficiscitur, cuinam auguratus deferatur, quo quidem uno ego ab istis capi possum. Vides caritatem meam! Sed quid ego haec, quae cupio deponere et toto animo atque omni cura φιλοσοφεῖν? Sic, inquam, in animo est. Vellem ab initio. Nunc vero, quoniam quae putavi esse praeclara expertus sum quam essent inania, cum omnibus Musis rationem habere cogito. 3. Tu tamen de Curtio ad me rescribe certius, et nunc quis in eius locum paretur et quid de P. Clodio [fiat], et omnia, quem ad modum polliceris, ἐπὶ σχολῆς scribe, et, quo die Roma te exiturum putes, velim ad me scribas, ut certiore te faciam quibus in locis futurus sim, epistolamque statim des de iis rebus, de quibus ad te scripsi. Valde enim exspecto tuas litteras.

### XXXIII. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. II. 6).

ANTIUM, A. U. C. 695; B. C. 59; AET. CIC. 47.

M. Cicero Attico significat quanto opere abhorreat a scribendo animus, sibi difficile iam videri geographiam scribere omninoque se malle Antii cessare quam quidquam gravioris operis suscipere, hunc recessum sibi placere, ἀνέκδοτα se pangere, addit de negotio Q. fratris et de rebus domesticis.

#### CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Quod tibi superioribus litteris promiseram, fore ut opus exstaret huius peregrinationis, nihil iam magno opere confirmo.

for taking a bribe of 10,000 talents to restore Ptolemy Auletes to Egypt.

*Metellus Nepos*] had set out to a province as pro-praetor, and so would probably not be chosen, though he might have been co-opted in his absence, as Boot observes. He would, if in Rome, naturally have been chosen to succeed his brother, the consul of last year, who was now dead (pro Cael. 59). Therefore, Cicero says, 'since Nepos is off to his province, to whom will the vacant place in the augural college be given?—it is the only bait by which I could be caught.'

*caritatem*] 'See at what a high price I estimate myself;' see Adn. Crit.

*rationem habere*] 'to carry on transactions with,' cum hac aliquid adolescentem

habuisse rationis, pro Cael. 50.

3. Tu tamen de Curtio] 'Yet (though I have just professed my determination to give up politics for philosophy) you must tell me about Curtius,' &c. The tamen seems to me to show that Cicero here recurs to the former inquiries, and that nunc quis in eius locum paretur refers to the augurate, eius being Metellus Celer. About Curtius nothing is known. If the word Curtio is sound, eius should, of course, refer to Curtio; but perhaps some word not a proper name should stand here, and then eius would be understood to refer to Metellus Celer. Perhaps the words that should stand instead of de Curtio are DE CURSU TRO, meaning 'when you are to set sail' for Greece: cf. Att.

Sic enim sum complexus otium, ut ab eo divelli non queam. Itaque aut libris me delecto, quorum habeo Antii festivam copiam, aut fluctus numero: nam ad lacertas captandas tempestates non sunt idoneae. A scribendo prorsus abhorret animus. Etenim γεωγραφικά, quae constitueram, magnum opus est: ita valde Eratosthenes, quem mihi proposueram, a Serapione et ab Hipparcho reprehenditur: quid censes, si Tyrannio accesserit? Et hercule sunt res difficiles ad explicandum et ὁμοειδεῖς, nec tam

v. 8, 1, *cursum expectabamus* where *cursum* means *navigationem*. There would be a ὕστερον πρότερον in afterwards asking Atticus what day he thinks of leaving Rome, but such deflections from the natural order of ideas are to be expected in letters, and are frequent in those of Cicero. But there is, I think, a better method of restoring the passage. In the next words M and R give a reading which is quite ignored as an obvious error by the edd., *quid de P. Clodio fratre*. As the passage stands this would of course give no sense; but by simply transposing two clauses (which is not so violent a course as omitting two words) we have a completely natural sense. Read, *Tu tamen de Curtio ad me rescribe certius*, et quid de P. Clodio et fratre, et nunc quis in eius (sc. fratris) locum paretur, et omnia, 'answer my question about Curtius, and tell me what is being done about Clodius and his cousin Metellus Celer, and who is now likely to fill his place.' Metellus Celer is often called the *frater* of Clodius: see *De Har. resp.* 45, Cael. 60. He was both cousin and brother-in-law of Clodius, but *frater* means *cousin*; it cannot mean *brother-in-law*. The passage Liv. xxxviii. 35, on which rests the theory that *frater* = *levir*, is far from sufficient to establish it. Metellus and Clodius were certainly *fratres* 'cousins'; Clodius' mother was the sister of Metellus' father. It is a moot point whether in Cael. 60 the word *patrueli* ought not to be expunged; *fratres patruelis* are properly the sons of brothers, while *consobrini* are the sons of sisters. There seems to have been no precise term to designate the cousinship of Clodius and Metellus, the sons of a sister and a brother. Probably the general term *fratres* was used for this case. But it does not seem impossible that *fratres patruelis* might describe the sons of a brother and sister on the same principle on which *fratres* is used of two brothers and a

sister, *tres fratres Titius et Maevius et Seia*, Dig. 2, 14, 35; and of a brother and sister, *fratrum incestus amor*, Tac. A. xii. 4: cp. *filios* in Tac. A. xi. 38.

1. *fluctus numero*] 'Nihil agendo delector' is the sense given to this proverb by the old edd., as well as Boot, who refers to Lucian Hermotimus, 84, for the Greek parallel proverb, τὰ κύματ' ἀριθμεῖν. A reference to that passage would seem to show that the old fable of Aesop had a closer relevance to Cicero's position than is supposed. Here is the passage from Lucian:—καὶ τί δεῖ δακρύων, ὦ χρηστέ; τὸ γὰρ τοῦ μύθου ἐκείνου πάνυ συνειρτόν, οἶμαι, ὃν Αἰσώπος διηγείτο· ἔφη γὰρ ἀνθρώπον τινα ἐπὶ τῇ ἡϊόνι καθεζόμενον ἐπὶ τὴν κυματωγὴν ἀριθμεῖν τὰ κύματα, σφαλέντα δὲ ἀχθεσθαι καὶ ἀνίσθαι, ἀχρὶ δὴ τὴν Κερδῶ παραστᾶσαν εἰπεῖν αὐτῷ, 'τί, ὦ γενναῖε, ἀνιᾷ τῶν παρελθόντων ἔνεκα, δρόν τὰ ἐντεύθεν ἀρξάμενον ἀριθμεῖν, ἀμελήσαντα ἐκείνων;' 'if, therefore, Cicero had in his mind the fable of Aesop, he would mean 'I torture myself by dwelling on the past, which is now irrevocable, instead of addressing myself to the consideration of what my conduct should be in the future.' The next sentence, 'for the weather is not suitable for catching shads,' would be a sudden jocose return to the literal (and not allegorical) meaning of *fluctus numero*. But most probably he had not in his mind the Greek proverb or the Aesopian fable.

*Tyrannio*] was a native of Amisus, like Strabo. He came to Rome among the captives brought back by Lucullus from the Mithridatic War. He was a friend of Cicero, and afterwards the instructor of Strabo, as well as of the young Ciceros (Q. Fr. ii. 4, 2). Cicero says, 'you may imagine what a confused state I shall be in, if to the criticisms of Serapion and Hipparchus on Eratosthenes are added the strictures of Tyrannio on all these.'

ὁμοειδεῖς] 'monotonous.'

possunt ἀνθηρογραφῆσθαι quam videbantur et, quod caput est, mihi quaevis satis iusta causa cessandi est: qui etiam dubitem an hic Antii considam et hoc tempus omne consumam, ubi quidem ego malletm duum virum quam Romae me fuisse. 2. Tu vero sapientior Buthroti domum parasti. Sed, mihi crede, proxima est illi municipio haec Antiatium civitas. Esse locum tam prope Romam, ubi multi sint qui Vatinium numquam viderint? ubi nemo sit praeter me qui quemquam ex viginti viris vivum et salvum velit? ubi me interpellat nemo, diligant omnes? Hic, hic nimirum πολιτευτέον. Nam istic non solum non licet, sed etiam taedet. Itaque ἀνέκδοτα, quae tibi uni legamus, Theopompio genere aut etiam asperiore multo pangentur. Neque aliud iam quidquam πολιτεύομαι nisi odisse improbos, et id ipsum nullo cum stomacho, sed potius cum aliqua scribendi voluptate. Sed ut ad rem, scripsi ad quaestores urbanos de Quinti fratris negotio. Vide quid narrent, ecquae spes sit denarii an cistophoro Pom-

ἀνθηρογραφῆσθαι] 'to be embellished.'

qui] is the necessary correction by Manutius of *quin* of the Med. 'Seeing that I am not sure that I shall not give up my idea of travelling and settle down here, where I would rather have been one of the *Duoviri* than at Rome.' The chief magistrates in the colonies were called *duoviri*; in the municipal towns, where the *duoviri iure dicundo* formed a *collegium* with the two aediles, they were called *quattuorviri*, Arnold's Rom. prov. adm., p. 221. Cicero says, 'I had rather I had been one of these than one of the Roman *duoviri*' (i. e. the consuls). *Duumvirum* is the *gen. plur.*, as Cicero points out in *Orat.* 156, quoted by Boot. *Quidem* is 'certainly,' Phil. ii. 38 (Mayor).

2. *proxima*] 'Antium very nearly approaches the advantages of Buthrotum.' So in Att. iv. 8a, 1, he says, *Hoc scio Antium Buthrotum esse Romae ut Corcyrae illud tuum*, 'that Antium is to Rome what Buthrotum is to Corcyra,' *Romae* and *Corcyrae* being *datives*.

*Vatinium*] the tribune, Caesar's creature.

*viginti viris*] The commission of 20 appointed by Caesar's laws for the division of the Campanian land. He afterwards dwells tauntingly on the fact that Clodius had not found a place in so numerous a body (Att. ii. 7, 3). 'To think that

there should be a place so near Rome, and yet so indifferent to politics, that I am the only one who feels the least interest in the health and welfare of any one of the 20 commissioners.'

*Hic, hic nimirum*] 'Here, and here only, I must play the statesman.' Then he goes on to mention the way in which he means to play the statesman, to exercise his political faculties, namely, in the form of a private pamphlet to be read to Atticus alone, in defence of his policy, and written with all the bitterness of the historian Theopompus. 'My only policy now,' he says, 'is hatred of the radicals, and that not attended by any feeling of indignation, but rather a feeling of pleasure in committing it to writing.'

ἀνέκδοτα] Malaspina supposes Cicero to refer to the book of *consiliis suis*, which Dion Cassius says he wrote *after* his exile. This may have been the *première ébauche* which he afterwards completed: see Att. xiv. 17, 6: it seems to have been directed against Caesar.

*quaestores urbanos*] It was their duty to supply the provincial governors with the money (*casarium*) necessary for outfit and preliminary expenses.

*cistophoro Pompeiano*] Pompeius, during the Mithridatic War, had laid up a large quantity of money in the Asiatic currency, the *cistophorus* (so called from the device, the sacred *cista* of Dionysus

peiano iaceamus. Praeterea de muro statue quid faciendum sit. Aliud quid? Etiam. Quando te proficisci istinc putes, fac ut sciam.

## XXXIV. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. II. 7.).

ANTIUM, A. U. C. 695; B. C. 59; AET. CIC. 47.

De geographia et duabus orationibus, quas postulaverat Atticus: de P. Clodio et eius legatione ad Tigranem, de adversariorum inter ipsos dissensione, quibus de rebus vult certior fieri ita, ut tamen ad rem publicam administrandam redire nolit. De rebus domesticis.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. De geographia etiam atque etiam deliberabimus. Orationes autem a me duas postulas, quarum alteram non libebat mihi scribere, quia† abscederam, alteram, ne laudarem eum, quem non

half open, with a serpent creeping out of it). The quaestors wished to pay Quintus the money due to him from the Roman treasury for the administration of Asia, by a draft on this sum amassed in *cistophori*. Quintus would have preferred being paid in the *denarius*, the Roman currency. The value of the *cistophorus* was probably about 3 *denarii* (I owe this correction of the note in Ed. 1 to Mr. F. Havercamp writing in *Academy*, Oct. 13, 1883). Quintus feared he would lose by being paid in this currency. Manutius and Popma speak of this money as if it were the private property of Pompeius, and talk about reimbursing Pompeius in the Roman currency. But the quaestors would not think of drawing on private property. This sum in *cistophori* was doubtless the property of the state, deposited by Pompeius in safe keeping in Asia, and it occurred to the quaestors that this would be well utilised by paying with it the money due from the Roman treasury to Quintus. The word *iaceamus* is strangely used, 'must we sit down under a payment in *cistophori*?' Cp. *Brundisii iacere in*

*omnes partes est molestum*, Att. xi. 6, 2, where *iacere* is 'to be kept quiet' (waiting).

*de muro*] see Att. ii. 4, 7.

*Aliud quid? Etiam*] 'Anything else to say? Yes, one thing more.'

1. *abscederam*] *Absciram* Med. *Abscideram* is the reading of ed. lens. and Ernesti, who explains that it was *after*, not *before* the delivery, that the Roman orators used to commit their speeches to writing (Tusc. iv. 55), and supposes that Cicero here says, 'I did not care to write it out now, for I broke off in the middle (*i. e.* only partially committed it to writing) after I delivered it. Boot would explain *abscederam* 'I had torn up my notes' (so I could not write it out now). But *concernere* is the word Cicero uses in this sense, and he would have expressed his meaning more clearly. Boot, who does not approve of *abscederam*, suggests *abieceram*, meaning 'I had thrown it off hastily,' comparing De Orat. iii. 102, where, however, the word is used of quick and impassioned utterance, not of hasty

amabam. Sed id quoque videbimus. Denique aliquid exstabit, ne tibi plane cessasse videamur. 2. De Publio quae ad me scribis, sane mihi iucunda sunt, eaque etiam velim omnibus vestigiis indagata ad me adferas, cum venies, et interea scribas, si quid intelleges aut suspicabere, et maxime de legatione quid sit acturus. Equidem ante quam tuas legi litteras, hominem ire cupiebam, non mehercule, ut differem cum eo vadimonium—nam mira sum alacritate ad litigandum—sed videbatur mihi, si quid esset in eo populare, quod plebeius factus esset, id amissurus. ‘Quid enim ad plebem transisti? ut Tigranem ires salutatum? Narra mihi: reges Armenii patricios resalutare non solent?’ Quid quaeris? Acueram me ad exagitantam hanc eius legationem. Quam si ille contemnit et si, ut scribis, bilem id commovet et latoribus et auspiciibus legis curiatae, spectaculum egregium. 3. Hercule, verum ut loquamur, subcontumeliose tractatur noster Publius: primum, qui cum domi Caesaris quondam unus vir fuerit, nunc ne in viginti quidem esse potuerit; deinde alia legatio dicta erat, alia data est. Illa optima ad exigendas pecunias Druso, ut opinor,

composition. *Quia ab ea descieram*, ‘because I had deserted the principles laid down in it,’ would give a good sense: cf. Att. ii, 4, 2. H. A. J. Munro would read *abieci iram*.

*quem non amabam*] Probably Pompeius.

2. *De Publio*] Clodio.

*hominem ire*] *In hominem* is the reading of the mss. The copyist, no doubt, inserted the *in*. Kahnt would read *ire hominem* to account for the corruption. Cicero wishes that Clodius should accept the embassy to Tigranes, because he thinks he would thus forfeit any popularity he gained by becoming a plebeian, ‘not,’ he says, ‘through any desire to postpone the trial of the issue between us, for I am amazingly eager for the fray.’ It was these last words probably which gave rise to the corrupt *in hominem*.

*Narra mihi*] See on Att. i. 16, 10. ‘Pray, do the kings of Armenia not return the visit of a patrician (is that the reason why you have become a plebeian)?’ Thus Cicero proposes to assail Clodius.

*Quid quaeris?*] ‘in a word.’

*exagitantam*] ‘to pull to pieces.’

*latoribus et auspiciibus legis curiatae*]

Caesar is called the *lator* of the bill which plebeianized Clodius, and Pompeius the *auspex* or ‘approving friend.’ We learn from Att. ii. 12, 1, that Pompeius was at the taking of the auspices at the *adrogatio*. In Att. viii. 3, 3, Pompeius is called *ille in adoptando Clodio augur*.

*curiatae*] So his adoption was not in the *comitia centuriata*, but in the *comitia curiata*. The *comitia curiata* seem now to have served hardly any purpose but *adrogatio*. We learn from Att. i. 18, 4 (Ep. xxiv.) that there was some talk of bringing the matter of Clodius’ *adrogatio* before the *comitia centuriata*. This would have been a very radical measure. It was not carried out.

3. *subcontumeliose*] ‘with scant courtesy.’

*primum qui cum*] ‘first in his failure to gain a place even in the 20, he who was once the only man in Caesar’s house.’

*dicta*] ‘promised:’ cf. Flac. 86, *sine tutore auctore est dicta dos*.

*optima*] The mission to Egypt is called ‘fat,’ that to Tigranes a ‘poor, profitless mission, which might be as well discharged by a letter-carrier.’ The one is ‘kept in reserve’ for Drusus or Vati-



Pisaurensi, an epuloni Vatinio reservatur: haec ieiuna tabellarii legatio datur ei, cuius tribunatus ad istorum tempora reservatur. Incende hominem, amabo te, quoad potest. Una spes est salutis istorum inter istos dissensio, cuius ego quaedam initia sensi ex Curione. Iam vero Arrius consulatum sibi ereptum fremit. Megabocchus et haec sanguinaria iuventus inimicissima est. Accedat vero, accedat etiam ista rixa auguratus. Spero me praeclaras de istis rebus epistolas ad te saepe missurum. 4. Sed illud quid sit scire cupio, quod iacis obscure iam etiam ex ipsis quinque viris loqui quosdam. Quidnam id est? Si est enim aliquid, plus est boni quam putaram. Atque haec, sic velim existimes, non me abs te κατὰ τὸ πρακτικὸν quaerere, quod gestiat animus aliquid agere in re publica. Iam pridem gubernare me taedebat, etiam cum licebat. Nunc vero cum cogar exire de navi non abiectis

nus: the other is given to Clodius, whose tribunate is 'reserved to suit the occasion of those gentlemen.' The repetition of *reservatur* implies that while the services are done by Clodius, the rewards are given to the others. Drusus is called Drusus of Pisaenum, to hint at his obscurity. Vatinus is probably (as Schütz suggests) called *epulo*, because in the speech in Vat. 30-32, he is described as being of voracious habits, and as having on one occasion gone to a banquet at the house of Q. Arrius in a black toga. But perhaps it is not impossible that he may have been one of the seven *Epulones* who superintended the sacrificial banquets to the gods. This would add significance to the record of his appearing in the black toga. He sought to be elected into the place of Metellus Celer, in the augural body, Vat. 19. However, Cicero (Att. ii. 9, 2) speaks with indignation of his being a candidate for the augurate, and we know from Vat. 19 that he failed; so, perhaps, he could hardly have been one of the *Epulones* without that office being more clearly referred to here.

[an epuloni] see Madv. Fin. ii. 104, and Ep. viii. § 2, above, for this use of *an*.

[Incende] 'urge him on against Caesar and Pompeius:' 'fan the flame of his resentment:' cf. φλέγειν in Soph. Aj. 196.

[quoad potest] Cicero also uses *quoad potest* in the sense of 'as far as is possible:' see on Ep. xii. 29.

[Curione] See next Letter, § 1.

[Arrius] See Att. ii. 5, 2.

[Megabocchus] One of the Catilinarian conspirators.

4. *Sed illud*] 'I should like to know the meaning of a dark hint which you threw out, that even some of the *quinqueviri* are beginning to speak out' (no doubt unfavourably of Caesar and Pompeius). Manutius would read *ex ipsis xx viris*, as there is no other mention except in *or. de prov. cons.* 41 (where Manutius would make the same correction) of any commission of *five* constituted by the Julian Law, and it is hardly possible that there can have been (as has been suggested, e.g. by Lange, iii. 280, who refers to Schol. Bob. 263) five out of the 20 of preponderant influence, who are here spoken of as a distinct body. Mommsen's view (Grom. ii. 224) is that the *vigintiviri* were divided into 4 sub-commissions of 5; so that one of the *vigintiviri* might be called indifferently *vigintivir* or *quinquevir*. One of these sub-commissions was probably the source of the celebrated *Lex Mamilia Roscia Peducana Alliena Fabia*, which Rudorff ascribed to Caligula: see Mommsen, *Ephemeris Epigraph.* ii. 120, for the evidence on this point. κατὰ τὸ πρακτικὸν] 'with a view to action.'

[Iam pridem gubernare] cf. hic nimium πολιτευτέον . . . taedet in last letter, § 2.

sed ereptis gubernaculis, cupio istorum naufragia ex terra intueri, cupio, ut ait tuus amicus Sophocles,

κἂν ὑπὸ στέγῃ  
πυκνῆς ἀκούειν ψακάδος εὐδούσῃ φρενί.

5. De muro quid opus sit videbis. Castricianum mendum nos corrigemus, et tamen ad me Quintus ccioo ioo scripserat, nunc ad sororem tamen HS xxx. Terentia tibi salutem dicit; Cicero tibi mandat ut Aristodemo idem de se respondeas, quod de fratre suo, sororis tuae filio, respondisti. De Ἀμαλθείᾳ quod me admones, non neglegemus. Cura ut valeas.

[κἂν ὑπὸ στέγῃ] Lucretius' poem was not yet published, otherwise Cicero could better have illustrated his *cupio istorum naufragia ex terra intueri* by the well-known passage beginning *suave mari magno*; but it may be observed that Cicero never does, in any of his works, quote Lucretius, nor even mention him, except in the well-known passage, Q. Fr. ii. 11, 4. This throws some doubt on the tradition mentioned by St. Jerome, that Cicero edited Lucretius after the death of the poet. However, Cicero seems purposely to refrain from quoting his contemporaries. This passage of Soph. is imitated by Tibullus (i. 1, 45-48), and perhaps by Tennyson, though to a different purport, in Locksley Hall—

Drug thy memories lest thou learn it, lest thy  
heart be brought to proof;  
In the dead unhappy night, and when the rain  
is on the roof.

This is by no means the only place in

which a hackneyed Latin quotation has its Greek analogue in these letters: where we should say *ne sutor ultra* (properly *supra*) *crepidam*, Cicero invariably has *ἔρδοι τις*, the first words of a verse *ἔρδοι τις ἦν ἕκαστος εἰδείη τέχνην*, Ar. Vesp. 1422: see Intro. I<sup>2</sup>. p. 67.

5. *mendum*] Some mistake in his accounts. Castricius was a trader carrying on business (probably) in Asia. He is again mentioned, Att. xii. 28, 3.

ccioo ioo] 'that it amounted to 16,000 sesterces; while in a letter to his sister he has made the sum 30,000.'

[*Cicero*] the boy whose birth was announced in Att. i. 2, written in 689 (b. c. 65), who therefore was now six years old.

[*idem de se respondeas*] Boot conjectures that Aristodemus may have been a teacher, to whom the young Cicero apologises for his absence, and begs Atticus to make the same excuse for him as for his cousin the son of Quintus and Pomponia.

## XXXV. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. II. 8).

ANTIUM, A. U. C. 695; B. C. 59; AET. CIC. 47.

De epistola Attici a pueris suis amissa, de Curione adolescente, qui ad se venerit salutatum, et quid narraverit, se historiae se dare, de itineribus quae in animo habeat facere et quo tempore in quaque villa futurus sit.

## CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Epistolam cum a te avide exspectarem ad vesperum, ut soleo, ecce tibi nuntius pueros venisse Roma. Voco; quaero, ecquid litterarum? Negant. Quid ais, inquam, nihilne a Pomponio? Perterriti voce et vultu confessi sunt se accepisse, sed excidisse in via. Quid quaeris? Permolesse tuli. Nulla enim abs te per hos dies epistola inanis aliqua re utili et suavi venerat. Nunc, si quid in ea epistola, quam ante diem xvi. Kal. Mai. dedisti, fuit historia dignum, scribe quam primum, ne ignoremus: sin nihil praeter iocationem, redde id ipsum. Et scito Curionem adolescentem venisse ad me salutatum. Valde eius sermo de Publio cum tuis litteris congruebat. Ipse vero mirandum in modum

*reges odisse superbos.*

Peraeque narrabat incensam esse iuventutem neque ferre haec posse. Bene habemus nos, si in his spes est: opinor, aliud aga-

1. *ecce tibi*] 'lo and behold you, a messenger with the news that slaves of yours have arrived from Rome.' For *ecce tibi*, cf. Att. i. 14, 5; ii. 15, 3; xvi. 13a, 2.

*excidisse*] 'had been lost.' This word also means 'to get wind,' 'become known': see Att. iv. 17 (18), 1, *lepdatum quid ne quo excidat*.

*inanis*] 'devoid of instructive and pleasant reading.' This use of the ablative with *inanis* is very rare.

*historia*] Ernesti is probably right in holding that this word should be written in Greek character, and interpreted in the sense of *ιστορία*, 'worth my knowing'; otherwise these words would mean, 'of historical interest,' 'worthy of being introduced into history.' Cicero, in Ep. xxxii., § 1, uses the *plural* in this sense.

*redde*] 'pay it back.' The word implies that Att. owes him the letter which miscarried.

*ad me salutatum*] *me* is governed by *salutatum*: cp. Caes. B. G. v. 26, magna manu ad castra oppugnatum venerunt.

*vero*] 'furthermore' = γὰρ μὲν, Kühn. on Tusc. i. 98.

*reges odisse superbos*] The triumphs. We have the whole verse in Att. vi. 3, 7:

Granius autem

Non contemnere se et reges odisse superbos.

The verses are Lucilius' description of Granius the crier. Granius' motto was 'to respect oneself, and come to no terms with tyrants.'

*Bene habemus nos*] 'we are doing well if we can indulge hopes that the rising generation are becoming indignant

mus. Ego me do historiae. Quamquam, licet me Saufeium putes esse, nihil me est inertius. 2. Sed cognosce itinera nostra, ut statuas ubi nos visurus sis. In Formianum volumus venire Parilibus: inde, quoniam putas praetermittendum nobis esse hoc tempore Cratera illum delicatum, Kal. Mai. de Formiano proficiscemur, ut Antii simus a. d. v. Non. Mai. Ludi enim Antii futuri sunt a iv. ad prid. Non. Mai. Eos Tullia spectare vult. Inde cogito in Tusculanum, deinde Arpinum, Romam ad Kal. Iun. Te aut in Formiano aut Antii aut in Tusculano cura ut videamus. Epistolam superiorem restitue nobis et appinge aliquid novi.

with the triumvirate. We have only to adopt a *laissez-faire* attitude: see Att. vii. 2, 3, *quamquam videbatur se non graviter habere*. But *bene habemus* might mean 'we are doing well,' and then *nos* would be the subject of *agamus*, which indeed seems to require a subject expressed; *bene habet* means 'it is well,' in *pro Mur.* 14. Dolabella, in *Fam.* ix. 9, 1, writes *Terentia minus belle habuit*, and *habere* is often thus used by the Comic writers, e.g., *Plaut.*, *Aul.* ii. 8, 2; *Mil.* iii. 1, 130; *Ter. Ph.* ii. 3, 82. This last consideration makes it seem probable that we should punctuate thus:—*bene habemus: nos, si, &c.* For *aliud agere*, cp. *aliud nunc agere*, *Cluent.* 155; *hic aliud agens populus*, *Tac. Agr.* 43.

*historiae*] the ἀνέκδοτα *Theopompio* genere referred to in *Ep.* xxxiii., § 2.

*Saufeium*] 'Yet—though you may suppose I am as indefatigable in writing as Saufeius—I am the laziest man alive:' see Att. i. 3, 1, where Cicero jestingly says that Saufeius will doubtless administer the proper consolation to Atticus for the death of his grandmother; he could not let slip even that opportunity for holding forth. As an Epicurean he would be supplied with arguments to show that death was not an evil, there being no sensation after death; see Att. iv. 6, 1. However, the passage may have quite a different meaning. Cicero always speaks of Saufeius and his School as the representatives of self-indulgence, laziness, and the abandonment of a strenuous course of action: see especially Att. xv. 4, 3, where he says he might have become a convert to the principles of Saufeius, and found in

Caesar a kind master, if he had been content to give up the struggle for liberty. From this point of view the sentence would mean, 'I confess, at the risk of your calling me a Saufeius, that I am the laziest man alive.'

2. *Cratera*] the bay between the promontories of Misenum and Minerva. Here was Cicero's Pompeianum, according to Boot: 'Since you think that on the present occasion Crater with all its allurements should be passed by.' If Cicero had a villa on this bay he was in the near neighbourhood of Baiae, and this is probably the villa referred to by Clodius in his attack on Cicero described in Att. i. 16, 10, and in the fragmentary *orat. in Clod. et Cur.* Still it was not so near but that Cicero could say *falsum, sed quid huic?* when charged with having been at Baiae. It was probably this sally of Clodius, unsuccessful as it was, that induced Cicero to avoid the seductive bay on this occasion.

*Eos Tullia spectare vult*] This seems not quite consistent with his opinion of such spectacles expressed in *Fam.* vii. 1, 1, and implied in Att. ii. 1, 1.

*cogita in Tusc.*] sc. *ire*; for other examples of very strong ellipsis, see *Introd.* I<sup>2</sup>, p. 70.

*Epistolam superiorem*] the letter lost by the slaves of Atticus. The use of this very rare word *appinge*, for 'to add,' might be quoted to justify my conjecture of *incudam* for *includam* in Att. i. 13, 5, which, I may here add, would be rendered much more probable if *accuderim* were accepted, as I think it ought to be, in *Ep.* x., above (Att. i. 1, 2).

## XXXVI. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. II. 9).

ANTIUM, A. U. C. 695; B. C. 59; AET. CIC. 47.

Epistola raptim scripta requirit M. Cicero ab Attico sermones, quos cum P. Clodio habuerit, de rebus urbanis et statu rei publicae, de consilio suo se defendendi si opus sit de itineribus suis et quo die in quamque villam venire cogitet.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Subito cum mihi dixisset Caecilius quaestor puerum se Romam mittere, haec scripsi raptim, ut tuos elicerem mirificos cum Publio dialogos, cum eos, de quibus scribis, tum illum, quem abdis et ais longum esse quae ad ea responderis perscribere; illum vero, qui nondum habitus est, quem illa βωπις, cum e Solonio redierit, ad te est relatura. Sic velim putes, nihil hoc posse mihi esse iucundius. Si vero, quae de me pacta sunt, ea non servantur

1. *Subito*] 'Caecilius having suddenly informed me that he was sending a messenger to Rome, I hastily write this note, to draw from you an account of your "high debates" with Clodius (about me).' *Subito* is the reading of M (as well as the edd. R. J). We have not the testimony of Lambinus to the reading of Z; but Bosius quotes from his fictitious X and Y the reading *sube*; wherefore most of the pre-Hauptian edd., beginning with Muretus, read here S.V.B.E., *si vales bene est*. Even supposing that there were real (and not fictitious) ms authority for this reading, I do not see how any editor could possibly get over the difficulty of explaining why this should be *the only one* of all Cicero's letters to Atticus to which this form of greeting is prefixed. It frequently occurs in the letters of Cicero to public men, and is found also in his letters to Terentia; so that we may perhaps look on the words as one of those forms prescribed by etiquette in common for women and for friends with whom we are not on close terms of intimacy. It is true that in more than one place in Cicero's letters these initials have been the source of depravation of the text, as in Att. ix. 7 B, 1, where S. V. B. E. *Posteaquam* was corrupted to the barbarous *subposteaquam* in a letter of Balbus to Cicero. But here

there can be no doubt that S.V.B.E. is a bad conjecture of Bosius, supported by fictitious ms authority.

*Illum vero*] 'Furthermore (to draw from you) that tête-à-tête which has not yet taken place which Clodia is to report to you.' Clodia had undertaken to have a talk with her brother on the subject of Cicero. She is probably called βωπις in allusion to her intrigue with her brother. Juno was *Iovis coniunxque sororque*. *Vero* is *furthermore*: see Kühner on Tusc. i. 98. Punctuated as in the Teubner ed., the construction is very loose. *Dialogos* is a mock heroic expression; hence my rendering.

*quae de me pacta sunt*] Pompeius had exacted a promise from Clodius that he would not take any steps against Cicero. 'If this compact is not kept, I am in the seventh heaven of delight, for then this Jerusalemite plebeianizer of Clodius must see what a fine return he has made in that act for all my choicest harangues in his praise, of all of which you may look out for a signal recantation.' *Putus* is not found elsewhere in Cicero, but often in Plautus joined with *purus*—another coincidence between Cicero's letters and the Comic Drama. It is plain that Cicero had at this time no apprehension that the quarrel with Clodius would end in his exile.

in caelo sum, ut sciat hic noster Hierosolymarius traductor ad plebem, quam bonam meis putissimis orationibus gratiam rettulerit, quarum exspecta divinam *παλιψηδίαν*. Etenim, quantum coniectura auguramur, si erit nebulo iste cum his dynastis in gratia, non modo de cynico consulari, sed ne de istis quidem piscinarum Tritonibus poterit se iactare. Non enim poterimus ulla esse in invidia spoliati opibus et illa senatoria potentia. Sin autem ab iis dissentiet, erit absurdum in nos invehī. Verum tamen invehatur. Festive, mihi crede, et minore sonitu quam putaram orbis hic rei publicae est conversus: citius omnino, quam potuit, culpa Catonis, sed rursus improbitate istorum, qui auspicia, qui Aeliam legem, qui Iuniam et Liciniam, qui Caeciliam et Didiam neglexerunt, qui omnia remedia rei publicae effuderunt, qui regna quasi praedia te-

*putissimis*] This superlative does not occur elsewhere; even *putus* does not occur by itself except in Varr. R. R. ii. 2, 10; it is elsewhere always joined with *purus*, and *purus putus* may often in Plautus be rendered 'clean and clever.'

*si erit nebulo iste*] Clodius. If Clodius becomes a partisan of the Triumvirs (*dynastis*), he must give up triumphing over me, as well as over Hortensius, Lucullus, Philippus, for the reasons dwelt on more fully in § 2, *video iam . . . censes fore*; but if he remains hostile to them it would be absurd in him to attack us, who would be his natural allies against the Triumvirs.

*non modo*] = *non modo non*. This is only found where *ne . . . quidem* is in the second clause, and both clauses have the same predicate.

*cynico consulari*] "'Tear-em," the ex-consul,' a name given to Cicero by Clodius in allusion to his biting repartees. In every other respect Cicero was as unlike a cynic as he could be, so 'the consular cynic' is not a translation at all. I have borrowed the *sobriquet* given to the late Mr. Roebuck in the House of Commons.

*Festive*] 'Gaily has the wheel of state performed its revolution; more quickly than it might have done through the obstinacy of Cato; but, on the other hand, through the villainy of those,' &c.: cf. Att. ii. 21, 2, for the figure. I have restored *potuit* of the mss for the *oportuit* of Sch. accepted by Orelli, Klotz, &c. *Potuit* is used thus impersonally often in these letters: see especially Att. ii. 16, 2.

*potueritne intercedi*; Att. iii. 15, 4, quod meritis meis perfectum *potuit*, where it is very rash to correct to *oportuit*. See also note on *quoquo modo potest*, Q. Fr. i. 2, 14, Add Att. iii. 15, 6, *poteritne nisi de, &c.*; and Fam. xiv. 1, 4, ut nihil supra *possit*. For *rursus* Klotz reads *prorsus*; but *rursus* of the mss is thoroughly defended by Att. vii. 6, 2: cf. also Tusc. i. 45, *habitabiles regiones et rursus omni cultu . . . vacantes*. The sentence would certainly run better thus:—*sed citius omnino quam potuit culpa Catonis, improbitate rursus istorum, qui . . . neglexerunt*.

*orbis*] Cf. Att. ii. 21, 2: Planc. 93.

*auspicia*] Clodius' adoption was against the auspices, for Bibulus *semper se de caelo servare dicebat*, de Har. resp. 43. With this passage should be read Har. resp. 58, and *pro dom.* 39.

*Aeliam*] See Att. i. 16, 13: *quae leges saepenumero tribunicios furores debilitarunt et represserunt*, Vat. 18.

*Iuniam et Liciniam*] See *Addenda to Comm.*, note 5.

*Caeciliam et Didiam*] See *Addenda to Comm.*, note 5.

*effuderunt*] 'cast to the dogs all the physic for the Commonwealth:' see on Att. i. 18, 2.

*qui regna*] Manutius, followed by all the editors, refers to the *or. in Vat.* 29, *fecerisne foedera trib. pl. cum civitatibus, cum regibus, cum tetrarchis*, and to an expression in Cicero's letter to Lentulus (Fam. i. 9, 7), where Cicero says he questioned Vatinius *de donatione regnorum*. But the whole passage seems really

trarchis, qui immanes pecunias paucis dederunt. 2. Video iam quo invidia transeat et ubi sit habitatura. Nihil me existimaris neque usu neque a Theophrasto didicisse, nisi brevi tempore desiderari nostra illa tempora videris. Etenim si fuit invidiosa senatus potentia, cum ea non ad populum, sed ad tris homines immoderatos redacta sit, quid iam censes fore? Proinde isti licet faciant quos volent consules, tribunos pl., denique etiam Vatinii strumam sacerdotii διβάφω vestiant, videbis brevi tempore magnos non modo eos, qui nihil titubarunt, sed etiam illum ipsum, qui peccavit, Catonem. 3. Nam nos quidem, si per istum tuum sodalem [Publium] licebit, σοφιστεύειν cogitamus: si ille cogit, tum dumtaxat nos defendere, et, quod est proprium artis huius, επαγγέλλομαι

ἄνδρ' ἀπαμύνεσθαι, ὅτε τις πρότερος χαλεπήνῃ.

Patria propitia sit: habet a nobis, etiam si non plus quam debitum est, plus certe quam postulatum est. Male vehi malo alio gubernante quam tam ingratis vectoribus bene gubernare. 4. Sed haec coram commodius. Nunc audi ad id quod quaeris. Antium me ex Formiano recipere cogito a. d. v. Non. Mai. Antio volo Non. Mai. proficisci in Tusculanum. Sed cum e Formiano rediero—ibi esse usque ad prid. Kalend. Mai. volo—faciam statim te cer-

to refer to Pompeius. *Istorum*, 'those friends of yours,' refers to the *dynastae*. For the high-handed way in which Pompeius dealt with the kingdoms of the East, see Mommsen, R. H. iv. 143. The transaction referred to is very obscure.

2. a *Theophrasto*] Theophr. was the successor of Aristotle in the Lyceum. Nearly all we know of his political writings is derived from Cicero, with whom he was a favourite as a writer, Att. ii. 16, 3: cp. Legg. iii. 14, and especially Fin. v. 11, which passage should by all means be consulted.

*nostra illa tempora*] from his own consulship to the consulship of Caesar, one year of public influence—two of private weight with his party. See Fam. i. 9, 12.

✓ *Vatinii strumam*] 'let them invest the wen of Vatinus with the double-dyed toga of the augur.' Vatinus failed in his aspiration to fill the place of Metellus in the augural body (Vat. 19). In Sest.

135, Cicero calls Vatinus *struma civitatis*, 'the wen of the state.' He is spoken of by Seneca, *De Const. Sap.* xvii., as having disarmed scurrility by often jesting on his own personal deformities.

*qui nihil titubarunt*] Sc. nos.  
*qui peccavit*] Sc. Cato, who impaired the *ordinum concordia*.

3. *σοφιστεύειν*] 'to play the sophist;' hence *quod est proprium artis huius* below, for it was the custom of the professional debaters, or *Sophists*, to profess themselves ready to meet all comers; not starting a topic themselves, but challenging any comer to put forward a proposition, which they undertook to combat; hence the Sophists did not take the initiative, as Cicero says he will not do here. See De Fin. ii. 1.

✓ *ἄνδρ'*] Il. xxiv. 369.

4. *audi ad id quod quaeris*] 'hear my reply to your question:' cf. Att. xiv. 20, 1; ix. 10, 8; v. 4, 4.

tiorem. Terentia tibi salutem, καὶ Κικέρων ὁ μικρὸς ἀσπάζεταιται  
Τίτον τὸν Ἀθηναῖον.

### XXXVII. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. II. 12).

TRES TABERNAE, A. U. C. 695; B. C. 59; AET. CIC. 47.

De iniusta P. Clodii adoptione et petitione tribunatus pl. et de rebus urbanis, de pigritia in scribendis libris, de laude Dicaearchi, de rebus familiaribus.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Negent illi Publium plebeium factum esse? Hoc vero regnum est et ferri nullo pacto potest. Emittat ad me Publius qui obsignent: iurabo Gnaeum nostrum, collegam Balbi, Antii mihi narrasse se in auspicio fuisse. O suaves epistolas tuas uno tempore mihi datas duas! quibus εὐαγγέλια quae reddam nescio: deberi quidem plane fateor. 2. Sed vide συγκύρημα. Emerseram commodum ex Antiati in Appiam ad Tris Tabernas, ipsis Ceriali-

Κικέρων] It is an ingenious conjecture of Wieland, that these words are added in Greek by Cicero's son, to show that he had begun to learn Greek. But this conjecture is rendered extremely improbable by the fact that Cicero concludes the very next letter (as well as ii. 15) with a sentence in Greek. It was merely a whim of Cicero to convey his little son's love in Greek, as he does his own in the next letter. Peerlkamp's proposal to read *Τιτύδον* or *Τιτάνα* for *Τίτον*, and suppose an ill-mannered, because ironical, antithesis between 'the pigmy Cicero and the giant Atticus,' seems to show that he did not observe that Cicero calls Atticus *Τίτον* in the very next letter. I hold the proper reading here to be *Τίτον τὸν Ἀθηναῖον*, the *τὸν* having fallen out after *-τον* of *Τίτον*.

*Negent*] The subjunctive mood is used in a reply taking up indignantly a speaker's words as, *audi*. *Ego audiam?* Ter. Andr. v. 3, 23; *non taces? Taceam?* Phorm. v. 8, 95; Roby, 1618. This usage is peculiar to Cicero's letters and the comic stage. Wes. is therefore mistaken when he says *coniunctivi nulla ratio est*, and reads *negant*. Att. had written *negunt*, &c. Cic. indignantly replies *negent*, 'so they deny, do they?' Either we must under-

stand *a se* (or *a sese*) or (better) read *a se* (or *a sese*), instead of *esse*, with Boot, as it is impossible that they should have denied the whole fact of the adoption of Clodius as a plebeian, which must have been well known. However, the words might mean, so they now deny the legality of the form of adoption.' See *pro dom.* 39.

*qui obsignent*] 'to set their seal to my sworn testimony.'

*Balbi*] Balbus, a very obscure person, was one of the *xxviri*. Pompeius is therefore slightly called the 'colleague of Balbus.'

*in auspicio*] See on Att. ii. 7, 2.

*εὐαγγέλια*] here has its classical meaning of 'reward for good tidings,' or 'a thank-offering for good tidings.' Above, Att. ii. 3, 1, it more probably has its post-classical meaning of 'good tidings.'

2. *συγκύρημα*] 'a coincidence.' *commodum*] 'I had just gone out:' cf. Att. xiii. 9. 1: and Plaut. Cas. iii. 4, 3; Merc. i. 2, 109, *Si istac ibis commodum obviam venies patri*, 'you will just meet your father.'

*ipsis Cerialibus*] 'on the very day of the Cerealia:' cp. *decem ipsos dies*, Att. v. 11, 4; *nunc ipsum*, Att. vii. 3, 2.



bus, cum in me incurrit Roma veniens Curio meus. Ibidem ilico puer abs te cum epistolis. Ille ex me nihilne audissem novi: ego negare. 'Publius,' inquit, 'tribunatum pl. petit.' Quid ais? 'Et inimicissimus quidem Caesaris, et ut omnia,' inquit, 'ista rescindat.' Quid Caesar? inquam. 'Negat se quidquam de illius adoptione tulisse.' Deinde suum, Memmii, Metelli Nepotis exprompsit odium. Complexus iuvenem dimisi, properans ad epistolas. Ubi sunt qui aiunt ζώσης φωνῆς? Quanto magis vidi ex tuis litteris quam ex illius sermone quid ageretur! de ruminatione cotidiana, de cogitatione Publii, de lituis βωώπιδος, de signifero Athenione, de litteris missis ad Gnaeum, de Theophanis Memmiique sermone: quantam porro mihi expectationem dedisti convivii istius ἀσελγοῦς! Sum in curiositate ὀξύπεινος, sed tamen facile patior te id ad me συμπόσιον non scribere, praesentem audire malo. 3. Quod me, ut scribam aliquid, hortaris,

*Curio*] the younger, called above *filiola Ciceronis*. He it was who conveyed to Cicero the news of the growing disunion among the *triumvirs* (ii. 7, 3), and his own hostility to them (ii. 8, 1).

*Ibidem ilico*] 'at the very same moment:' cf. *deinde ibidem*, 'the moment after,' Fin. i. 19; *Thebis indidem*, Nep. Epam. 5, 2.

*ut omnia . . . ista*] Clodius, to deceive Cicero, averred that the object of his tribunate was to oppose Caesar. This blind seems to have been for some time successful. We have no clear evidence that Cicero saw the real nature of his designs till near the end of the year, when he writes plainly, *Clodius inimicus est nobis* (Att. ii. 21, 6).

*tulisse*] See on Att. ii. 7, 2.

*odium*] Sc. towards the *triumvirs*. Memmius afterwards, as praetor, brought before the senate the acts of Caesar. Metellus Nepos was probably on bad terms with Pompeius since the divorce of his half-sister Mucia, and perhaps expected to have been co-opted into his brother's place in the augural college, even though absent.

*Ubi sunt qui aiunt ζώσης φωνῆς*] μείζω τὴν ἐνέργειαν εἶναι ἀφώνων διδασκάλων, Boot, who refers to Plin. Ep. ii. 3, 9; Quint. ii. 2, 8. They both use the Latin expression, *viva vox*. Cicero often uses Greek to supplement his own language, where we use French to supplement ours

(see Introd. I<sup>2</sup>, p. 67), and also sometimes where we use *Latin*. The meaning is, 'Your letter is a strong disproof of the theory that there is nothing like *viva voce* communication. I learned far more from it than from my talk with Curio.'

*de cogitatione Publii*] 'about the designs of Clodius—how his sister sounds the advance, and his client, like a second Athenio, at the head of his roughs, leads the charge.' His sister is said to 'sound the advance,' because she urges her brother into hostility against Caesar; for we know she wished to mitigate his hostility to Cicero. Sex. Clodius (not Vatinius) is certainly referred to under the name of Athenio, the leader of the slaves in the rising in Sicily; but Ernesti is mistaken in supposing that there is any appropriateness in the *sobriquet* arising from the fact that Sex. Clodius (the client of P. Clodius) was a *Sicilian*. He seems to confuse this Sex. Clodius with another, a *rhetor*, who was a *Sicilian* (settled at Leontini), mentioned in Att. iv. 15, 2, and in the second Philippic, § 43.

*ἀσελγοῦς*] This entertainment at which Atticus expected to gain important information as to the movements of Clodius, &c., is called *delicatum* in ii. 14, 1—what we might call a 'fast' entertainment, not necessarily 'wanton,' 'lascivious,' as it is sometimes understood.

3. *Quod me . . . hortaris*] Atticus probably urged him to carry out his project

crescit mihi quidem materies, ut dicis, sed tota res etiam nunc fluctuat: κατ' ὀπώραν τρύξ. Quae si desederit, magis erunt iam liquata, quae scribam: quae si statim a me ferre non potueris, primus habebis, tamen id aliquamdiu solus. 4. Dicaearchum recte amas. Luculentus homo est et civis haud paullo melior quam isti nostri ἀδικαίарχοι. Litteras scripsi hora decima Cerialibus, statim ut tuas legeram, sed eas eram daturus, ut putaram, postridie ei, qui mihi primus ob viam venisset. Terentia delectata est tuis litteris. Impertit tibi multam salutem, καὶ Κικέρων ὁ φιλόσοφος τὸν πολιτικὸν Τίτον ἀσπάζεταιται.

## XXXVIII. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. II. 10).

APPI FORUM, A. U. C. 695; B. C. 59, AET. CIC. 47.

M. Cicero Attico significat se ludos Antii spectare nolle et eum a se usque ad Non. Mai. in Formiano expectatum iri.

## CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Volo ames meam constantiam. Ludos Antii spectare non placet. Est enim ὑποσόλοιον, cum velim vitare omnium deliciarum suspicionem, repente ἀναφαίνεσθαι non solum delicate, sed etiam inepte peregrinantem. Qua re usque ad Non. Mai. te in

of writing something, *Theopompio* genere. See Att. ii. 6, 2.

τρύξ] 'everything is still fermenting, unsettled, like must in autumn; when the lees settle down, the material on which to employ my pen will be more *clarified*.' Iam liquata, the conjecture of Kayser for iudicata, is very tempting. Iudicata can hardly be right. Indicata would be better. For liquata, cf. *defervisse annis liquata* (dicta), Quint. xii. 6, 4.

quae si statim] Such is the reading of the mss, which is unnecessarily altered by the edd., except Klotz, who rightly explains, 'if you do not get the work from me at once, at all events you will be the first to have it; however, for a while you must keep it to yourself.'

4. Luculentus] 'Dicaearchus is a splendid fellow, and very superior to our

rulers, who so little show the quality which his name imports'—a play on the meaning of δικάραχος. This is a striking example of the fact which I have already insisted upon at Att. i. 1, 2, and shall have occasion again to insist on at Att. v. 20, 4, that Cicero cannot resist a pun on a name when it is possible. It is remarkable, too, that in the *De Or.* ii., a very large majority of the jokes are plays on names.

Κικέρων] He playfully refers to the interchange of parts between Atticus and himself, Atticus being now the politician, and Cicero the philosopher: cf. Att. ii. 16, 3.

Volo ames meam constantiam] 'I want you to admire my firmness. I am determined not to be a spectator of the games

Formiano exspectabo. Nunc fac ut sciam quo die te visuri simus. Ab Appii Foro, hora quarta. Dederam aliam paullo ante a Tribus Tabernis.

## XXXIX. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. II. 11).

FORMIAE, A. U. C. 695 ; B. C. 59 ; AET. CIC. 47.

M. Cicero Attico scribit se in Formiano nihil fere quid Romae fiat accipere, rogat ut puero, quem miserit, ponderosam epistolam det, ipsum a se in Formiano usque ad prid. Nonas Mai. exspectari, Arpinum non posse invitari.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Narro tibi: plane relegatus mihi videor, postea quam in Formiano sum. Dies enim nullus erat, Antii cum essem, quo die non melius scirem Romae quid ageretur quam ii qui erant Romae. Etenim litterae tuae non solum quid Romae, sed etiam quid in re publica, neque solum quid fieret, verum etiam quid futurum esset indicabant. Nunc, nisi si quid ex praetereunte viatore exceptum est, scire nihil possumus. Qua re quamquam iam te ipsum exspecto, tamen isti puero, quem ad me statim iussi recurrere, da ponderosam aliquam epistolam, plenam omnium non modo actorum, sed etiam opinionum tuarum, ac diem, quo Roma sis exiturus, cura ut sciam. 2. Nos in Formiano esse volumus

at Antium. It would be rather a *bêtise*, when I desire to avoid all appearance of dissipation, suddenly to appear in the character of one not only travelling for amusement, but for foolish amusement: see on Att. ii. 1, 1. It is a mistake to take the sentence ironically, as Boot does, as if it meant, 'you must admire my consistency' (i. e. inconsistency in changing my plans so soon). Cicero often announces a change of plan in immediately successive letters, and would not have made so much of it here. Besides *constans* is usually *firm* in Cicero: see Att. i. 14, 5, 6. Cicero himself carried a bill forbidding gladiatorial shows, *biennio quo quis petat petiturusve sit nisi ex testamento praestituta die*, Vat. 37.

*Tribus Tabernis*] mentioned in Acts of

the Apostles, xxviii. 15, on the Appian Way between Aricia and Forum Appii.

1. *Narro tibi*] See on Att. i. 16, 10. *exceptum*] 'snapped up:' cf. Att. ii. 5, 1.

*die*] repeated to show that *quo* does not go with *melius*.

*ponderosam*] Cf. Att. i. 13, 1, *qui epistolam paullo graviorem ferre possit nisi eam pellectione relevarit*. There there is a play on the two meanings of *gravis*, 'heavy' (physically) and 'weighty,' 'important.' It is to avoid any such ambiguity that Cicero here uses *ponderosam* (a word not found in his other writings); he wants a heavy, bulky, packet, full of the details of affairs at Rome, with Atticus' comments on them.

usque ad prid. Nonas Mai. Eo si ante eam diem non veneris, Romae te fortasse videbo. Nam Arpinum quid ego te invitem?

τρηχεῖ, ἀλλ' ἀγαθὴ κουροτρόφος. οὗτ' ἄρ' ἔγωγε  
ἥς γαίης δύναμαι γλυκερώτερον ἄλλο ἰδέσθαι.

Haec igitur, et cura ut valeas.

## XL. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. II. 13).

FORMIAE, A. U. C. 695; B. C. 59; AET. CIC. 47.

M. Cicero dolet suam epistolam a Tribus Tabernis ad suavissimas Attici epistolas rescriptam non esse redditam: in agris atque in regione Formiana maiore de rebus urbanis rumorem atque indignationem esse quam Romae.

### CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Facinus indignum! Epistolam αὐθωρεῖ tibi a Tribus Tabernis rescriptam ad tuas suavissimas epistolas neminem reddidisse! At scito eum fasciculum, quo illam conieceram domum eo ipso die latum esse, quo ego dederam, et ad me in Formianum relatum esse. Itaque tibi tuam epistolam iussi referri, ex qua intellegeres quam mihi tum illae gratae fuissent. 2. Romae quod scribis sileri, ita putabam. At hercule in agris non siletur, nec iam ipsi agri regnum vestrum ferre possunt. Si vero in hanc Τηλέπυλον veneris Λαιστρυγονίην—Formias dico—qui fremitus hominum!

2. τρηχεῖ, &c.] Od. ix. 27, the description of Ithaca. Arpinum is again connected with Ithaca, De Legg. ii. 3.

Haec igitur] The Med. has *haec igitur*, *et cura ut valeas*, *et* being scored out. It seems to me that *et* is sound, and was crossed out by the copyist, who did not understand this sentence, which means 'this is all I have to say except the usual ending, *take care of yourself*.' This not being obvious at first sight, the copyist would score out the *et*, but it is impossible to account for the presence of the *et* except on the theory of its soundness, for it makes the sentence more difficult.

1. αὐθωρεῖ] *ibidem ilico*, Att. ii. 12, 2. *tuam epistolam*] Here *tua ep.* means a

letter to you, though *tuas ep.* above means letters from you, and also below, if we were to read as Ernesti suggests, *tuas illae* for *tum illae*. So in Att. vii. 24, 1, *Cassii litterae* of the Med. should not have been changed by Bosius to *Cassio*, for *Cassii litterae* means, 'letter to Cassius.' So Augustus in Suetonius *vit. Horat.* speaks of letters to his friends as *amicorum epistolae*; Nonius (quoted by Boot) speaks of Cicero's letter to Pactus (Fam. ix. 20) as *Pacti epistola*; and Cic. speaks of letters for Epirus as *litterae Epiroticae*, Att. v. 20, 9.

2. *sileri*] *sc.* de actis Caesaris.

Λαιστρυγονίην] Od. x. 81, where it is called Λαίου ἀπὸ πολλέθρον. Hor. Carm. iii. 17, ascribes the founding of

quam irati animi! quanto in odio noster amicus Magnus! cuius cognomen una cum Crassi Divitis cognomine consenescit. Credas mihi velim, neminem adhuc offendi, qui haec tam lente, quam ego fero, ferret. Qua re, mihi crede, φιλοσοφῶμεν. Iuratus tibi possum dicere nihil esse tanti. Tu si ad Sicyonios litteras habes, advola in Formianum, unde nos pridie Nonas Maias cogitamus.

Formiae to Lamus; and Pliny calls Formiae antiqua Laestrygonum sedes, Nat. Hist. iii. 9. Hence Cicero here calls Formiae Laestrygonia.

*consenescit*] 'grows obsolete.' Some edd. would obelise *Formias dico, Magnus, and Divitis*, as if Cicero should not be permitted to explain his meaning when he chooses. Would he had done so oftener!

*Crassi Divitis*] It seems to me that the editors have all been very hasty in assuming that M. Crassus the triumvir is here referred to. There is not, so far as I am aware, any evidence that he became poor. Now, on the other hand, there is a Crassus Dives mentioned below, Att. ii. 24, 4, who was praetor in 695 (b. c. 59), and who fell from his wealth to such poverty that he was afterwards surnamed *decoctor*, and is selected as a type of reverse of fortune by Val. Max. vi. 9, 12, *Quid, Crasso nonne pecuniae magnitudo locupletis nomen dedit; sed eidem postea inopia turpem decoctoris appellationem inussit?* It is probably to him, P. Licinius Crassus Dives, not the triumvir, that the allusion is here made, as no doubt is also the case in Att. ii. 24, 4.

*qui haec tam lente, . . . ferret*] 'I have

met no one to compare with myself in the callousness with which I look on it all.'

*nihil esse tanti*] Boot, after Madvig, would explain this, 'I assure you nothing is of any consequence, it is not worth the trouble of annoying oneself.' So in Att. v. 8, 3, he explains *nihil nobis fuerat tanti* in these words: *tum cum res acta est totum negotium non curaveram nec animadverteram*. It is quite true that *tanti est*, and *non tanti est*, often mean, 'it is worth while,' and 'it is not worth the trouble.' But in these two passages Boot's explanation is extremely forced. In the passage in the fifth book it is hard to see Boot's meaning, while the natural interpretation is, 'he must not buy Milo's property against his will; I would not have this done for anything.' So here you must, if you accept Boot's view, supply some such expression as *aegre ferre*, or else make Cicero merely say, 'it is of no consequence.' Is not the meaning rather 'there is nothing like philosophy'? Cf. also Att. i. 20, 2, *nullam rem tanti aestimasset*, 'I should have deemed nothing worth such a price' (as the sacrifice of principle). However in Hor. A. P. 304, *nihil tanti est* certainly means 'no matter.'

*ad Sicyonios litteras*] Cf. Att. i. 19, 9.

## XLI. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. II. 14).

FORMIAE, A. U. C. 695; B. C. 59; AET. CIC. 47.

M. Cicero significat Atticum sibi magnam expectationem movisse rerum urbanarum, quas nuntiaverit, eiusque adventum expectat, de Cn. Pompeio veretur ne ruere incipiat, in Formiano sibi ad scribendum otium non dari, sed commodissime tamen ibi Atticum expectari: spem etiam de scribendo facit.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Quantam tu mihi moves expectationem de sermone Bibuli, quantam de colloquio βοώπιδος, quantam etiam de illo delicato convivio! Proinde ita fac venias ut ad sitientes aures. Quamquam nihil est iam quod magis timendum nobis putem, quam ne ille noster Sampsiceramus, cum se omnium sermonibus sentiet vapulare et cum has actiones εὐανατρέπτους videbit, ruere incipiat. Ego autem usque eo sum enervatus, ut hoc otio, quo nunc tabescimus, malim ἐντυραννέσθαι quam cum optima spe dimicare. 2. De pangendo, quod me crebro adhortaris, fieri nihil potest. Basilicam habeo, non villam, frequentia Formianorum.† At quam partem †

1. *de sermone Bibuli*] If *Bibuli* is sound, the reference must be to some conversation between Atticus and Bibulus (probably about his obstruction of the comitia by watching the heavens) of which we do not hear elsewhere. The mention of *mirificos cum Publio dialogos* (ii. 9, 1) naturally suggested to many editors the correction of *Publii* for *Bibuli*. But such a change would be rash, considering of what πράγματα ἀσφάλκωστα the letters are composed.

*delicato*] See on Att. ii. 12, 2.

*Sampsiceramus*] one of the many nicknames for Pompeius, most of which are high-sounding Oriental names coined or applied to travesty his Eastern victories. This Sampsiceramus was a king in Coele-Syria. So we might call a general 'the Mikado' if he made too much of victories in Japan.

*has actiones*] sc. of Caesar and Vatinus.

*ruere*] 'to become violent,' 'to throw off the restraint of the laws:' cf. *Sest.*

133, *cum cotidie rueret*. Cicero fears that Pompeius may be the author of a *coup d'état*.

*ἐντυραννέσθαι*] 'to live under a despotism:' cf. Att. ii. 9, 3.

2. *Basilicam*] 'My villa is turned into a Basilica, so thronged is it with my Formian visitors.' The basilica, which was both a court of Justice and an exchange, had two colonnades, which were the haunt of the Roman men of business, as well as the loungers; hence *subbasilicani* is the Latin term for *flâneurs*.

*At quam*] *Parem* is the conjecture of Bosius (which is generally accepted) for *partem* of the mss. The Formians were enrolled in the Aemilian tribe. The meaning evidently is 'Basilica, did I say?—what Basilica would hold the Aemilian tribe?' But how get this out of the words which I have obelised, even introducing the Bosian correction? 'But what Aemilian tribe (do I speak of) equal [only] to a basilica?' Is such a mode of expression possible for Cicero? Boot,

basilicae tribum Aemiliam! 'Sed—omitto vulgus—post horam iv. molesti ceteri non sunt.' C. Arrius proximus est vicinus, immo ille quidem iam contubernalis, qui etiam se idcirco Romam ire negat, ut hic mecum totos dies philosophetur. Ecce tibi ex altera parte Sebosus, ille Catuli familiaris. Quo me vertam? Statim meherecule Arpinum irem, ni te in Formiano commodissime expectari viderem dumtaxat ad prid. Nonas Maias. Vides enim quibus hominibus aures sint deditae meae. O occasionem mirificam, si qui nunc, dum hi apud me sunt, emere de me fundum Formianum velit. Et tamen illud probem 'Magnum quid aggrediamur et multae cogitationis atque otii?' Sed tamen satis fiet a nobis neque parceatur labori.

## XLII. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. II. 15).

FORMIAE, A. U. C. 695; B. C. 59; AET. CIC. 47.

Attici epistolas laudat, ex quibus quae Romae fiant recte se agnoscere ait, et de rebus Romanis, maxime de expectato tribunatu Clodii, agit, de hominibus urbanis, qui se viserint, de Terentiae negotio et rebus domesticis.

### CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Ut scribis, ita video non minus incerta in re publica quam in epistola tua, sed tamen ista ipsa me varietas sermonum opinionumque delectat. Romae enim videor esse, cum tuas litteras

feeling (no doubt) that it was not possible, suggests *atque imparem basilicam tribui Aemiliae*, but this is too daring. Man. and Lamb. at *comparem basilicae tribum Aemiliam*. I suggest at *aequiparem basilicae tribum Aemiliam*? or, at *cui aequiparem*, &c.

*Sed, omitto*] These words are usually attributed to Cicero, but then his excuse for not writing falls to the ground. If he has no serious interruption after the fourth hour, he has abundance of time for composition. I have put inverted commas to show that these are words put into the mouth of Atticus by Cicero. A similar mode of treating the text has been adopted by Boot with success at Att. iv. 5, 3, and v. 10, 5. Boot here avoids the difficulty in another way by printing a note of interrogation after *sunt*, but *nonne* would

then have been used. Perhaps we should read *mitto* for *omitto*; cf. the passage from Ter. Phormio, quoted below at Att. ii. 19, 1, where *mitto* means, 'I say nothing of.'

*Ecce tibi*] See on Att. ii. 8, 1. *dumtaxat ad*] 'but only up to the day before the nones (May 6), for you see what bores I have to listen to:' cf. Att. i. 5, 4, *aures dedissem*.

*Magnum quid*] Cicero quotes a former promise of his own that he would undertake some great work, and asks how he is to make his promise good under his present circumstances. It is a mistake to assign these words to Atticus.

1. *Ut scribis*] 'I see it is as you say: the shifting condition of public affairs is reflected in your letter.'

lego, et, ut fit in tantis rebus, modo hoc, modo illud audire. Illud tamen explicare non possum, quidnam invenire possit nullo recusante ad facultatem agrariam. 2. Bibuli autem ista magnitudo animi in comitiorum dilatione quid habet nisi ipsius iudicium sine ulla correctione rei publicae? Nimirum in Publio spes est. Fiat, fiat tribunus pl., si nihil aliud, ut eo citius tu ex Epiro revertare. Nam, ut illo tu careas, non video posse fieri, praesertim si mecum aliquid volet disputare. Sed id quidem non dubium est, quin, si quid erit eius modi, sis advolaturus. Verum ut hoc non sit, tamen sive ruet sive eriget rem publicam, praeclarum spectaculum mihi propono modo te consessore spectare liceat. 3. Cum haec maxime scriberem, ecce tibi Sebosus! Nondum plane ingemueram: 'Salve,' inquit Arrius. Hoc est Roma decedere! Quos ego homines effugi, cum in hos incidi? Ego vero

*in montes patrios et ad incunabula nostra*

pergam. Denique, si solus non potuero, cum rusticis potius quam cum his perurbanis, ita tamen, ut, quoniam tu certi nihil scribis, in Formiano tibi praestoler usque ad a. d. III. Nonas Maias. 4. Terentiae pergrata est adsiduitas tua et diligentia in controversia Mulviana. Nescit omnino te communem causam defendere eorum,

*invenire possit*] 'what generally acceptable plan Caesar can devise:' see Ep. xliii. 1, *ex familiari te illius audisse prolatum iri aliquid quod nemo improbareret.*

*ad facultatem agrariam*] 'for the solution of the agrarian question. *Facultatem* is explained by Cicero's own definition in *de Inv.* i. 41, *facultates sunt aut quibus facilius fit aut sine quibus aliquid confici non potest.*'

2. *Bibuli autem*] 'The firmness of Bibulus in impeding the comitia is only an exposition of his own views, but has no moral influence on public affairs in any way.' But could the sentence mean 'what is the effect of Bibulus' firmness, but to give us a truer insight into his character?' In *Fam.* i. 7, 5, *facti iudicium* is 'the verdict on one's conduct.'

*in Publio spes*] Cicero thought he would resist Caesar.

*ut illo tu careas*] This must be said in a playful way, as if Atticus were so charmed with the society of Clodius that he could no longer keep away from him: compare *tuum sodalem*, Ep. xxxvi. § 3. But is it not possible that a non dropped

out before *careas* owing to the immediate consecution of another *non*? *Illo* should then be changed to *illa*, referring to Epiro, 'it is impossible but that you must absent yourself from it' (Epirus); *ut illa* (or *illo loco*) *tu non careas non video posse fieri.*

*ruet sive eriget*] 'whether he will throw off all restraint or lend a helping hand to the state:' see Att. viii. 12c, 3.

3. *Cum haec maxime*] 'Just as I had got to this point in my letter, lo and behold you, Sebosus!' *maxime*, like *μάλιστα*, means 'just,' 'precisely.' For *ecce tibi*, see on ii. 8, 1.

*in montes*] Probably from Cicero's poem on Marius. This poem is referred to by Cicero in *de Legg.* i. 1, and part of it quoted in *De Div.* i. 106.

*si solus non potuero*] Boot proposes *si solus non potuero*, *ERO*, *potius*, &c., with some probability. But the verb is sometimes strangely omitted in the *apodosis* by Cicero, as in Att. i. 16, 3, *iudicium si quaeris quale fuerit, incredibili exitu.*

4. *controversia Mulviana*] Mulvius, a



qui agros publicos possideant. Sed tamen tu aliquid publicanis pendis: haec etiam id recusat. Ea tibi igitur et Κικέρων, ἀριστοκρατικώτατος παῖς, salutem dicunt.

### XLIII. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. II. 16).

FORMIAE, A. U. C. 695; B. C. 59; AET. CIC. 47.

De agro Campano viritim dividendo lege Iulia, de quo scripserat Atticus, de otio suo litterario, quod iam rei publicae tractandae anteponat, de Q. fratris mansione in Asia et de iis negotiis, de quibus ille in litteris suis egerit: se Atticum in Arpinati exspectare.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Cenato mihi et iam dormitanti prid. K. Maias epistola est illa reddita, in qua de agro Campano scribis. Quid quaeris? Primo ita me pupugit, ut somnum mihi ademerit, sed id cogitatione magis quam molestia. Cogitanti autem haec fere succurrebant: primum ex eo, quod superioribus litteris scripseras, ex familiari te illius audisse prolatum iri aliquid quod nemo improbaret, maius aliquid timueram: hoc mihi eius modi non videbatur. Deinde, ut me egomet consoler, omnis exspectatio largitionis agrariae in agrum Campanum videtur esse derivata: qui ager, ut dena iugera sint, non amplius hominum quinque milia potest sustinere, reliqua omnis multitudo ab illis abalienetur necesse est. Praeterea, si ulla res est quae bonorum animos, quos iam video esse commotos,

publicanus, or an agent of the publicani, demanded rent from Terentia for some public land which she held rent-free under the law of 673 (b. c. 111), probably the *lex Baebia*: see Momm. Rom. Hist. iii. 134; Wordsworth, *Fragments of Early Latin*, p. 441. Mulvius held that this law was no longer in force. Atticus, in espousing the cause of Terentia, was maintaining the common cause of all who held public land, himself among the number; though he was willing to pay some small rent, while Terentia claimed to hold the land rent-free.

Κικέρων] 'a most conservative lad,' 'a true follower of the *optimates*.' The fact that here again he conveys the salu-

tation of his son in Greek shows the baselessness of Wieland's ingenious notion mentioned on Att. ii. 9, 4.

1. *Cenato*] 'As I was taking a sleep after dinner I received your letter about the free distribution of land in Campania. Briefly to describe its effect, first it startled me so much that it banished all my drowsiness, but this was rather by reason of the train of thought it awakened than any distress it caused me.'

*eius modi*] sc. *maius aliquid*, 'a sweeping measure' (Watson).

*derivata in*] 'drawn off to.' *ut dena iugera sint*] 'supposing the allotments to be 10 iugera a-piece.'

vehementius possit incendere, haec certe est, et eo magis, quod portorii Italiae sublatis, agro Campano diviso, quod vectigal superest domesticum praeter vicensimam? quae mihi videtur una contingula clamore pedisequorum nostrorum esse peritura. 2. Gnaeus quidem noster iam plane quid cogitet nescio;

φυσῆ γὰρ οὐ σμικροῖσιν ἀνλίσκοις ἔτι,  
ἀλλ' ἀγρίαις φύσαισι, φορβεῖας ἄτερ·

qui quidem etiam istuc adduci potuerit. Nam adhuc haec ἐσοφίζετο, se leges Caesaris probare: actiones ipsum praestare debere: agrariam legem sibi placuisse: potuerit intercedi nec ne nihil ad se pertinere; de rege Alexandrino placuisse sibi aliquando confici: Bibulus de caelo tum servasset necne sibi quaerendum non fuisse: de publicanis, voluisse se illi ordini commodare: quid futurum fuerit, si Bibulus tum in forum descendisset, se divinare non potuisse. Nunc vero, Sampsicerame, quid dices? vectigal te nobis in monte Antilibano constituisse, agri Campani abstulisse? Quid, hoc quem ad modum obtinebis? 'Oppressos vos,' inquit, 'tenebo

*portorii*] The customs-duties had been abolished in Italian ports by Q. Metellus Nepos in his praetorship the year before this letter was written, *nuper in portoriis Italiae tollendis*, Q. Fr. i. 1, 33.

*domesticum*] 'home tax.'  
*vicensimam*] 5 per cent. on manumitted slaves.

*pedisequorum*] 'lackeys,' the class referred to in Att. ii. 1, 8, an libertinis atque etiam servis serviamus.

2. *φυσῆ γὰρ*] Soph. Frag. The wrong accent *φορβέας* was corrected by Koch to *φορβεῖας*. The *φορβεῖα* was a mouthband of leather which softened the note; so Pompeius is said 'to blow wildly with fierce blasts.' For the figure, cf. Att. i. 18, 2, *vehemens flari*.

*qui quidem*] 'seeing that he has been induced to go so far (as to allow the distribution of land), I know not where he may stop. For hitherto he used to chop logic about the matter, . . . but now, O mighty Pasha, what have you to say?' That you have established a revenue on the Antilibanus (from the conquest of Judæa and Syria), and have sacrificed the revenue from the Campanian domain? How will you make good this?' Mr. Watson justly observes, 'if Pompey did say this, he used a good argument.' *Adhuc* is opposed to *nunc vero*, the intervening

clauses setting forth the 'quibbles' of Pompeius. *Praestare*, 'to be responsible for.'

*agrariam legem*] This was the first agrarian law of Caesar, in which he proposed to purchase other domain land, and divide it as well as the Campanian; whether it could legally have been vetoed or not was no concern of his.' For *potuerit* used impersonally, see note on Att. ii. 9, 1. *de rege Alexandrino*] Ptolemy Auletes, who was made the ally of the Roman people this year.

*voluisse se illi ordini*] 'he was willing to oblige the equestrian order; he could not have prophesied what would have been the consequence of Bibulus' appearance in the forum' (to impede the Acts of Caesar). The consequence was, that Bibulus was assaulted and driven from the forum' (Dio. xxxviii. 6, 1). He showed his willingness to oblige the equites by supporting the law of Caesar, to which Dio Cassius refers, xxxviii. 7, 4.: *τοὺς δ' ἰππέας [ἀνηρτήσατο] τὸ τριτημόριον σφισι τῶν τελῶν ἀξεμίσθωντο ἀφείλ' πᾶσαι τε γὰρ αἱ τελωνίαι δι' αὐτῶν ἐγίγνοντο, καὶ πολλάκις τῆς βουλῆς δεηθέντες ὅπως ἐκδικίας τινος τύχῳσιν οὐχ εὗροντο*. See Att. i. 17, 9.

*obtinerebis*] 'make good' (vindicate from adverse criticism).

exercitu Caesaris.' Non mehercule me tu quidem tam isto exercitu quam ingratissimis animis eorum hominum, qui appellantur boni, qui mihi non modo praemiorum, sed ne sermonum quidem umquam fructum ullum aut gratiam rettulerunt. 3. Quod si in eam me partem incitarem, profecto iam aliquam reperirem resistendi viam. Nunc prorsus hoc statui, ut, quoniam tanta controversia est Dicaearcho, familiari tuo, cum Theophrasto, amico meo, ut ille tuus τὸν πρακτικὸν βίον longe omnibus anteponat, hic autem τὸν θεωρητικόν, utrique a me mos gestus esse videatur. Puto enim me Dicaearcho adfatim satis fecisse: respicio nunc ad hanc familiam, quae mihi non modo ut requiescam permittit, sed reprehendit, quia non semper quierim. Qua re incumbamus, o noster Tite, ad illa praeclara studia et eo unde discedere non oportuit, aliquando revertamur. 4. Quod de Quinti fratris epistola scribis, ad me quoque fuit πρόσθε λέων ὀπιθεν δὲ . . . quid dicam nescio. Nam ita deplorat primis versibus mansionem suam, ut quemvis movere possit: ita rursus remittit, ut me roget, ut annales suos emendem et edam. Illud tamen, quod scribis, animadvertas velim, de portorio circumvectionis: ait se de consilii sententia rem ad senatum reiecis- se. Nondum videlicet meas litteras legerat, quibus ad eum re consulta et explorata perscripseram non deberi. Velim, si qui Graeci iam Romam ex Asia de ea causa venerunt, videas et, si tibi videbitur, iis demonstres quid ego de ea re sentiam. Si possum

*qui appellantur boni*] 'the so-called constitutionalists have not made me any return for my services even in the way of words, much less in substantial rewards:' cf. *fructus auctoritatis*, 'a reward in the way of influence,' De Sen. 62.

3. *Theophrasto*] See Att. ii. 9, 2. *familiam*] 'school' (of philosophy): De Div. ii. 3.

4. πρόσθε λέων, ὀπιθεν δὲ] δράκων μέσση δὲ χίμαιρα, Il. vi. 181. Not a very apt quotation, for Cicero seems only to mean that the letter showed a marked change of tone: there is no appropriateness even in λέων (though *quid dicam nescio* would imply that there is), for we see the beginning of the letter was of anything but a lion-like character. Atticus seems to have received an equally self-contradictory letter, as Cicero says *ad me quoque remittit*] 'tones down.'

*annales*] See Q. Fr. i. 1, 44.

*scribis*] This is the reading of the mss,

usually changed to *scribit*; but we see from the words *ad me quoque* that Atticus had also received a letter from Quintus, from which (no doubt) he quoted something about the *portorium circumvectionis*.

*de portorio circumvectionis*] port-dues on goods being removed from harbour *unsold*, and therefore transported to another harbour. On goods brought into harbour and there sold, the tax would of course be levied (except in Italy). The publicani claimed the right to enforce the tax on goods *unsold*; the traders maintained they were not liable. Quintus referred the matter to the senate. Cicero, in his letter not yet received by Quintus, had decided in favour of the traders.

*de consilii sententia*] 'by the advice of his assessors,' an informal sort of privy council which the governor of a Roman province used on occasions to summon to aid his decisions.

*Si possum discedere*] 'If I can, to save

discedere, ne causa optima in senatu pereat, ego satis faciam publicanis, εἰ δὲ μή—vere tecum loquar—in hac re malo universae Asiae et negotiatoribus: nam eorum quoque vehementer interest. Hoc ego sentio valde nobis opus esse. Sed tu id videbis. Quaestores autem, quaeso, num etiam de cistophoro dubitant? Nam si aliud nihil erit, cum erimus omnia experti, ego ne illud quidem contemniam, quod extremum est. Te in Arpinati videbimus et hospitio agresti accipiemus, quoniam maritimum hoc contempsisti.

#### XLIV. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. II. 17).

FORMIAE, A. U. C. 695; B. C. 59; AET. CIC. 47.

M. Cicero de misera condicione rei publicae queritur in adfinitate et coniunctione Cn. Pompeii et C. Caesaris, nec tam ἐνελπιστίq, ut antea, quam ἀδιαφορίq se consolatur. Vult tamen scire quo animo Cn. Pompeius, quem Arabarchae nomine significat, in se sit.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Prorsus, ut scribis, ita sentio. Turbat Sampsiceramus. Nihil est quod non timendum sit, ὁμολογουμένως τυραννίδα συσκέυάζεται. Quid enim ista repentina adfinitatis coniunctio, quid ager Campanus, quid effusio pecuniae significant? Quae si essent

the good cause, the *ordinum concordia*, get out of my opinion (expressed in my letter to Quintus that the traders are in the right), I shall do what the publicani want. But if not (I tell you candidly), I prefer the interests of the whole of Asia, and with it the bankers, for it is a matter of great moment to them.' Manutius explains *si possum consequi ne Graeci causa cadant*, just as Terence, in *Phorm.* v. 2, 8, has, *modo ut hoc consilio possiet discedi ut istam ducat*, 'if only we could get out of the thing on the terms that he should marry her.' But *causa optima* certainly means 'the policy of the optimates,' not 'the interests of the Greeks.' With this correction I am disposed to accept the view of Man., 'if I can get out of the matter on any terms that will not sacrifice the cause of the optimates:' cf. for this use of *discedere*, Q. Fr. i. 2, 16; Att. ii. 21, 6.

*malo . . . Asiae*] Cf. *cui qui nolunt*, iidem tibi non sunt amici, Fam. i. 1, 3; quid? ego Fundanio non cupio? non amicus sum? Q. Fr. i. 2, 10.

*Hoc*] sc. posse me discedere a sententia mea.

*nobis*] sc. *optimatibus*.

*num etiam*] 'do they still hesitate about the question of paying in Roman or Asiatic currency?' not as Schütz takes it, 'do they hesitate about paying even in cistophori?' They could not refuse to supply Q. with money for his government.

*quod extremum est*] 'as a last resource.'

*agresti*] sc. Arpinati.

*maritimum*] sc. Formianum.

1. *Turbat*] This is the probable correction of Pius. The mss have *turbatur*, which might possibly mean the same thing as *ruit* in Att. ii. 14, 1, but would be ἀπαξ εἰρημένον in this sense. *Turbat* means 'is fomenting a revolution:' in the next sentence he says in Greek (no doubt because the sentiment is a daring one), 'he is undoubtedly plotting a *coup d'état*.'

*adfinitatis*] Pompeius' marriage with Caesar's daughter, Julia.

*quid ager Campanus, quid effusio pecu-*

extrema, tamen esset nimium mali, sed ea natura rei est, ut haec extrema esse non possint. Quid enim eos haec ipsa per se delectare possunt? Numquam huc venissent, nisi ad res alias pestiferas aditus sibi compararent. Di immortales! Verum, ut scribis, haec in Arpinati a. d. vi. circiter Id. Maias non deflebimus, ne et opera et oleum philologiae nostrae perierit, sed conferemus tranquillo animo. 2. Neque tam me εὐελπιστία consolatur, ut antea, quam ἀδιαφορία, qua nulla in re tam utor quam in hac civili et publica. Quin etiam, quod est subinane in nobis et non ἀφιλόδοξον—bellum est enim sua vitia nosse—id adficitur quadam delectatione. Solebat enim me pungere, ne Sampsicerami merita in patriam ad annos sescentos maiora viderentur quam nostra; hac quidem cura certe iam vacuum est. Iacet enim ille sic, ut πτώσις

niae] These two questions refer to the two heads of the Julian Law—(1) that the public domain in Campania should be distributed; (2) that the other Italian estates should be purchased by the State and divided; it is to this second head that *effusio pecuniae* refers. The first provision was carried out at once; the second never was, for Clodius, in his tribunate, assigned the money intended for the purchase of the land to Gabinius, when going to Syria, *pro dom.* 23.

*Verum, ut scribis*] ‘But, as you say in your letter, when we meet in my Arpinate villa all these topics may be—I will not say wept over by us, for then we should prove that all the labour and midnight oil spent on our studies had gone for nought—but talked over calmly together.’ *Philosophiae* was, of course, at once suggested for *philologiae*. But (1) this is to cut the knot; the easy *philosophiae* would never have given place to the difficult *philologiae* in the mss; (2) *philologiae* may be taken to mean ‘literary pursuits’ (including, of course, those philosophical works which enjoin fortitude under adversity); (3) in a very difficult passage (Q. Fr. ii. 8, 3) *nos ita philologi sumus ut cum fabris habitare possimus*, the word *philologi* seems to mean ‘immersed in literary pursuits;’ and so *philologiae* here would merely mean ‘studies’ or ‘literary pursuits,’ with especial reference to his study of Theophrastus, Dicaearchus, &c., whom he has been recently reading.

2. εὐελπιστία] ‘hopefulness,’ ‘a sanguine temper.’

ἀδιαφορία] ‘indifference,’ ‘nonchalance.’

*quod est subinane*] ‘that little strain of vanity and self-conceit in my nature—it is a good thing to know one’s own faults—feels a sensation of pleasure. It used to annoy me to think that the services of “the Sheikh” to his country might seem greater than mine in the course of the next 600 years. It (my vanity) is now quite free from any such apprehension.’ *Vacuum est* agrees with *quod est subinane in nobis*. *Id* before *adficitur* (which is usually omitted by the edd., though found in the Med.) is inserted by Cicero expressly to show the construction. It quite spoils the grace of the sentence, with its frank avowal of vanity, not to connect *vacuum* with *quod est subinane*. For *ad annos* DC, see on Att. ii. 5, 1.

πτώσις *Curiana*] This is the Bosian correction of *phocis* of the ms. Strange to say, he does not claim ms authority for it. I suppose he thought it good enough to rest on its own merits. So it seems to me. Curius was a man of very bad character, and addicted to gambling. He was one of the associates of Catiline. He had reached quaestorian rank, but was expelled by the censors from the senate. ‘Pompeius,’ says Cicero, ‘has fallen so low that the fallen Curius seems, in comparison with him, to stand erect.’ Cicero is prone to this figurative use of *stare*: cf. Att. vi. 3, 4, *stante* vel etiam *sedente* Pompeio; Att. v. 18, 2, *stantis animis*. The πτώσις *Curiana* is the *faux pas* or ‘trip’ which cost him his place in the senate.

Curiana stare videatur. 3. Sed haec coram. Tu tamen videris mihi Romae fore ad nostrum adventum: quod sane facile patiar, si tuo commodo fieri possit. Sin, ut scribis, ita venies, velim ex Theophane expiscere quonam in me animo sit Arabarches. Quaeres scilicet κατὰ τὸ κηδεμονικόν et ad me ab eo quasi ὑποθήκας adferes, quem ad modum me geram. Aliquid ex eius sermone poterimus περὶ τῶν ὧλων suspicari.

# XLV. TO ATTICUS, ON HIS WAY TO EPIRUS (ATT. II. 18).

ROME, A. U. C. 695; B. C. 59; AET. CIC. 47.

M. Cicero scribit Attico nullam in civitate spem esse recuperandae libertatis, unum Curionem adolescentem adversari et laudari a bonis, summum dolorem esse bonorum omnium atque desperationem, liberio rem etiam interdum sermonem: sibi a Caesare legationem offerri, liberam etiam legationem dari: hanc se antepone re, in qua, quam velit, adesse possit. De Statio manu misso et optato adventu Attici.

## CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Accepi aliquot epistolas tuas: ex quibus intellexi quam suspenso animo et sollicito scire averes quid esset novi. Tenemur

3. *tamen*] 'Yet (though I thought you would come to me to Arpinum) you seem likely to be at Rome when I arrive there.'

*expiscere*] 'I wish you would fish out from Theophanes how "the Sheikh" (Pompeius) is disposed towards me.'

*Arabarches*] was the ἐπιστράτηγος of Thebais. To his district belonged the land from the Nile to the Red Sea, which in a special sense is called *Arabia*, Mayor's Juv. i. 130. Here the word is used as a nickname of Pompeius. Orelli reads *Alabarches*, the conjecture of Bosius, resting on no authority but his fabricated Z. The *Alabarches* was a tax officer of Alexandria, a *procurator* who administered the tolls for goods coming from Lower and Middle Egypt, especially for the transport of cattle. His was a very important and lucrative office, so that he became a proverb for a rich man, like our 'Nabob,' Marquardt I<sup>2</sup>, pp. 445 ff; M. Juv. i. 130. Prof. Mayor, when he compares Nabob, Great Mogul, ought to read *Alabarches* rather than *Arabarches*. Some maintain that *Arabarches* and *Alabarches* are one and the same word, because the inter-

change of *r* and *l* is, of course, very common, while the etymology of *Alabarches* is otherwise inexplicable; but we find an *Alabarches* in Xanthus in Lycia, and such an official would seem to have no possible connexion with the Egyptian *Arabarches*: cp. *Corp. Ins. Gr.* 4267.

κατὰ τὸ κηδεμονικόν] 'with your usual solicitude.'

ὑποθήκας] The use of *quasi* shows that the word must be used to modify some unfamiliar expression; didactic poems were called ὑποθήκαι by the Greeks, e. g. Ἡσιόδου ὑποθήκαι, Χείρωνος ὑποθήκαι. So, perhaps, he means, 'you must bring me a kind of didactic treatise from him on the way I am to act,' i. e. full and precise instructions: see Reid, pro Sull. 53. Mr. Reid, ib. § 1, mentions another Ciceronian use of *quasi* = almost, as *quasi in extrema pagina Phaedri*, Orat. 41.

CICERO now returned to Rome, where he remained till his exile. Atticus left Rome for Epirus shortly after Cicero's return, when the correspondence recommences.

undique neque iam quo minus serviamus recusamus, sed mortem et eiectionem quasi maiora timemus, quae multo sunt minora. Atque hic est status, qui una voce omnium gemitur, neque verbo cuiusquam sublevatur. Σκοπὸς est, ut suspicor, illis, qui tenent. nullam cuiquam largitionem relinquere. Unus loquitur et palam adversatur adolescens Curio. Huic plausus maximi, consalutatio forensis perhonorifica, signa praeterea benevolentiae permulta a bonis impertiuntur, Fufium clamoribus et conviciis et sibilis consectantur. His ex rebus non spes, sed dolor est maior, cum videas civitatis voluntatem solutam, virtutem adligatam. 2. Ac ne forte quaeras κατὰ λεπτόν [de singulis rebus], universa res eo est deducta, spes ut nulla sit aliquando non modo privatos, verum etiam magistratus liberos fore. Hac tamen in oppressione sermo in circulis dumtaxat et conviviiis est liberior, quam fuit. Vincere incipit timorem dolor, sed ita, ut omnia sint plenissima desperationis. Habet etiam Campana lex execrationem in contione candidatorum, si mentionem fecerint, quo aliter ager possideatur atque ut ex legibus Iuliis. Non dubitant iurare ceteri: Laterensis

quae . . . minora.] For neut. adj. and rel. with fem. antecedents, cp. *obiurgationes* . . . quae non nulla sunt sed tamen *mediocria*, Ep. liii. § 13.

neque verbo] Klotz would supply *neque opera* before *neque verbo*. This is a common case of ἀβλεψία in copyists. He might have raised his eyes after writing *gemitur*, and then continued his writing at the second, instead of the first, *neque*. But *est* would easily drop out before *status*, and if it be restored there is no need to suppose a lacuna.

qui tenent] sc. omnia: see Att. ii. 22, 6. So *tenemur* above, 'we are held in thralldom.'

nullo cuiquam] 'to leave nothing for anyone else to give away:' cf. Suet. Jul. xx., cetera item quae cuique libuissent dilargitus est, contradicente nullo ac, si conaretur quis, absterrito. Compare the well-known saying of Livius Drusus in Flor. ii. 5, nihil se ad largitionem ulli reliquisse nisi si quis aut caenum dividere vellet aut caelum.

Fufium] See Att. i. 14, 1, 5.

voluntatem solutam, virtutem adligatam] 'our feelings are unshackled, but all vigorous action fettered:' see Att. ii. 20, 3, where the same state of things is more fully expressed.

κατὰ λεπτόν] also expressed by Cicero in the words κατὰ μίτον, means 'in detail,' 'seriatim.' *De singulis rebus* is probably a marginal explanation of κατὰ λεπτόν (written *catalepton* in Med.) which has crept into the text.

res eo est deducta] 'things have come to such a pass that we can have no hope that the magistrates even, not to speak of private persons, will long preserve their liberty. Yet, considering the oppression that prevails, speech is freer than it was—in clubs at least and social gatherings: resentment is beginning to prevail over fear, without, however, preventing a general despondency. Moreover, the Agrarian Law prescribes that all candidates in their candidatorial speech to the people (their *oratio in toga candida*) should imprecate a curse on themselves if they should even suggest any other mode of occupation for the land than that laid down by the Julian Laws.' This curse, imprecated on himself by the candidate in his electioneering speech, binding himself to the Julian Laws, was certainly a signal piece of oppression, but not greater than we might expect from the tone of Cicero's letters of this period. We may mitigate the matter by reading with Schütz *habet Campana lex execrationem candidatorum*,

existimatur laute fecisse, quod tribunatum pl. petere destitit, ne iuraret. 3. Sed de re publica non libet plura scribere. Displaceo mihi nec sine summo scribo dolore. Me tueor, ut oppressis omnibus non demisse, ut tantis rebus gestis parum fortiter. A Caesare valde liberaliter invector in legationem illam, sibi ut sim legatus, atque etiam libera legatio voti causa datur. Sed haec et praesidii apud pudorem Pulchelli non habet satis et a fratris adventu me ablegat, illa et munitior est et non impedit quo minus adsim, cum velim. Hanc ego teneo, sed usurum me non puto. Neque tamen scit quisquam. Non lubet fugere, aveo pugnare. Magna sunt hominum studia. Sed nihil adfirmo, tu hoc silebis.

*in contione si mentionem fecerint*; or by reading with Boot *insolentiorum*, 'of a somewhat unusual character' for *in contione*; but the sense seems to me to suffer under either regimen. *In contione* is, of course, wrong. On the oath which Saturninus imposed and Q. Metellus would not take, see Momm. R. H. iii. 211.

*laute* 'is thought to have shown himself a very fine fellow:' cf. De Off. ii. 52.

3. *Displaceo mihi* Orelli, after Dousa, prints these words *displaceo . . . dolore* as a hexameter verse, ascribing it to Lucilius. There are throughout the letters many fortuitous hexameters—for instance, there is a hexameter as good as Dousa's in this very letter: *nec mihi consilium nec consolatio deesset*. But in neither would the *o* have been possible in the time of Cicero.

*ut* 'considering the general despondency:' cf. Q. Fr. i. 1, 39, quae tamen *ut in malis*, anteposenda est.

*libera legatio* 'an unofficial embassy'—a legal fiction whereby a senator could leave Rome, and travel with greater comfort. Cic. was also offered the post of legate to Caesar, which after much hesitation he finally refused, and thereby seems to have given offence to Caesar. The *legatio libera* was only granted to senators (Cic. Legg. iii. 18), if they wanted to travel to pay a vow (l. c.), or to receive an inheritance (Cic. Leg. Agr. i. 8), or to exact a debt (Cic. Legg. l. c. Flacc. 86; Leg. Agr. ii. 45). They had to lay their reasons before the senate, Cic. Att. iv. 2, 6 (A. 4). They travelled at state expense, and had the usual honours and distinctions (e. g. lictors) of ambassadors (Cic. to Cornificius, Fam. xii. 21). Cicero, in his consulship, attempted to check this abuse, but had to content himself with getting it

enacted that the privileges of a *libera legatio* should not exist longer than a year, which Caesar re-enacted in another law (Cic. Att. xv. 11, 4). Cic. Legg. iii. 8, 18, is the *locus classicus* on this subject. See also Mommsen, St. R. ii. 671, 672, who powerfully denounces these 'free embassies.'

*haec* 'This (sc. the *leg. libera*) is not safe enough, resting as it does on the honour of Clodius (who could, if not prevented by *pudor*, then prosecute me as a private person), and entailing absence from Rome at the time of my brother's return.'

*quo minus adsim, cum velim* 'does not prevent me from being on the spot whenever I please:' *adsim* seems to refer to 'being at Rome:' cp. *cum velis introire, exire liceat*, Att. xv. 11, 4; but *habent, opinor, liberae legationes definitum tempus lege Iulia, nec facile addi potest*, *ibid.*: see Att. ii. 4, 2.

*Hanc ego teneo* It seems to me wrong to explain *hanc* as referring to the *legatio* offered by Caesar. *Haec* is the *libera legatio* above; *illa* is Caesar's *legatio*; and it would be very confusing then to apply *hanc* to Caesar's *legatio*. *Hanc* is the *libera legatio*. Cicero says, 'I have already got my *libera legatio*, but I do not think I shall use it. I do not want to fly from Clodius; I long to withstand him to the face. There is great zeal in my behalf. But I do not say what I shall do. You will kindly not say anything about the matter.' If *hanc* be supposed to refer to Caesar's legation, *teneo* must be rendered *praefero*, with Schütz, or 'I cling to this post,' with Mr. Watson, both which renderings seem to me indefensible, and inconsistent with the subsequent words. His position as legate to Caesar



4. De Statio manu misso et non nullis aliis rebus angor equidem, sed iam prorsus occallui. Tu vellem ego vel cuperem adesses: nec mihi consilium nec consolatio deesset. Sed ita te para, ut, si inclamaro, advoles.

## XLVI. TO ATTICUS, IN EPIRUS (ATT. II. 19).

ROME, A. U. C. 695; B. C. 59; AET. CIC. 47.

De Statio manu misso, de Clodii contentione, de misero rei publicae statu, de populi sensu theatro et spectaculis perspecto, de condicione sua, de signis, quibus vult uti in litteris, de rebus domesticis.

### CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Multa me sollicitant et ex rei publicae tanto motu et ex iis periculis, quae mihi ipse intenduntur, et sescenta sunt. Sed mihi nihil est molestius quam Statium manu missum:

*Nec meum imperium? ac mitto imperium, non simultatem meam Revereri saltem?*

nec quid faciam scio neque tantum est in re, quantus est sermo.

would, he thought, secure him Caesar's protection, and he could join Caesar when he pleased; the other would commit him to a fixed time of departure and return. So he does not think he will avail himself of it, but there is no harm in having the *libera legatio* to fall back on if necessary: cf. for the whole passage next letter, § 5.

4. *Statio*] Statius was a freedman of Quintus, who was regarded with jealousy and dislike by the province. Cicero fears that this feeling will be increased by Quintus' manumission of him: Q. Fr. i. 2. *vellem ego vel cuperem*] So L. Müller, for *vellem egove cuperem* of the Med. He compares Att. x. 16, 1, *ego volebam autem vel cupiebam potius*.

*si inclamaro, advoles*] Some edd., e. g. Tauchnitz, print these words as if they formed the end of a comic trochaic verse. They have not observed that in Att. ii. 20, 5, the words used are *si inclamaro ut accurras*. There is hardly a letter of Cicero out of which one might not pick

parts of iambic or trochaic verses, due altogether to chance—for instance, in this letter, § 2, we have a complete senarius in the words,

*in circuitis dumtaxat et conviviiis.*

1. *Multa*] 'I have many sources of annoyance, both from the disturbed state of the Republic and from the dangers which threaten me and which are innumerable.'

*Statium manu missum*] sc. *esse*: see Q. Fr. i. 2, 1.

*Nec meum imperium*] Ter. Ph. ii. 1, 2, *revereri* is the interjectional infinitive, 'to think that he should have no regard for:' cf. Att. ii. 6, 2, *esse locum tam prope Romam, ubi multi sint qui Vatinius nunquam viderint*.

*mitto*] 'I pass over.' This word should perhaps replace *omitto* in Att. ii. 14, 2; *omitto*, instead of *mitto*, would have been written by a copyist who did not remember the colloquial use of *mitto*.

*neque*] 'the matter is not so significant

Ego autem ne irasci possum quidem iis, quos valde amo : tantum doleo ac mirifice quidem. Cetera in magnis rebus. Minae Clodii, contentionesque, quae mihi proponuntur, modice me tangunt. Etenim vel subire eas videor mihi summa cum dignitate vel declinare nulla cum molestia posse. Dices fortasse : 'Dignitatis ἄλεις, tamquam δρῦς : saluti, si me amas, consule.' Me miserum ! cur non ades ? nihil profecto te praeteriret : ego fortasse τυφλώττω et nimium τῷ καλῷ προσπέπονθα. 2. Scito nihil umquam fuisse tam infame, tam turpe, tam peraeque omnibus generibus, ordinibus, aetatibus offensum quam hunc statum, qui nunc est : magis mehercule quam vellem, non modo quam putaram. Populares isti iam etiam modestos homines sibilare docuerunt. Bibulus in caelo est nec qua re scio, sed ita laudatur, quasi

*Unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem.*

Pompeius, nostri amores, quod mihi summo dolori est, ipse se afflixit. Neminem tenent voluntate, ac ne metu necesse sit iis uti

as rumour makes it.' Statius was supposed to have too much influence with Quintus. His manumission, therefore, was looked on as a significant act. Cicero says too much is made of it.

*ne . . . possum quidem*] *Quidem* qualifies *possum*. 'I cannot (though I ought to) be angry with one to whom I am so attached.' The plural is put instead of the singular to make the statement a little more general ; 'I cannot be angry with Quintus, or anyone to whom I am so much attached : ' it is not a broad statement, 'I cannot be angry with those whom I love.' See *Introd. I<sup>2</sup>, p. 65*.

*Cetera in magnis rebus*] 'My other sources of annoyance are to be found in important (public) affairs.'

*Dignitatis ἄλεις*] 'To talk about one's position is an anachronism. We have had enough of dignity (as the ancients said of their acorn diet after corn was discovered) ; let us now look to self-preservation.' So the proverb ἄλεις δρῦς must be explained : 'any thoughts of dignity or political grace of attitude are now obsolete ; as well might one have proposed to return to acorns after bread began to be used.' Mr. Jeans quotes from Voltaire (*Lett. See Chalotais*) a very parallel French proverb, '*le siècle du gland est passé*.'

*ego fortasse τυφλώττω*] 'Mayhap I am myope through my passion for dignity—

my sense of the requirements of principle ;' the words τῷ καλῷ προσπέπονθα suggest *noblesse oblige*, but the thought is not quite the same. A very close parallel to the thought in *noblesse oblige* is found in *Plin. Ep. iii. 3, 7*, *admonebitur quibus imaginibus oneretur* : cp. *fama quoque est oneri*, *Ov. Her. xvii. 167* (see Mayor's note on *Plin. iii. 3, 7*). Add *leges a sanguine ductas*, *Prop. iv. 11, 47*.

2. *offensum*] 'distasteful.'

*magis . . . quam*] 'more distasteful than I expected—nay, more than I like to see.'

*Populares isti*] 'The triumvirs.' *in caelo est*] 'is exalted to the skies.' Above, *Att. ii. 9, 1, in caelo sum*, has a somewhat different sense.

*Unus . . . rem*] The well-known description of Q. Fabius Maximus in the *Annals of Ennius*.

*nostri amores*] 'once my *beau idéal*.' Observe this use of the plural.

*Neminem tenent*] 'They (the triumvirs) hold no one by any bonds of good will, and I fear they may find it necessary to try the effect of fear.' Thus Klotz (ed. 2nd), preserving the reading of M intact, but for the change of *an* to *ac*. He fully establishes his reading by comparing *Att. ii. 21, 5*, *Sentiunt se nullam ullius partis voluntatem tenere* ; eo magis vis nobis est timenda.

vereor. Ego autem neque pugno cum illa causa propter illam amicitiam neque approbo, ne omnia improbem, quae antea gessi: utor via. 3. Populi sensus maxime theatro et spectaculis perspectus est. Nam gladiatoribus qua dominus qua advocati sibilis consciis: ludis Apollinaribus Diphilus tragoedus in nostrum Pompeium petulanter invectus est:

*Nostra miseria tu es Magnus . . .*

miliens coactus est dicere:

*Eandem virtutem istam veniet tempus cum graviter gemes,*

totius theatri clamore dixit itemque cetera. Nam et eius modi sunt ii versus, uti in tempus ab inimico Pompeii scripti esse videantur:

*Si [neque] leges neque mores cogunt . . .*

*illa causa*] that of the triumvirs.

*illam amicitiam*] 'my friendship for Pompeius.'

*utor via*] To supply in the text *media*, or *mea*, or *nostra*, or *recta*, is to cut the knot which should be untied. None of these words can be understood. We must either, therefore, resort to a violent remedy, like Peerlkamp, who, for *quae antea gessi utor via*, ingeniously, but rashly, reads *qua antea incesi utor via*; or explain *utor via* as meaning, 'I take the high-road—I strike out no line for myself.' cf. Fin. v. 5, *declinare de via*; Phil. xii. 7, *quodsi erratum est . . . redeamus in viam*.

3. *qua dominus qua advocati*] Dominus is taken to mean either (1) Gabinius, who gave a gladiatorial show at this time (Att. ii. 24, 3), or (2) Caesar. In both cases Pompeius is supposed to be referred to as the chief of the *advocati* or 'supporters.' But it seems to me more in accordance with the rest of this passage, as well as the purport of the preceding letters, to make (3) Pompeius the *dominus*, 'our tyrant,' and Caesar the chief of the *advocati*. Cicero expressly states that one would have thought the verses enclosed were written by an enemy of Pompeius to describe his position at this time. It is of Pompeius that Cicero says, in Att. ii. 14, *ne ruere incipiat*, and in Att. ii 17, 1, *turbat Sampsiceramus*, and *δηολογουμένως τυραννίδα συσκευάζει*. Caesar was at this time presented to the eyes of his contemporaries as the *supporter* of Pompeius, in whose interest the Campanian Law

was being brought forward and pushed so strenuously. We now look back on Caesar as the *colossus* of this period, but his contemporaries stood too near the canvas rightly to appreciate the proportions of the figure. Cicero tells us afterwards how Caesar took the reception of Curio, *tulit Caesar graviter*. The first verse is given more rhythmically by Val. Max. vi. 2, 9, who quotes—

*miseria nostra Magnus es,*

which makes the end of a troch. tetram. cat.; and so, probably, it should be given here, if not

*nostra miseria tu Magnus es;*

so also below we should probably read—

*Si leges neque mores cogunt,*

the first part of a similar verse. Thus all the verses are of the same metre, as they would naturally be. In *neque . . . neque*, one *neque* is often omitted in verse.

*virtutem*] The spectator would refer *virtutem* to the victories of Pompeius, and *gemes* to himself.

*Nam et eius modi*] On *nam et*, see Madv. Fin., p. 791. *Et* of M is obelised by Orelli, Baiter, and Wesenberg; but successfully defended by Madvig, as appropriate in an elliptical sentence like this: 'the verses were greatly applauded, for indeed not only were they suitable to the circumstances, but you would have thought they were written by some enemy of Pompeius to be applied to this very occasion.'

et cetera magno cum fremitu et clamore sunt dicta. Caesar cum venisset mortuo plausu, Curio filius est insecutus. Huic ita plausum est, ut salva re publica Pompeio plaudi solebat. Tulit Caesar graviter. Litterae Capuam ad Pompeium volare dicebantur. Inimici erant equitibus, qui Curioni stantes plauserant, hostes omnibus. Rosciae legi, etiam frumentariae, minitabantur. Sane res erat perturbata. Equidem malueram, quod erat susceptum ab illis, silentio transiri, sed vereor ne non liceat. Non ferunt homines, quod videtur esse tamen ferendum. Sed est iam una vox omnium, magis odio firmata quam praesidio. 4. Noster autem Publius mihi minitatur [inimicus est]: impendit negotium, ad quod tu scilicet advolabis. Videor mihi nostrum illum consularum exercitum bonorum omnium, etiam satis bonorum, habere firmissimum. Pompeius significat studium erga me non mediocre. Idem adfirmat verbum de me illum non esse facturum: in quo non me ille fallit, sed ipse fallitur. Cosconio mortuo sum in eius locum invitatus. Id erat vocari in locum mortui. Nihil me turpius apud

*mortuo plausu*] either (1) 'when the applause had died away;' or (2) 'amid feeble applause,' like *intermortuis coniu rationis reliquiis*, Att. i. 14, 4.

*Curio*] was applauded on account of his well-known hostility to the triumvirate: *ipse vero mirandum in modum reges odisse superbos*, Att. ii. 8, 1.

*Litterae Capuam*] Pompeius was now in Campania, as one of the xxviri. Otherwise, probably, Diphilus would not have dared to refer to him so openly.

*dicebantur*] 'The report is that despatches are being sent post haste to Pompeius. The triumvirs are offended with the knights who stood up to applaud Curio, and are taking hostile measures against the whole community. They are threatening the abrogation of the Roscian and the corn-law. There is a very violent feeling abroad. I used to wish that their acts should be passed over in silence; but I fear it is impossible. The public cannot brook their government, and yet it seems there is no help for it. There is but one expression of feeling in the mouth of everyone; but it rests rather on the strength of men's hatred for the triumvirs than on the possession of any real force to resist them.' *Dicebantur, erant, plauserant*, &c., are all *epistolary* tenses: see Madv. Gram. § 345. *Inimicus* is 'one who is ill disposed to another;' *hostis*,

'one who has recourse to open acts of hostility:' cf. Fin. v. 29, quotiescunque dicitur male de se quis mereri, sibique esse inimicus atque hostis, vitam denique fugere (Boot). The *Lex Roscia* provided fourteen rows of seats in the theatre for the Equites, 687 (b. c. 67). *Lex Cassia Terentia*, here called *frumentaria*, passed in 681 (b. c. 73), provided for the sale of corn at certain fixed rates. The first law was acceptable to the knights but not to the people, who might therefore have been gratified but for the threatened abrogation of the second.

*stantes*] cp. *stantes ei manibus passis gratias agentes et lacrimantes gaudio . . . benevolentiam declararunt*, Sest. 117; *stantique in plausum tota theatra fremunt*, Prop. iii. 18, 18.

4. *illum non esse facturum*] sc. Clodium. *ipse fallitur*] Cicero now knows that he has to apprehend hostility from Clodium, but does not seem to be at all alarmed by the prospect.

*Cosconius*] one of the xxviri.

*vocari in locum mortui*] These words might be (1) 'to die,' (2) 'to succeed a dead man in his office.' Cicero plays on these two meanings, because to succeed such an obscure person as a member of so large a body would be so humiliating to him that he might look on it as his political death. This is Orelli's explanation.

homines fuisset, neque vero ad istam ipsam ἀσφάλειαν quidquam alienius. Sunt enim illi apud bonos invidiosi, ego apud improbos meam retinuissem invidiam, alienam adsumpsissem. 5. Caesar me sibi vult esse legatum. Honestior declinatio haec periculi. Sed ego hoc non repudio. Quid ergo est? Pugnare malo. Nihil tamen certi. Iterum dico, utinam adesses! Sed tamen, si erit necesse, arcessemus. Quid aliud? quid? Hoc, opinor: certi sumus perisse omnia. Quid enim ἀκκιζόμεθα tam diu? Sed haec scripsi properans et mehercule timide. Posthac ad te aut, si perfidelem habebo cui dem, scribam plane omnia, aut, si obscure scribam, tu tamen intelleges. In iis epistolis me Laelium, te Furium faciam: cetera erunt ἐν ἀνιγμοῖς. Hic Caecilium colimus et observamus diligenter. Edicta Bibuli audio ad te missa. Iis ardet dolore et ira noster Pompeius.

One would have expected *id erat vere vocari in locum mortui*, or some such corroborative particle, e. g. *sane*. Cicero thinks very little of the dignity of the xxviri. Perhaps *mortui* has also the meaning of *weak, feeble*, which Manutius ascribes to it in *mortuo plausu* above. Cosconius would have been in one sense *mortuus* even before he died.

*apud homines*] 'in the world,' 'on the face of the earth:' see note on Att. i. 19, 10.

*istam ipsam ἀσφάλειαν*] 'that very safety that you recommend to me:' see above, 'dignitatis ἀλὶς . . . salutis, si me amas, consule.'

*illi*] the xxviri.

5. *Caesar me sibi vult*] 'Caesar wishes me to be his lieutenant: this would be a more dignified way of avoiding the danger of a rupture with Clodius, than to accept a place among the xxviri. But I do not wish to avoid this danger.' *Refugio* is Wesenberg's correction for *repudio*. But this is quite unnecessary. *Non* of the ms. is rashly replaced by *nunc* in many edd.

ἀκκιζόμεθα] said to be derived from

Ἀκκῶ, a vain woman who used to converse with her own image in the looking-glass (Suidas). 'To pretend indifference, to be coy,' L. and S.; προσποιῇ μωρίαν καὶ τὸ μὴ εἶδέναι, Schol. ad Plat. Gorg. 497A. Perhaps we might fuse together all the traditions by rendering, 'What else have I to say? what else? Only this, I believe. I am quite sure all is lost. For why should I coquet with the matter any longer?' Fick, i. 7, says that ἀκκῶ was a *Lallwort* or pet name.

*Laelium*] See note on Fam. v. 7, 3, above, where Cicero says he would wish to play Laelius to Pompeius' Scipio.

*Caecilium*] Atticus' uncle: Att. i. 1, 4.

*Edicta*] issued by Bibulus from his house, declaring the acts of Caesar null and void, also violently inveighing against Pompeius: see Att. ii. 21, 4, *Archilochia* edicta. Pompeius seems to have been extremely indignant at these edicts, which Caesar, on the other hand, received with supreme indifference.

*Iis*] ablative, governed by *dolet* implied in *ardet dolore*, though *irascitur* implied in *ardet ira* would govern a dative.

## XLVII. TO ATTICUS, IN EPIRUS (ATT. II. 20).

ROME, A. U. C. 695 ; B. C. 59 ; AET. CIC. 47.

De hominibus familiaribus, de Cn. Pompeii in se animo, de re publica, de qua non vult scribere nisi admodum caute, prorsus deperdita, de Bibulo, de signis, quibus vult uti in litteris, de hereditate Diodoti, de comitiis dilatis, de Vibii libris.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Anicato, ut te velle intellexeram, nullo loco defui. Numesium ex litteris tuis studiose scriptis libenter in amicitiam recepi. Caecilium quibus rebus par est tueor diligenter. Varro satis facit nobis. Pompeius amat nos carosque habet. Credis? inquires. Credo: prorsus mihi persuadet. Sed quia volgo *πραγματικοί* homines omnibus historiis, praeceptis, versibus denique cavere iubent et vetant credere, alterum facio, ut caveam, alterum, ut non credam, facere non possum. 2. Clodius adhuc mihi denuntiat periculum. Pompeius adfirmat non esse periculum: adiurat: addit etiam se prius occisum iri ab eo quam me violatum iri. Tractatur res. Simul et quid erit certi, scribam ad te. Si erit pugnandum, arcessam ad societatem laboris: si quies dabitur, ab Amalthea te non commovebo. 3. De re publica breviter ad te scribam. Iam

1. *Varro*] Varro appears from subsequent letters to have been engaged in promoting good feeling between Cicero and Pompeius.

*volgo*] is the conjecture of Bücheler for *volo* of M.

*πραγματικοί*] 'practical men,' 'men of the world.' The *pragmatici*, properly so called, were those who acted as a sort of attorneys to the orators, a disreputable class among the Greeks, but highly respectable in Rome: De Or. i. 198. The meaning is 'practical men;' and therefore it is much better to give the Greek word with Orelli, instead of the *pragmatici* of M. This *codex* very frequently presents Greek words in Latin characters. For *φιλοθέωρον*, Fam. vii. 16, 1, *philoteorum* appears in M. For this reason I read *λόχον* for *locum* in Att. iv. 4a, 2. *Pragmatici* does not mean practical men;'

*πραγματικοί* means (1) the same as *pragmatici*, as in De Or. i. 198; (2) 'practical men' as here, and this sense does not belong to *pragmatici*.

*versibus*] probably an allusion to *ῥάφε καὶ μέννασ' ἀπιστεῖν*, κ.τ.λ., quoted Att. i. 19, 8, and referred to by Quintus above, Ep. xii. § 39.

2. *Tractatur res*] 'The negotiations have commenced' (between Pompeius and Clodius for the protection of Cicero).

*Simul et*] This is the reading of the mss. Madvig supposes that Cicero wrote *simul* = 'as soon as,' and that the copyist, not knowing that *simul* could mean 'as soon as,' wrote *simul et*. But surely he would have written the familiar *simul ac*. *Simul et* is found again in these letters in three places. I believe, therefore, that *simul et* is a correct alternative form for *simul ac*, or that we should read *simul ut*

enim charta ipsa ne nos prodat pertimesco. Itaque posthac, si erunt mihi plura ad te scribenda, ἀλληγορίαις obscurabo. Nunc quidem novo quodam morbo civitas moritur, ut, cum omnes ea, quae sunt acta, improbent, querantur, doleant, varietas nulla in re sit, aperteque loquantur et iam clare gemant, tamen medicina nulla adferatur: neque enim resisti sine internecione posse arbitramur nec videmus qui finis cedendi praeter exitium futurus sit. 4. Bibulus hominum admiratione et benevolentia in caelo est. Edicta eius et contiones describunt et legunt. Novo quodam genere in summam gloriam venit. Populare nunc nihil tam est quam odium popularium. 5. Haec quo sint eruptura timeo. Sed, si dispicere quid coepero, scribam ad te apertius. Tu, si me amas tantum, quantum profecto amas, expeditus facito ut sis, si inelamaro, ut accurras. Sed do operam et dabo ne sit necesse. Quod scripseram me te Furium scripturum, nihil necesse est tuum nomen mutare. Me faciam Laelium et te Atticum, neque utar meo chirographo neque signo: si modo erunt eius modi litterae quas in alienum incidere nolim. 6. Diodotus mortuus est: reliquit nobis HS fortasse† centiens. Comitia Bibulus cum Archilochio edicto in ante diem xv. Kal. Novembr. distulit. A Vibio libros accepi: poëta ineptus, nec tamen scit nihil et est non inutilis. Describo et remitto.

with Lambinus; but I do not think we should read *simul* or *simul ac*.

3. ἀλληγορίαις] 'under covert language.' The classical Greek word for this is ὑπόνοια, Plat. Rep. 378 D.

novo quodam morbo] See Att. ii. 18. 1, where Cicero says that people's feelings, are unrestrained, but their action is fettered.

4. Edicta eius] When Bibulus posts up his edicts, people at once take copies of them and read them to their friends. Else there is a ὕστερον πρότερον here.

novo quodam genere] 'he has achieved distinction in a sphere peculiar to himself. Nothing now is so popular as hatred of the populares' (the triumvirs).

5. quo sint eruptura timeo] 'I have my fears about the issue of all this:' cf. Att. iii. 8, 2, quid agatur timeo.

do operam] For the first time he expresses a desire to avoid the struggle with Clodius.

neque utar] 'I shall not employ either

my own handwriting or seal, that is, if my letters are of such a sort that I should be sorry that they came into wrong hands.'

6. HS fortasse centiens] 10,000,000 sesterces, about £85,000. It is very unlikely that he should thus announce ὀδοῦ πάρεργον (en passant) such a very large bequest, or that Diodotus, a Stoic who was for a long time an inmate of Cicero's house, should have possessed such a sum. We should probably read *centum*, with Malaspina, understanding *sestertia centum*, about £850: see Introd. § 2.

Archilochio] Ἀρχιλοχίῳ—'a scathing edict.'

libros] the works of Alexander of Ephesus (who wrote a *Cosmographia*), as appears from Att. ii. 22, 7. Cicero is therefore still engaged on his *Geographia*. Wesenberg would read *Alexandri*, which he supposes to have dropped out after *accepi*.

poëta ineptus] 'He is a poor versifier,

## XLVIII. TO ATTICUS, IN EPIRUS (ATT. II. 21).

ROME, A. U. C. 695; B. C. 59; AET. CIC. 47.

De misera rei publicae condicione, de Cn. Pompeio nimio opere adfecto et depresso, de Bibulo nunc quidem gloriae pleno, de Clodio sibi inimico et de spe sua.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. De re publica quid ego tibi subtiliter? Tota periit atque hoc est miserior, quam reliquisti, quod tum videbatur eius modi dominatio civitatem oppressisse, quae iucunda esset multitudini, bonis autem ita molesta, ut tamen sine pernicie; nunc repente tanto in odio est omnibus, ut quorsus eruptura sit horreamus. Nam iracundiam atque intemperantiam illorum sumus experti, qui Catoni irati omnia perdiderunt. Sed ita lenibus uti videbantur venenis, ut posse videremur sine dolore interire. Nunc vero sibilis vulgi, sermonibus honestorum, fremitu Italiae vereor ne exarserint. 2. Equidem sperabam, ut saepe etiam loqui tecum solebam, sic orbem rei publicae esse conversum, ut vix sonitum audire, vix impressam orbitam videre possemus, et fuisset ita, si homines transitum tempestatis expectare potuissent, sed cum diu occulte suspirassent, postea iam gemere, ad extremum vero loqui omnes et clamare coeperunt. 3. Itaque ille amicus noster, inso-

but he has a good deal of information, and is useful to me. I mean to copy him out, and to send the book back.' *Poëta* is in itself a slighting expression, as is observed by Teuffel in noticing that Cicero applies the term *poëmata*, not *carmina*, to the poetry of Lucretius.

1. *subtiliter*] 'in detail:' he uses also the expressions *κατὰ μέρος*, *κατὰ λεπτόν*. The first of these expressions is a parallel to the etymological meaning of *subtiliter*. *quam reliquisti*] Cf. Att. i. 16, 11. *eruptura sit*] Bosius would read *eruptura sint*, comparing Att. ii. 22, 6, *videntur haec aliquo eruptura*.

*illorum*] the triumvirs, who, if not driven to violence by the obstinate and unintelligent conservatism of Cato, might have kept within the limits of the constitution.

*ita . . . ut*] 'poisons so slow that;' this consecutive use of *ita . . . ut* is to be

distinguished from the cases in which the consecution is much less plainly marked, as above in *ita molesta ut tamen sine pernicie*, 'while galling, yet not fatal,' with which cp. *ita non sola virtute finem bonorum contineri putant ut rebus tamen omnibus virtutem antepoñant*, Fin. iv. 49.

2. *Equidem sperabam*] 'I hoped—as I used to say to you—that the wheel of state had turned so gently (that the political revolution had been so gradual) that we could hardly hear its sound as it moved—could hardly see the track which it made:' see Att. ii. 9, 1.

3. *Itaque ille amicus*] 'Therefore our friend (Pompeius) unused to disrepute, having always lived in an atmosphere of eulogy and triumph, now, disfigured in person, broken in spirit, knows not what to do; he sees that to advance is dangerous; to retreat, weak.' *Reditum*, i. e. *ad optimates a Caesare*. *Infamiae* is the geni-



lens infamiae, semper in laude versatus, circumfluens gloria, deformatus corpore, fractus animo, quo se conferat nescit: progressum praecipitem, inconstantem reditum videt: bonos inimicos habet, improbos ipsos non amicos. Ac vides mollitiem animi. Non tenui lacrimas, cum illum a. d. VIII. Kal. Sext. vidi de edictis Bibuli contionantem. Qui antea solitus esset iactare se magnificentissime illo in loco, summo cum amore populi, cunctis faventibus, ut ille tum humilis, ut demissus erat, ut ipse etiam sibi, non iis solum, qui aderant, displicebat! 4. O spectaculum uni Crasso iucundum, ceteris non item! nam, quia deciderat ex astris, lapsus quam progressus potius videbatur, et, ut Apelles si Venerem aut Protogenes si Ialysum illum suum caeno oblitum videret, magnum, credo, acciperet dolorem, sic ego hunc omnibus a me pictum et politum artis coloribus subito deformatum non sine magno dolore vidi. Quamquam nemo putabat propter Clodianum negotium me illi amicum esse debere, tamen tantus fuit amor, ut exhauriri nulla posset iniuria. Itaque Archilochia in

tive; so also in *insuetus contumeliae*, § 4, *contumeliae* is the genitive; as in the phrases *insolens libertatis*, *insolens malarum artium*. *Deformatus* perhaps refers to the ulcer in his leg, to conceal which he wore the *fasciae*, which Cicero, above, says he does not like (Att. ii. 3, 1). However, he afterwards remarks that his distress had told on his appearance, *tabescat dolore*.

*vides*] I have corrected *vide*, as on Att. ii. 5, 2.

*mollitiem*] 'you observe how easily moved I am:' cf. Att. i. 17, 2, *quam mollis animus et ad accipiendam et ad deponendam offensionem*, where *mollis* is used in a slightly different sense.

4. *O spectaculum*] In order to import a proper sequence of thought we must suppose that *nam* marks an ellipse, as in Att. ii. 19, 3. For, after *ceteris non item*, Cicero does not assign any reason why *others*, but only why he himself, felt distressed at seeing Pompeius in such a position. If, therefore, the text is sound, we must suppose some such ellipse as *mihi minime*. Crassus, though now in coalition with Pompeius, was formerly on bad terms with him. Cicero says, 'O what a sight! pleasing to Crassus alone, but not so to others [least of all to me]; for, falling as he did from the very zenith of glory, he seemed to me rather to have slipped by chance into his coalition

with Caesar, than to have entered it of set purpose, and, as Apelles, if he saw his Venus smeared with mud (or Protogenes his Ialysus), would doubtless feel deep chagrin, so I could not, without bitter distress, look on the disfigurement of him on whose adornment and embellishment I had lavished all the resources of my art.' If it be preferred to take *videbatur* as referring to the impressions of the public in general, then the ellipse must come further on—'not so to others, who looked on his coalition with Caesar as the result of chance rather than purpose [still less to me], who looked on his disfigurement as Apelles would look on the disfigurement of his Venus, or Protogenes of his Ialysus.' For the phrase *lapsus quam progressus potius* (which, by the way, affords an instance of *hyperbaton* not unusual in these letters), Boot aptly compares *or. pro Deiot.* 10, *neque ille odio tui progressus, sed errore communi lapsus est*.

*Venerem*] Probably the Coan Venus to which Cicero often refers, *e.g.* in a letter to Lentulus (Fam. i. 9, 15). Boot thinks he refers to the Venus Anadyomene, because the Coan Venus was unfinished. But this is to refine too much. Ialysus, the eponym of Ialysus in Rhodes, grandson of Helios.

*propter Clodianum negotium*] because Pompeius was *auspex* at the adoption.

illum edicta Bibuli populo ita sunt iucunda, ut eum locum, ubi proponuntur, prae multitudine eorum, qui legunt, transire nequeamus, ipsi ita acerba, ut tabescat dolore, mihi mehercule molesta, quod et eum, quem semper dilexi, nimis excruciant et timeo tam vehemens vir tamque acer in ferro et tam insuetus contumeliae ne omni animi impetu dolori et iracundiae pareat. 5. Bibuli qui sit exitus futurus nescio. Ut nunc res se habet, admirabili gloria est: qui cum comitia in mensem Octobrem distulisset, quod solet ea res populi voluntatem offendere, putarat Caesar oratione sua posse impelli contionem, ut iret ad Bibulum: multa cum seditiosissime diceret, vocem exprimere non potuit. Quid quaeris? Sentiunt se nullam ullius partis voluntatem tenere: eo magis vis nobis est timenda. 6. Clodius inimicus est nobis. Pompeius confirmat eum nihil esse facturum contra me. Mihi periculosum est credere: ad resistendum me paro. Studia spero me summa habiturum omnium ordinum. Te cum ego desidero, tum vero res ad tempus illud vocat. Plurimum consilii, animi, praesidii denique mihi, si te ad tempus videro, accesserit. Varro mihi satis facit: Pompeius loquitur divinitus. Spero nos aut cum summa gloria etiam aut certe sine molestia discessuros. Tu quid agas, quem ad modum te oblectes, quid cum Sicyoniiis egeris ut sciam cura.

5. *iret ad Bibulum*] 'to go (in a menacing way) to the house of Bibulus,' to endeavour to induce him not to postpone the comitia. cp. *euntem ad hostem*, Liv. xlii. 49.

*vocem*] sc. against Bibulus, or in assent to himself.

6. *divinitus*] cf. Att. i. 16, 9. *discessuros*] 'get out of the business.' This verb is used *impersonally* in the same sense, *ut possiet discedi* ut Ter. Phorm. v. 2, 8. M has *spero nos aut certe cum summa gloria aut etiam sine mol. disc.* The correction of Klotz given in the text is generally accepted, and is certainly in accordance with Cicero's habitual use of *aut certe*; however, Hofmann, preserving

the ms. reading, gives a very fair sense:— 'I hope that either on the one hand, if it should come to a struggle, I shall be certain of a glorious victory; or that, on the other, there may be no struggle, and so I may even remain unmolested.' For this sense of *certe*, he compares Verr. iii. 104, *cum se certe decessurum videret*. In defence of the ms reading, it should be remembered that Cicero might well look on the avoidance of the struggle altogether as the more desirable of the two alternatives; but Klotz's reading implies that a victorious issue of that struggle is the one which most commends itself to Cicero.

## XLIX. TO ATTICUS, IN EPIRUS (ATT. II. 22).

ROME, A. U. C. 695; B. C. 59; AET. CIC. 47.

M. Cicero maximo opere cupere se scribit Atticum Romae adesse. Nam se nescire quid P. Clodius acturus sit. Pompeium quidem cum isto vehementer de se egisse, et ita egisse, ut iste denique concessisse dicatur, se tamen omnia parare: rem publicam se nulla ex parte attingere, in causis et in illa sua opera forensi versari et gratia multorum florere: si Atticus adveniat, sibi omnia expedita fore et in eo adventu se omnem spem suam ponere, de rei publicae statu desperato, de rebus domesticis ac familiaribus.

## CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Quam vellem Romae mansisses! Mansisses profecto si haec fore putassemus. Nam Pulchellum nostrum facillime teneremus aut certe quid esset factururus scire possemus. Nunc se res sic habet: volitat, furit, nihil habet certi: multis denuntiat: quod fors obtulerit, id acturus videtur. Cum videt quo sit in odio status hic rerum, in eos, qui haec egerunt, impetum factururus videtur: cum autem rursus opes eorum et exercitus recordatur, convertit se in bonos. Nobis autem ipsis tum vim tum iudicium minatur. 2. Cum hoc Pompeius egit, et, ut ad me ipse referebat—alium enim habeo neminem testem—vehementer egit, cum diceret in summa se perfidiae et sceleris infamia fore, si mihi periculum crearetur ab eo, quem ipse armasset, cum plebeium fieri passus esset: fidem recepissee sibi et ipsum et Appium de me:

1. *Mansisses*] The second *mansisses*, which is not in the mss, was supplied by Bosius—an excellent correction. But perhaps Malaspina's is still better—*Quam vellem Romae! Mansisses profecto*. Violent ellipses are very characteristic of Cicero's letters: see Introd. I<sup>2</sup>, p. 70. We have one in § 2, *avebat illum primo sane diu multa contra* (sc. dixisse), and another in § 5, *si ante* (sc. te videro) quam ille inerat magistratum.

*teneremus*] 'we should hold in control:' cf. Att. ii. 18, 1, and *tenent* at § 6 of this letter.

*denuntiat*] This word used *absolutely* ought to mean, 'to subpoena as witness' (the words *alicui testimonium* being understood): see Flacc. 35, *non denuntiavi*.

This meaning seems to be out of place here; we should therefore, perhaps, read *multa denuntiat* or *vim multis denuntiat*: cf. Att. ii. 23, 3, *terrores iacit atque denuntiat* (Boot).

*Cum videt*] This should make us reconsider the question whether the object of Clodius in seeking the tribunate was *altogether* the persecution of Cicero, and whether his professed purpose of resisting Caesar was not to some extent sincere. Or is he now elaborately playing a part, still to deceive Cicero?

*eorum et exercitus*] 'The strength and the armies of Caesar and Pompeius.'

2. *Fidem recepissee*] 'had pledged themselves with respect to me.' The mss have *sed fidem*, which was first

hanc si ille non servaret, ita laturum, ut omnes intellegerent nihil sibi antiquius amicitia nostra fuisse. Haec et in eam sententiam cum multa dixisset, aiebat illum primo sane diu multa contra, ad extremum autem manus dedisse et adfirmasse nihil se contra eius voluntatem esse facturum. Sed postea tamen ille non destitit de nobis asperrime loqui. Quod si non faceret, tamen ei nihil crederemus atque omnia, sicut facimus, pararemus. 3. Nunc ita nos gerimus, ut in dies singulos et studia in nos hominum et opes nostrae augeantur. Rem publicam nulla ex parte attingimus, in causis atque in illa opera nostra forensi summa industria versamur. Quod egregie non modo iis, qui utuntur [opera], sed etiam in vulgus gratum esse sentimus. Domus celebratur, occurritur, renovatur memoria consulatus, studia significantur, in eam spem adducimur, ut nobis ea contentio, quae impendet, interdum non fugienda videatur. 4. Nunc mihi et consiliis opus est tuis et amore et fide. Qua re advola. Expedita mihi erunt omnia, si te habebo. Multa per Varronem nostrum agi possunt, quae te urgente erunt firmiora, multa ab ipso Publio elici, multa cognosci, quae tibi occulta esse non poterunt: multa etiam—sed absurdum est singula explicare, cum ego requiram te ad omnia. 5. Unum illud tibi persuadeas velim, omnia mihi fore explicata, si te videro: sed totum est in eo, si ante, quam ille ineat magistratum. Puto Pompeium Crasso

expelled by Lambinus; it arose from a dittography, *passus esset set*. For the phrase, cf. Fam. i. 9, 9, *quid sibi is de me recepisset in memoriam redegit*, and Cat. iii. 10, *quae sibi legati eorum recepissent*.

*ita laturum*] sc. *tam agere*, 'he would be so annoyed that.'

*antiquius*] 'more important,' so *πρεσβύτερον* in Greek.

3. *Rem publicam nulla ex parte*] 'I take no part whatever in politics:' cf. Att. i. 13, 2, *nihil agens cum republica*.

*opera . . . forensi*] the speeches for Antonius (his old colleague), for Thermus, and for Flaccus, are the only speeches of this year of which we have any record. The two first mentioned are lost.

4. *Varronem*] M. Terentius Varro.

*Publio elici*] See § 1, *quid esset facturum scire possemus . . . nihil habet certi . . . videtur*.

5. *sed totum est in eo, si*] 'but everything depends on your coming before he

enters on his tribunate:' cf. Q. Fr. iii. 1, 1, *totum in eo est ut tectorium concinnum sit*.

*Puto Pompeium*] 'I think if you are here while Crassus is egging on Pompeius against me, you, who by means of Clodia, could discover from Clodius himself how far the professions of the Triumvirs are sincere—then, I think, I shall be free from annoyance, or at least from any misapprehension about my real position.' So this must be translated, if the text be preserved. Yet *Pompeium Crasso urgente* can hardly be translated, as I have rendered it. On the other hand, *ipso* cannot refer to Crassus. If this were possible, the sentence would be easy. 'As it is Crassus who is the real instigator of Pompeius against me, you will be able to find out from him, through Clodia, how far they are sincere in their promises of protection of me.' But what has Clodia to do with Crassus? *Ipsa* must be Clodius, 'my open foe,' as opposed to his covert instigators. Even if

urgente, si tu aderis, qui per  $\beta\omicron\omega\pi\iota\nu$  ex ipso intellegere possis qua fide ab illis agatur, nos aut sine molestia aut certe sine errore futuros. Precibus nostris et cohortatione non indiges. Quid mea voluntas, quid tempus, quid rei magnitudo postulet intellegis. 6. De re publica nihil habeo ad te scribere, nisi summum odium omnium hominum in eos, qui tenent omnia. Mutationis tamen spes nulla. Sed, quod facile sentias, taedet ipsum Pompeium vehementerque paenitet. Non provideo satis quem exitum futurum putem. Sed certe videntur haec aliquo eruptura. 7. Libros Alexandri, neglegentis hominis et non boni poëtae, sed tamen non inutilis, tibi remisi. Numerium Numestium libenter accepi in amicitiam et hominem gravem et prudentem et dignum tua commendatione cognovi.

Clodia had any secret intrigue or influence with Crassus, it would be absurd to employ her to sound Crassus, when she might go to her own brother, as Cicero frequently suggests in his other letters. This is the first time that he mentions that Crassus is taking part against him. He might have written something like this, *puto Pompeium a Crasso URGERI, AT, si tu, &c.* Schütz suggests *puto Pompeio Crassum urgente*; but explains as if Clodia had some influence with Crassus. This reading might, however, bear a better sense than Schütz himself gives to it: 'I think, what with the good offices of Pompeius with Crassus, that if you were present—who, by means of Clodia, could get information from the fountain-head—(Clodius himself)—I should be free from persecution, or at least from misapprehension of my real position.' For *ipso*, referring to the chief person, cp. *Jur. v. 114*, where *ipsum* refers to the host; and the well-known *ipse dixit* =  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$   $\epsilon\pi\alpha$ , Quintil. xi. 127.

So  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  is Socrates, Aristoph. Nub. 219.

6. *habeo*] 'I can' =  $\epsilon\chi\omega$  in such phrases as  $\omicron\upsilon\kappa$   $\epsilon\chi\omega$   $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\iota\nu$  =  $\omicron\upsilon$   $\delta\acute{\upsilon}\nu\alpha\mu\alpha\iota$ : cf. *Fam. i. 5a, 3, habeo polliceri*; *Nat. Deor. iii. 93, dicere habui*. 'I have nothing to write' would of course be *nihil habeo quod scribam*; and *non habeo scribere*, 'I cannot write anything.' *Non habeo quid scribam* is, 'I don't know what to write:' cf. *quid agam non habeo, Att. vii. 19*, where we also find *nihil habeo quod scribam*.

*tenent omnia*] 'are masters of the situation.' See *Att. ii. 18, 1*.

*eruptura*] See last letter, § 1.

7. *prudentem*] often rashly corrected to *pudentem*, as if *prudētia* and *gravitas* were not fitly predicated together. They are coupled in *Or. i. 38, Gracchorum pater homo prudens et gravis*. Conversely (in *Herm. vol. ii. p. 109*), I have vindicated *pudentius* of the mss from a change to *prudēntius* on *Att. vii. 2, 4*.

## L. TO ATTICUS, IN EPIRUS (ATT. II 23).

ROME, A. U. C. 695; B. C. 59; AET. CIC. 47.

De epistola propter summam occupationem in ambulando dictata, de Cn. Pompeii illiusque partis misera condicione, de ratione sua vivendi, quam iam superiore epistola exposuerat, de P. Clodio sibi minante, de adventu Attici ardentissime a se exspectato.

## CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Numquam ante arbitror te epistolam meam legisse nisi mea manu scriptam. Ex eo colligere poteris quanta occupatione distinear. Nam cum vacui temporis nihil haberem et cum recreandae voculae causa necesse esset mihi ambulare, haec dictavi ambulans. 2. Primum igitur illud te scire volo, Sampsiceramum, nostrum amicum, vehementer sui status paenitere restituique in eum locum cupere, ex quo decedit, doloremque suum impertire nobis et medicinam interdum aperte quaerere: quam ego posse inveniri nullam puto: deinde omnes illius partis auctores ac socios, nullo adversario, consensescere, consensionem universorum nec voluntatis nec sermonis maiorem umquam fuisse. 3. Nos autem—nam id te scire cupere certo scio—publicis consiliis nullis intersumus totosque nos ad forensem operam laboremque contulimus. Ex quo, quod facile intellegi possit, in multa commemoratione earum rerum, quas gessimus, desiderioque versamur. Sed βωπιδος nostrae consanguineus non mediocres terrores iacit atque denuntiat, et Sampsiceram negat, ceteris prae se fert et ostentat. Quam ob

1. *Numquam ante*] See Att. ii. 20, 5, neque utar meo chirographo, neque signo.  
*recreandae voculae*] 'my poor voice,' tried by the *opera forensis* to which he referred in last letter: cf. *muliercula*, 'a wretched woman.' See also on Att. ii. 1, 8, where I have suggested that *Romulae* might mean, 'our poor degenerate Rome.' Cp. *nepotulus*, Pl. Mil. 1413.

2. *Sampsiceramum*] The name of an Emir in Coele Syria, often applied to Pompeius. Vogüé (*Syrie centrale. Inscriptions Sémitiques*, n. 75), translates the word *Solis robur*. Sampsiceramus was the king of Arethusa and Emesa.  
*decedit*] See ii. 21, 4.

*nullo adversario, consensescere*] 'the cause (of the triumvirs) is dying a natural death. Never was such an unanimity both of feeling and expression against any party.'

3. *Ex quo . . . versamur*] 'which (sc. the *labor forensis*) entails much recounting of my old glories, and painful remembrance of the same.'

*terrores*] is objective: cf. Att. vi. 8, 2, *miros terrores Caesarianos*, 'alarming news about Caesar.' See on Q. Fr. i. 1, 19.

*Sampsiceram negat, ceteris prae se fert*] 'He denies to the Emir, but openly avows to others' (that he is about to take any steps against me).

rem, si me amas tantum, quantum profecto amas: si dormis, expergiscere: si stas, ingredere: si ingrederis, curre: si curris, advola. Credibile non est quantum ego in consiliis et prudentia tua, quodque maximum est, quantum in amore et fide ponam. Magnitudo rei longam orationem fortasse desiderat, coniunctio vero nostrorum animorum brevitate contenta est. Permagni nostra interest te, si comitiis non potueris, at declarato illo esse Romae. Cura ut valeas.

## LI. TO ATTICUS, IN EPIRUS (ATT. II. 24.)

ROME, A. U. C. 695; B. C. 59; AET. CIC. 47.

De summo desiderio Attici, de Vettii indicio falso in Curionem aliosque adolescentes et de senatus consulto in Vettium facto, ut is, quod confessus esset se cum telo fuisse, in vincula coniceretur, de Vettio a C. Caesare in contionem producto eiusque indicio non paullum immutato et in alios homines, Lucullum, C. Domitium, in se quoque converso, de eodem Vettio reo apud Crassum de vi, de condicione vitae suae, de desiderio Attici.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Quas Numestio litteras dedi, sic te iis evocabam, ut nihil acrius neque incitatus fieri posset. Ad illam celeritatem adde etiam, si quid potes. Ac ne sis perturbatus: novi enim te et non ignoro

*quam sit amor omnis sollicitus atque anxius,*

sed res est, ut spero, non tam exitu molesta quam aditu. 2. Vettius ille, ille noster index, Caesari, ut perspicimus, pollicitus est sese

[*quodque maximum*] is to be taken with the subsequent words.

[*comitiis*] for the tribunate which Clodius was seeking.

[*declarato*] when he is declared elected, but before he enters on his office. The election took place in the middle of July, *a. d. xvi Kal. Sext.*, Att. i. 1, 1, but the tribunes did not enter on their office till December 10.

1. [*illam celeritatem*] 'the speed I then enjoined.'

[*quam sit amor*] This is, in my opinion, a verse from some drama: Mr. Jeans very happily renders, 'I cannot forget that to

love *It is to be all made of sighs and tears.* [*aditu*] 'it is turning out in its issue not so distressing as it seemed likely to be at its beginning:' see Adn. Crit.

2. [*Vettius ille, ille noster index*] He had distinguished himself as a spy and informer after the Catiline conspiracy. The true nature of this plot has been variously conceived by different historians. Mr. Watson thus sums up the divergent opinions: 'Mommsen (4, 206) accepts Cicero's account of the affair. The Emperor Napoleon III. (*César* i. 399, foll.) suggests, not improbably, that the plot was devised by some adherents of the triumvirs without the knowledge of their chiefs.

curaturum, ut in aliquam suspicionem facinoris Curio filius adduceretur. Itaque insinuatus in familiaritatem adolescentis et cum eo, ut res indicat, saepe congressus rem in eum locum deduxit, ut diceret sibi certum esse cum suis servis in Pompeium impetum facere eumque occidere. Hoc Curio ad patrem detulit, ille ad Pompeium. Res delata ad senatum est. Introductus Vettius primo negabat se umquam cum Curione constitisse: neque id sane diu: nam statim fidem publicam postulavit. Reclamatum est. Tum exposuit manum fuisse iuventutis duce Curione in qua Paullus initio fuisset et Q. Caepio hic Brutus et Lentulus, flaminis filius, conscio patre: postea C. Septimium, scribam Bibuli, pugionem sibi a Bibulo attulisse: quod totum irrisum est, Vettio

Merivale (i. 196) thinks there was a real plot against the triumvirs among some of the violent young nobles.' Merivale holds that if it had been prompted by the triumvirs, Vettius would not have included Brutus in his charge (§ 2), since his mother, Servilia, was a favourite of Caesar. Abeken holds the same view as Mommsen. Mr. Watson seems to look on the theory of the Emperor Napoleon as the most plausible; and it is (it will be observed) broadly consistent with Cicero's account. Merivale's objection overlooks the fact that Caesar had quite sufficient  *finesse*  to direct Vettius to include Brutus, so as to deceive the public as to the true source of the move. Brutus was afterwards, as we see (§ 3), struck off the list of the accused. Lange virtually takes Napoleon's view, in spite of Suet. Jul. 20, holding that it was Vatinius who concocted the plot, and that it was he who murdered Vettius. Perhaps the truth of the matter is, that a plot was formed against the triumvirs by the young nobles, and when it broke down through the blundering of Vettius, it was at once ascribed to Caesar by the nobles, who believed him  *capable de tout* . Vettius naturally sought to engage young Curio; but Curio would not meddle with murder. But the most absurd of all the theories is one deservedly passed over in silence by Mr. Watson. It is that of Dio Cassius, who boldly names Cicero and Lucullus as the authors of the plot, xxxviii. 9. This and other judgments of Dio go far to show that he can never have read the letters of Cicero. We shall most safely agree with Cicero that the authors of the plot were the triumvirs, who wished

to get rid of some of the leading  *Optimates* . It may be observed that Cicero puts forward the account which he gives of the origin of the plot only as his own theory,  *ut perspicimus, ut res indicat* .

*rem in eum locum* ] 'Vettius went so far as to confess to Curio that he had resolved to attack and slay Pompeius' (hoping by this confession to elicit from Curio some responsive confidence which he might use against him).

*constitisse* ] 'had had a meeting by appointment. This is the reading found on the margin of Cratander's ed.;  *restitisse*  is the Med. reading, but could not have any meaning in this passage.

*fidem publicam* ] 'he demanded that protection which the State guarantees to those who give evidence.' Below, the same thing is expressed in the word  *erat indicium postulaturus* .

*Reclamatum est* ] 'amid cries of No,' Mr. Jeans: cf. Fam. xi. 21, 2; Sest. 126.

*Paullus* ] L. Aemilius Paullus, afterwards consul with Marcellus in 704 (b. c. 50). He was now in Macedonia as quaestor.

*Q. Caepio* ] M. Junius Brutus, who afterwards murdered Caesar. He was adopted by his uncle, Q. Servilius Caepio: hence he is here called Q. Caepio  *hic Brutus* , 'Brutus I mean' being added to make it clear to Atticus who was meant.

*quod totum irrisum* ] 'the whole thing, the idea that Vettius could not get a dagger unless the consul found him one was scoffed at; and the charge was scouted the more because Bibulus had warned Pompeius to be on his guard against a plot to murder him.'  *Eiectum*  is properly



pugionem defuisse, nisi ei consul dedisset, eoque magis id eiectum est, quod a. d. III. Id. Mai. Bibulus Pompeium fecerat certiores ut caveret insidias: in quo ei Pompeius gratias egerat. 3. Introductus Curio filius dixit ad ea, quae Vettius dixerat, maximeque in eo tum quidem Vettius est reprehensus, quod dixerat adolescentium consilium, ut in foro [cum] gladiatoribus Gabinii Pompeium adorirentur: in eo principem Paullum fuisse, quem constabat eo tempore in Macedonia fuisse. Fit senatus consultum, ut Vettius, quod confessus esset se cum telo fuisse, in vincula coniceretur: qui emisisset, eum contra rem publicam esse facturum. Res erat in ea opinione, ut putarent id esse actum, ut Vettius in foro cum pugione et item servi eius comprehenderentur cum telis, deinde ille se diceret indicaturum, idque ita actum esset, nisi Curiones rem ante ad Pompeium detulissent. Tum senatus consultum in conatione recitatum est. Postero autem die Caesar, is, qui olim, praetor cum esset, Q. Catulum ex inferiore loco iusserat dicere, Vettium in rostra produxit, eumque in eo loco constituit, quo Bibulo consuli aspirare non liceret. Hic ille omnia quae voluit de re publica dixit, et, qui illuc factus institutusque venisset, primum Caepionem de oratione sua sustulit, quem in senatu acerrime nominarat, ut appareret noctem et nocturnam deprecationem intercessisse: deinde, quos in senatu ne tenuissima quidem suspicione attigerat, eos nominavit: L. Lucillum, a quo solitum esse ad se mitti C. Fannium,

'driven off the stage:' cp. ἐκβάλλειν, ἐκπύρειν of actors: *explosus* is 'hissed off.' In or. pro Quint. 62, *eiectum* is 'an outcast,' in the most general sense.

3. *gladiatoribus*] 'at the gladiatorial show given by Gabinus.'

*Res erat in ea opinione*] Cicero here gives the general impression about the origin of the plot. It would be very rash to refuse credence to his account, especially as he has nothing to gain by falsifying the matter. For the pleonasm in *in ea opinione ut putarent*, see Madv. 481b. This pleonasm generally involves the use of some part of *facere*, e.g. *faciendum mihi putavi*, ut . . . responderem (Fam. iii. 8, 1) *invitus feci ut e senatu eicerem* (De Sen. 42). We have a very similar pleonasm to the present in Leg. Man. 38, tum facilius *statuetis* quid apud exterarum nationum fieri *existimetis*. A still stronger case is in the fragmentary or. pro Tull. 47, *Lex permittit ut furem noctu liceat occidere*.

*Q. Catulum*] Caesar, in his praetorship, 692 (b. c. 62), had forbidden Catulus to ascend the *rostra* when Catulus was speaking against the proposal to transfer to Pompeius from himself the task of dedicating the rebuilt temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.

*Hic ille*] 'Here he said whatever he (Vettius) pleased.' But I believe that Boot is right in reading, on the suggestion of Orelli, *Hic omnia ille* (sc. Caesar) *quae voluit*, 'he said everything that Caesar wished,' &c.; but I would explain *hic* 'here' (in the Rostra) not as Boot does, *hic* (sc. Vettius).

*qui illuc*] 'as having come there primed and tutored merely (to carry out the instructions of Caesar), he removed the name of Caepio from the list of suspects.' *noctem*] a hint that the influence of Servilia, Brutus' mother, had prevailed with Caesar: cf. for *noctem*, Att. i. 16, 5. *a quo*] 'and that by him.' The infinitive

illum, qui in P. Clodium subscripserat; L. Domitium, cuius domum constitutam fuisse unde eruptio fieret: me non nominavit, sed dixit consularem disertum, vicinum consulis, sibi dixisse Ahalam Servilium aliquem aut Brutum opus esse reperiri. Addidit ad extremum, cum iam dimissa contione revocatus a Vatinius fuisset, se audisse a Curione his de rebus conscium esse Pisonem generum meum et M. Laterensem. 4. Nunc reus erat apud Crassum Divitem Vettius de vi, et, cum esset damnatus, erat indicium postulaturus: quod si impetrasset, iudicia fore videbantur. Ea nos, utpote qui nihil contemnere soleremus, *non contemnebamus, sed non pertimescebamus*. Hominum quidem summa erga nos studia significabantur, sed prorsus vitae taedet: ita sunt omnia omnium miseriarum plenissima. Modo caedem timueramus, quam oratio

tive can be used in a relative clause in *oratio obliqua* only when the relative can be resolved into the demonstrative with *et*; it is the informer who says that Fannius used to be sent to him; it is Cicero who says *qui in P. Clodium subscripserat*, which would necessarily be *subscripsisset*, if it were part of the report of the informer.

*subscripserat*] 'to prosecute,' said either of the chief prosecutor or his associates.

*vicinum consulis*] Cicero lived on the Palatine; Caesar in the Via Sacra, as Pontifex Maximus: Suet. Iul. 46, habitavit primo in Subura modicis aedibus; post autem pontificatum maximum in Sacra Via *domo publica* ('where his official residence was'). Cp. *sufficit una domus*, Juv. xiii. 160, where the satirist says that to one who seeks to know the character of the people a single *public office* will be enough. Dem. Meid. 542, uses *oikia* in this sense.

*Brutus*] who expelled Tarquinius Superbus.

*generum meum*] See Att. i. 3, *fin*.

*Laterensem*] mentioned Att. ii. 18, 2, as giving up his candidature for the tribunate rather than take the oath prescribed to the magistrates about the Campanian land.

4. *Nunc erat*] 'Now he is on his trial; . . . and when he is condemned he will offer to turn evidence.' This is a very good example of epistolary tenses.

*Crassum Divitem*] This is probably not the triumvir, though Klotz supposes it is. It is unlikely that Cicero should here once speak of Crassus as Crassus Dives, while in these letters he has so frequently

mentioned him without any such surname, though Crassus did undoubtedly enjoy this title: see De Fin. iii. 75. But four other Crassi had the surname Dives: (1) P. Licinius Crassus (the father of the triumvir), from whom Cicero bought his house on the Palatine; (2) P. Licinius Crassus, who was consul in 549 (b. c. 205), and died in 571 (b. c. 183); (3) P. Licinius Crassus, consul, 623 (b. c. 131); (4) P. Licinius Crassus, probably one of the praetors for this year, and mentioned by Val. Max.: see on Att. ii. 13, 2. This is probably the Crassus Dives referred to here.

*indicium postulaturus*] 'to demand the right (impunity) guaranteed to an informer.'

*non contemnebamus*] These words were inserted by Wesenberg. This is a case of *parablepsy*. The copyist raised his eyes after writing *soleremus*, and then resumed his task at the second *non*, instead of the first. *Soleremus* is the correction of Klotz for *solemus*. We find cases of *quippe qui, utpote qui*, with the indic. in Plautus, Sallust, and Livy; and *quippe qui . . . revocat* is allowed to stand in Cic. N. D. i. 28. But, if it is to be corrected, *soleremus* is better than *soleamus* of Or. and Wes. Roby does not mention the passage in the De Natura while referring to the others, § 1711.

*caedem*] 'a massacre,' *discusserat*, 'dis-pelled.'

*oratio fortissimi*] Plutarch (Caes. 14) tells us that Censidius accounted for the small attendance of senators by their fear of violence; on Caesar's asking him, why, then, *he* had not stayed at home himself,

fortissimi senis Q. Considii discusserat: ea, quam cotidie timere potueramus, subito exorta est. Quid quaeris? nihil me infelutnatius, nihil fortunatius est Catulo cum splendore vitae tum † hoc tempore. Nos tamen in his miseriis erecto animo et minime perturbato sumus, honestissimeque . . . et dignitatem nostram magna cura tuemur. 5. Pompeius de Clodio iubet nos esse sine cura et summam in nos benevolentiam omni oratione significat. Te habere consiliorum auctorem, sollicitudinum socium, omni in cogitatione coniunctum cupio. Qua re, ut Numestio mandavi, tecum ut ageret, item, atque eo, si potest, acrius, te rogo, ut plane ad nos advoles. Respiraro, si te videro.

## LII. TO ATTICUS, IN EPIRUS (ATT. II. 25).

ROME, A. U. C. 695; B. C. 59; AET. CIC. 47.

M. Cicero Attico significat se velle, si apud eum aliquem ex eius familiaribus laudaret, id eum ad illos scribere, quo magis illi sibi gratificentur: se iam Attici adventum expectare: eo enim sibi in misera rei publicae condicione maxime opus esse videri.

### CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Cum aliquem apud te laudaro tuorum familiarium, volam illum scire ex te me id fecisse, ut nuper me scis scripsisse ad te de Varronis erga me officio, te ad me rescripsisse eam rem summae

Considius replied, *ὅτι με ποιεῖ μὴ φοβεῖσθαι τὸ γῆρας* ὁ γὰρ ἔτι λειπόμενος βίος οὐ πολλῆς, ὀλίγος ὢν, δείται προνοίας.

*ea, quam cotidie*] that is, 'a judicial massacre,' consequent on the informations of Vettius: see above, *iudicia fore videbantur*. See Adn. Crit. for my view of the right reading here.

*nihil*] Another case of ἀβλεψία, precisely similar to the one just quoted; the words *infortunatus nihil* are omitted in the mss.

† *hoc tempore*] *MORTIS tempore* is suggested by Lambinus: *quod tempore* by Orelli. The latter is the more likely to have been corrupted into *hoc tempore*, but then some words like *mortuus est* must be supplied, which can hardly be found in the

context. Boot prefers *mortis tempore*, quoting from De Or. iii. 12, the very similar passage, *ego vero te, Crasse, cum vitae flore tum mortis opportunitate divino consilio et ortum et extinctum esse arbitror*.

*honestissimeque*] See Adn. Crit.

5. *item*] 'as eagerly.'

*si potest*] See on Att. ii. 16, 2.

1. *Cum aliquem . . . satis facere*] 'Whenever I write in praise of any of your friends in my letters to you, I should like that friend to be informed by you that I have done so; for instance, you remember that I mentioned in a letter to you how well Varro had behaved to me, and you replied that you were delighted to hear it.'

tibi voluptati esse. Sed ego mallem ad illum scripsisses mihi illum satis facere, non quo faceret, sed ut faceret. Mirabiliter enim moratus est, sicut nosti, ἐλικάτὰ καὶ οὐδέν . . . Sed nos tenemus praeceptum illud, τὰς τῶν κρατούντων. At hercule alter tuus familiaris, Hortalus, quam plena manu, quam ingenue, quam ornate nostras laudes in astra sustulit, cum de Flacci praetura et de illo tempore Allobrogum diceret! Sic habeto, nec amantius nec honorificentius nec copiosius potuisse dici. Ei te hoc scribere a me tibi esse missum sane volo. 2. Sed quid tu scribas? quem iam ego venire atque adesse arbitror. Ita enim egi tecum superioribus litteris. Valde te exspecto, valde desidero, neque ego magis quam ipsa res et tempus possit. His de negotiis quid scribam ad te nisi idem quod saepe? Re publica nihil desperatius, iis, quorum opera, nihil maiore odio. Nos ut opinio et spes et coniectura nostra fert, firmissima benevolentia hominum muniti sumus. Quare advola: aut expedies nos omni molestia aut eris particeps. Ideo sum brevior, quod, ut spero, coram brevi tempore conferre quae volumus licebit. Cura ut valeas.

Now, I would rather you had written to him that his conduct met my approval, not that it really did, but so that he might make it do so.<sup>1</sup> This Varro, the great antiquarian, historian, and didactic poet of the Republic, does not appear here in a very favourable light. He is shifty and cunning; but he must be treated with consideration, for he is a close friend of Pompeius.

*non quo faceret*] sc. *satis*, 'not that he (really) did act to my satisfaction, but in order that he might do so in future.' *Non quin* is also used as well as *non quo* to exclude a possible inference from something already said, as in *De Or. ii. 295*, *non tam ut prosim caussis elaborare soleo*, quam ne obsim; *non quin* enitendum sit in utroque. Of course *non quin* is negative.

*moratus*] 'he has a very strange disposition, as you know; a tortuous mind, and no—you know the rest. I, however,

know too well the proverb, *needs must*.' ἐλικάτὰ καὶ οὐδέν ὄγλις ἀλλὰ πᾶν περίξ φρονούντες are the words in which Andromache inveighs against the Spartans (*Eur. And. 448*).

τὰς τῶν κρατούντων] ἀμαθίας φέρειν χρεών, *Eur. Phoen. 393*. Varro was the friend of Pompeius.

*de Flacci praetura*] L. Valerius Flaccus, the subject of the *or. pro Flac.* delivered this year, had assisted Cicero in the suppression of the Catilinarian conspiracy, and now was defended by Cicero and Hortensius (Hortalus) on a charge of embezzlement in the government of Asia.

*missum*] = *nuntiatum*, 'that this was the account I gave you of his speech:' cf. *Fam. v. 20, 1*; *Att. ii. 2, 3*.

2. *scribas*] the *dubitative subjunctive* used in questions: a negative answer is generally expected. Roby, 1610.

*quorum opera*] sc. *desperata est resp.*

## LIII. TO HIS BROTHER QUINTUS, IN ASIA (Q. FR. I. 2).

ROME, A. U. C. 695; B. C. 59; AET. CIC. 47.

De adventu Statii unius de Quinti libertis, hominumque de eo sermonibus scribit. Deinde et Graecorum provincialium et negotiatorum Romanorum de Quinto querellas memorat. Ipse orationis acerbiter et litterarum ad alios missarum indiligentiam fugiendam censet. L. Flavii, praetoris des., querellas exponit et suas obiurgationes excusat. Attali Hypaepeni et Aesopi tragoedi negotium commendat. De rei publicae condicione et de sua Clodii vincendi spe addit.

## MARCUS QUINTO FRATRI.

I. 1. Statius ad me venit a. d. viii. Kalend. Novembr. Eius adventus, quod ita scripsisti, direptum iri te a tuis, dum is abesset, molestus mihi fuit. Quod autem expectationem sui concursuque eum, qui erat futurus, si una tecum decederet neque antea visus esset, sustulit, id mihi non incommode visum est accidisse. Exhaustus est enim sermo hominum et multae emissae iam eius modi voces, ἀλλ' αἰεί τινα φῶτα μέγαν, quae te absente confecta esse laetor. 2. Quod autem idcirco a te missus est, mihi ut se purgaret, id necesse minime fuit. Primum enim numquam ille mihi fuit suspectus, neque ego, quae ad te de illo scripsi, scripsi meo iudicio, sed cum ratio salusque omnium nostrum, qui ad rem publicam accedimus, non veritate solum, sed etiam fama niteretur, sermones ad te aliorum semper, non mea iudicia perscripsi. Qui quidem quam frequentes essent et quam graves adventu suo Statius ipse cognovit. Etenim intervenit non nullorum querellis, quae apud me de illo ipso habebantur, et sentire potuit sermones iniquorum in suum potissimum nomen erumpere. 3. Quod autem me

1. *Statius*] 'His arrival gave me some concern, because you said in your letter that you would be plundered by your household during his absence. But there was one fortunate circumstance connected with his sudden arrival: it balked the expectant crowds which would have attended him if he had left the province with you, and had not been seen in Rome before your return; the gossip on the subject is now over.'

*decederet*] cp. *deducere*, above, Ep. xxx. § 30.

ἀλλ' αἰεί] τινα φῶτα μέγαν καὶ καλὸν ἐδέγμην. These are the words of Polyphemus about Odysseus, Od. 9, 513. People had heard so much of Statius and his influence with Quintus, that they were disappointed at the insignificance of his appearance.

*quae . . . confecta*] 'I am glad that all this is over before your return.'

2. *ratio*] 'interest: see Att. i. 1, 1.

*intervenit*] 'was present at.'

*erumpere*] 'were vented on.'

3. *Quod autem me*] The meaning of

maxime movere solebat, cum audiebam illum plus apud te posse, quam gravitas illius aetatis, imperii prudentia postulare—quam multos enim mecum egisse putas, ut se Statio commendarem? quam multa autem ipsum ἀφελῶς mecum in sermone ita protulisse: ‘Id mihi non placuit: monui, suasi, deterrui?’ quibus in rebus etiam si fidelitas summa est, quod prorsus credo, quoniam tu ita iudicas, tamen species ipsa tam gratiosi liberti aut servi dignitatem habere nullam potest—atque hoc sic habeto (nihil enim nec temere dicere nec astute reticere debeo), materiam omnem sermonum eorum, qui de te detrahare vellent, Statium dedisse: antea tantum intellegi potuisse, iratos tuae severitati esse non nullos: hoc manu misso, iratis quod loquerentur non defuisse.

II. 4. Nunc respondebo ad eas epistolas, quas mihi reddidit L. Caesius, cui, quoniam ita te velle intellego, nullo loco deero, quarum altera est de Blandeno Zeuxide, quem scribis certissimum matricidam tibi a me intime commendari. Qua de re et de hoc genere toto, ne forte me in Graecos tam ambitiosum factum esse mirere, pauca cognosce. Ego cum Graecorum querellas nimium valere sentirem propter hominum ingenia ad fallendum parata,

this sentence, which is interrupted by a rarely awkward anacoluthon, is this—‘What most of all annoyed me was this: that (the manumission of) Statius should have supplied a basis for the gossip of all those who desired to slander you—that formerly it could merely be perceived that some were annoyed by your severity, but that after his manumission, those who were annoyed were no longer without a subject for their strictures.’ The long parenthesis from *quam multos . . . potest* intervening between *quod autem me movere solebat* and *Statium dedisse*, moved Cicero to change his construction, and apply *Atque hoc sic habeto*, ‘the long and the short of it, is,’ to the support of *Statium dedisse*. Billerbeck looks for the *apodosis* in the words *quibus in rebus . . . potest*; but this would be very weak, and the parenthesis would not be long enough to justify the anacoluthon. For a similar anacoluthon, see Cic. De Am. 2. For *atque*, introducing the *apodosis*, cp. Plaut. Bac. ii. 2, 45; Epid. ii. 2, 35; Most. v. 1, 9; Mer. ii. 1, 32; so Virg. Georg. i. 203.

ἀφελῶς] This word, which seems to me a certain conjecture for ἀσφαλῶς of the mss, has suffered from the fact that

it was at first supposed to be the actual reading of the Med. Orelli reads ἀφελῶς, apparently under this impression; but Klotz, Baiter, &c., on finding that the Med. has ἀσφαλῶς, restore that word, in what sense I cannot guess. But ἀφελῶς is absolutely required by the context. The first time I read this letter, I at once corrected the ἀσφαλῶς of my text to ἀφελῶς, ‘how often did Statius in all naïveté use such expressions as “I did not approve of this,”’ &c., thus unconsciously betraying his excessive influence with Quintus. For ἀφελῶς, cf. Att. i. 18, 1, and vi. 1, 8. protulisse] See Adn. Crit.

dignitatem habere nullam potest] ‘puts you in quite an undignified light.’

4. Blandeno] a native of Blandus, a town in Phrygia, the ruins of which are seen at Shliemanli. Blandus or Blaundus is probably a Persian word meaning *high*. The usual reading is *Blaudeno*, a conjecture of Man., which is not so near the mss reading. See note on *nobiliorem quam civitatem suam* below, § 5.

de hoc genere toto] ‘on the whole subject of my relations with the Greeks’ (Watson).

ambitosum] ‘time-serving;’ *devinxi*, ‘I won him over.’

quoscumque de te queri audivi, quacumque potui ratione placavi. Primum Dionysopolitas, qui erant inimicissimi, lenivi: quorum principem Hermippum non solum sermone meo, sed etiam familiaritate devinxi. Ego Apameensem Hephaestum, ego levissimum hominem, Megaristum Antandrium, ego Niciam Smyrnaeum, ego nugas maximas omni mea comitate complexus sum, Nymphonem etiam Colophonium. Quae feci omnia, non quo me aut hi homines aut tota natio delectaret: pertaesum est levitatis, adsentationis, animorum non officiis, sed temporibus servientium. 5. Sed ut ad Zeuxim revertar, cum is de M. Cascellii sermone secum habito, quae tu scribis, ea ipse loqueretur, obstiti eius sermoni et hominem in familiaritatem recepi. Tua autem quae fuerit cupiditas tanta nescio, quod scribis cupisse te, quoniam Smyrnae duos Mysos insuisses in culleum, simile in superiore parte provinciae edere exemplum severitatis tuae et ideo Zeuxim elicere omni ratione voluisse: quem adductum in iudicium fortasse dimitti non oportuerat, conquiri vero et elici blanditiis, ut tu scribis, ad iudicium necesse non fuit, eum praesertim hominem, quem ego et ex suis civibus et ex multis aliis cotidie magis cognosco † nobiliorem † esse

*nugas maximas*] ‘mere nobodies.’ cf. Att. vi. 3, 2; *nugarum aliquid*, ‘some nobody.’

*non quo*] See on Att. ii. 25, 1.

*animorum*] ‘whose regard is given, not to one’s good conduct towards them, but to one’s position.’

5. *Cascellii sermone*] The conversation of Cascellius with Zeuxis was, no doubt, unfavourable to Quintus. *Obstiti*, ‘I stopped his mouth.’

*quae tu scribis*] Quintus had told his brother in a letter that he was desirous of making an example of Zeuxis, who was *certissimus matricida*, as in the lower part of his province he had inflicted on two Mysians the traditional punishment of parricides, who were sewn up in a sack with a dog, a cock, a serpent, and a monkey, and thrown into the sea. This was the very threat which Cascellius had reported to Zeuxis. Cp. Iuv. viii. 214. *cuius supplicio non debuit una parari Simia nec serpens unus nec culleus unus*.

*elicere*] ‘to tempt out of’ (some place of safety).

*nobiliorem . . . prope quam civitatem suam*] This very strange expression has been passed over by all the commentators

whom I have consulted. Mr. Watson, indeed, seeming to feel the difficulty, has the note, ‘“than his native town,” perhaps ironical.’ But surely he would not apply such a term to this Greek; and if he did, he would not couple with it a sneer at his town, nor add *prope*. There must be something unsound in the sentence. Perhaps we should read *mobiliorem*, ‘more excitable even than his excitable fellow-citizens:’ *nobili* is given by T for *mobili* in Fam. v. 12: this might be a hint on Cicero’s part that the matricide was committed under extenuating circumstances, or that no such elaborate means were requisite to secure a man so easily influenced by reason of his natural disposition. I have felt no hesitation in reading *Blandeno* above, § 4 (and supposing Zeuxis to have been a native of *Blandus*, not *Blaudus* (the usual reading). *Blandus* is nearer to the ms than *Blaudus* (see Adn. Crit. on *Blandeno*, § 4, and there certainly was a town called *Blaundus* and also called *Blandus*; see Kuhn, who, in giving a list of towns in Asia from Harduin’s Summary of the Councils, mentions, ‘*Blandus* das ist *Blaundus*’ (*Verfassung des römischen Reichs*, ii. p. 235). *Blaudeno* in § 4, it must be

prope quam civitatem suam.—6. At enim Graecis solis indulgeo.—Quid? L. Caecilium nonne omni ratione placavi? quem hominem! qua ira! quo spiritu! Quem denique praeter Tuscenium, cuius causa sanari non potest, non mitigavi? Ecce supra caput homo levis ac sordidus, sed tamen equestri censu, Catienus: etiam is lenietur. Cuius tu in patrem quod fuisti asperior, non reprehendo: certo enim scio te fecisse cum causa. Sed quid opus fuit eius modi litteris, quas ad ipsum misisti? ‘illum crucem sibi ipsum constituere, ex qua tu eum ante detraxisses: te curaturum, fumo ut combureretur, plaudente tota provincia.’ Quid vero ad C. Fabium nescio quem?—nam eam quoque epistolam T. Catienus circumgestat: ‘renuntiari tibi Licinium plagiarium cum suo pullo miluino tributa exigere.’ Deinde rogas Fabium, ‘ut et patrem et filium vivos comburat, si possit: si minus, ad te mittat, uti iudicio comburantur.’ Eae litterae abs te per iocum missae ad C. Fabium, si modo sunt tuae, cum leguntur, invidiosam atrocitatem verborum habent. 7. Ac si omnium mearum praecepta litterarum repetes, intelleges esse nihil a me nisi orationis acerbitatem et iracundiam et, si forte, raro litterarum missarum indiligentiam reprehensam. Quibus quidem in rebus si apud te plus auctoritas mea quam tua sive natura paullo acrior sive quaedam dulcedo iracundiae sive dicendi sal facetiaeque valuissent, nihil sane esset quod nos paeniteret. Et mediocri me dolore putas

remembered, is the conjecture of Man., and has no ms authority. I suggest here, accordingly, *molliorem esse prope quam civitatem suam*, and suppose a most characteristic play on the name of the town *Blandus*, ‘softer even than his soft-named *cives*’ (the *Blandeni*), and therefore not likely to have perpetrated a shocking murder. Cicero, as I have remarked before, can hardly resist a pun on a name.

6. *At enim*] ‘But it may be said I show this kindness only to the Greeks.’

*Tuscenium*] See Q. Fr. i. 1, 19.

*supra caput*] ‘impends over us,’ as a danger. This phrase is so used by Livy and Sallust, but not elsewhere by Cicero.

*ante detraxisses*] Quintus had already condoned some offence of Catienus.

*fumo ut combureretur*] ‘smoked to death.’ Orsini suggested *furno*, but this would require the further addition of *in*, which Wesenberg supplies.

*plagiarium*] ‘a kidnapper’ of children

for the slave-market. This word has its modern sense ‘a plagiarist’ in Mart. i. 53, 9. *pullo miluino*] His son, whom he calls ‘a young kite.’

*invidiosam*] ‘a violence of expression very injurious to your character.’

7. *raro litterarum missarum*] ‘and it may be occasionally a want of caution in the letters you write;’ but perhaps we should transpose *litterarum* and *missarum*, and render, ‘your carelessness shown in neglecting to write often enough (the irregularity of your correspondence).’ Indeed the transposition is hardly requisite.

*dulcedo iracundiae*] cp. Π. xviii. 110 (χόλος) ὅστε πολλὰ γλυκίων μέλιτος καταλειβομένοιο.

*dicendi sal facetiaeque*] One of the influences which hurried Quintus into intemperateness of expression was a certain ‘aptitude for clothing an opprobrious message in pointed language,’ of which we have instances in § 6.



adfici, cum audiam qua sit existimatione Vergilius, qua tuus vicinus C. Octavius? Nam si te interioribus vicinis tuis, Ciliciensi et Syriaco, anteponis, valde magnum facis! Atque is dolor est, quod cum ii, quos nominavi, te innocentia non vincant, vincunt tamen artificio benevolentiae colligendae, qui neque Cyrum Xenophontis neque Agesilaum noverint: quorum regum summo imperio nemo umquam verbum ullum asperius audivit. Sed haec a principio tibi praecipiens quantum profecerim non ignoro.

III. 8. Nunc tamen decedens—id quod mihi iam facere videris—relinque, quaeso, quam iucundissimam memoriam tui. Successorem habes perblandum: cetera valde illius adventu tua requiruntur. In litteris mittendis, ut saepe ad te scripsi, nimium te exorabilem praeuisti. Tolle omnes, si potes, iniquas, tolle inusitatas, tolle contrarias. Statius mihi narravit scriptas ad te

*Vergilius*] governor of Sicily as propraetor.

*Octavius*] governor of Macedonia as propraetor.

*interioribus*] 'further up the country.' *Magnum* is ironical.

*is dolor*] 'here is the sting of it,' Jeans.

*Cyrum*] see Q. Fr. i. 1, 23.

*summo imperio*] 'though invested with absolute power.' This is what Draeger calls an *ablativus modi*. Such ablatives are not to be explained as ablatives absolute with an ellipse of the deficient participle of *esse*: cp. *summo dolore meo ac desiderio*, Q. Fr. iii. 1, 9; *cuius dubia fortuna* ('and as his position was insecure'), Fam. xiii. 19, 2; *omni statu omnique populo* ('whatever my position or the public feeling may be'), Att. xi. 24, 1; *praesertim hoc genere* ('with such a son-in-law'), Att. xi. 14, 2; *cavillator genere illo moroso*, Ep. xix. § 2.

*quantum*] Possibly *quantum* is here 'how little,' as Mr. Watson suggests; but more probably Cicero here accredits his brother with those many good qualities which he attributes to his own precepts. He had so many qualities, justice, integrity, &c., in common with Cyrus and Agesilaus, that it was a pity he had not their self-control.

8. *Successorem*] 'Your successor is a very mild-mannered man. Your other qualities will be greatly missed in him.' This would lead one to take *quantum* above in its ordinary sense. Cicero has a high opinion of his brother's character,

except for his *iracundia*.

*litteris*] 'requisitionary letters,' of which we have a specimen in § 10. See also Att. v. 21, 7, *sex mensibus imperii mei nullas meas acceperat litteras*. These were letters making certain requisitions, written by Quintus at the request of friends who wished to gain some private end. Of such a nature was the letter which Atticus hoped to obtain from the consuls to induce the Sicyonians to pay their debt to him.

*Tolle*] 'Destroy, if possible, all such letters as are inequitable or eccentric, or run counter to other such letters of yours.' *Tolle* means 'destroy,' not 'rescind,' as is clear from § 9, vide *per homines amantes tui ut haec genera epistolarum tollantur*. Besides, if *tolle* meant 'rescind,' or even 'have done with,' 'away with' (as in the phrase *tolle moras*), Cicero would not have added *si potes*. Collections of these letters were being made by the enemies of Quintus; and this was what Cicero desired to check.

*Statius mihi*] 'Statius told me that such letters were brought before you already written (by the petitioners themselves); that he used to read them, and apprise you if they contained anything unfair; but that before he joined you, you used to grant them all indiscriminately; and that hence arose the collections of select rescripts of yours which were so severely criticised.' Quintus was in the habit of having all these letters (written by the petitioners them-

solere adferri, ab se legi, et, si iniquae sint, fieri te certiore: ante quam vero ipse ad te venisset, nullum delectum litterarum fuisse: ex eo esse volumina selectarum epistolarum, quae reprehendi solerent. 9. Hoc de genere nihil te nunc quidem moneo: sero est enim: ac scire potes multa me varie diligenterque monuisse. Illud tamen, quod Theopompo mandavi, cum essem admonitus ab ipso, vide per homines amantes tui, quod est facile, ut haec genera tollantur epistolarum, primum iniquarum, deinde contrariarum, tum absurde et inusitate scriptarum, postremo in aliquem contumeliosarum. Atque ego haec tam esse quam audio non puto, et si sunt occupationibus tuis minus animadversa, nunc perspice et purga. Legi epistolam, quam ipse scripsisse Sulla nomenclator dictus est, non probandam: legi non nullas iracundas. 10. Sed tempore ipso de epistolis: nam cum hanc paginam tenerem, L. Flavius, praetor designatus, ad me venit, homo mihi valde familiaris. Is mihi, te ad procuratores suos litteras misisse, quae mihi visae sunt iniquissimae, ne quid de bonis, quae L. Octavii Nasonis fuissent, cui L. Flavius heres est, deminuerent ante, quam C. Fundanio pecuniam solvissent, itemque misisse ad Apollonidenses, ne de bonis, quae Octavii fuissent, deminui paterentur

selves) copied and sent to their destination as given under his own hand. Selections from these, comprising such as ran counter to each other, or were unfair or eccentric in any way, were published by his enemies.

9. *Hoc de genere*] that is, the letters in which no *delectus* had been used (which had been indiscriminately granted), which furnished the materials for the published volume. It was too late to obviate their effect; what Cicero now urges on his brother is to destroy all such as might be used for another publication. For this purpose he is to use the services of his friends, which shows that *tolle* and *tollantur* mean 'destroy,' not 'rescind' nor 'discontinue.'

*absurde . . . scriptarum*] 'written in such an improper and eccentric manner:' cf. Att. v. 1, 4, *sic absurde et aspere verbis voltuque responderat*. Mr. Jeans renders, 'written in bad taste, or otherwise startling.'

*tam esse quam audio*] Kayser marks a lacuna after *tam*, supposing some epithet (perhaps *iniqua*) to have fallen out. But there is no reason to suspect the text here: 'That these faults exist to such a degree

as I hear, I do not suppose.' This is a brachylogy not uncommon in Cicero; *tam* and such words stand for attributes easily supplied from what precedes or even from what follows, e.g. *cui corpus bene constitutum sit et exploratum ita semper fore*, Tusc. ii. 17. So Q. Fr. ii. 15, 4; De Or. iii. 103; and Q. Fr. i. 1, 33, *ita fuerunt*, sc. *vectigales*: cf. especially Att. iii. 13, 2. *perspice et purga*] 'look through and sift' (Watson).

*ipse*] Sulla wrote *himself* a letter which purported to come from Quintus.

10. *Sed tempore*] The topic of the letters was seasonable, for just as he had come to that part of his letter, Flavius came in with a complaint about a letter of Quintus, in which he had shown himself a partisan of Fundanius, by sending an order to Flavius not to touch the money of Octavius, whose property he had inherited, until he had paid Fundanius, though the debt was not proved at all.

*L. Flavius*] Probably the tribune who had imprisoned the consul Metellus during the struggle about the Lex Campana.

*Apollonidenses*] natives of Apollonia (gen. -idisi) in Mysia.

prius quam Fundanio debitum solutum esset. Haec mihi veri similia non videntur: sunt enim a prudentia tua remotissima. Ne deminuat heres? Quid si infitiat? Quid si omnino non debet? Quid? praetor solet iudicare deberi? Quid? ego Fundanio non cupio? non amicus sum? non misericordia moveor? Nemo magis: sed via iuris eius modi est quibusdam in rebus, ut nihil sit loci gratiae. Atque ita mihi dicebat Flavius scriptum in ea epistola, quam tuam esse dicebat, te aut quasi amicis tuis gratias acturum aut quasi inimicis incommodaturum. 11. Quid multa? ferebat graviter, id vehementer mecum querebatur orabatque, ut ad te quam diligentissime scriberem: quod facio et te prorsus vehementer etiam atque etiam rogo, ut et procuratoribus Flavii remittas de deminuendo et Apollonidensibus ne quid praescribas, quod contra Flavium sit, amplius. Et Flavii causa et scilicet Pompeii facies omnia. Nolo me dius fidius ex tua iniuria in illum tibi liberalem me videri, sed id te oro, ut tu ipse auctoritatem et monumentum aliquod decreti aut litterarum tuarum relinquo quod sit ad Flavii rem et ad causam accommodatum. Fert enim graviter homo et mei observantissimus et sui iuris

*Quid? praetor solet*] 'What? Is it customary for the governor of a province to decide (on a question of fact) whether a debt is due?' The governor could only pronounce on questions of law; *iudices* appointed by him tried the question of fact—as, whether the money was due or not.

*Fundanio non cupio*] 'Am not I a well-wisher of Fundanius?' see Att. ii. 16, 4; also Caesar, B. G. i. 18, *cupere* Helvetiis.

*via iuris*] *via* of M is needlessly changed to *vis* in some editions. 'The method of procedure in some cases does not admit of any private favour.' Klotz compares De Legg. i. 18., non tam iustitiae quam litigandi tradunt vias, and Dig. xlii. 8, 22, *via iuris occurritur qua creditorum fraudes rescindi solent*, a very close parallel. So often in Cicero, e.g. docendi viam, Orat. 114.

*ita*] 'according as they did or did not accede to your request.' This shows the nature of these letters from governors. They were not commands, but had their sanctions in the power of the governor. He would treat those agents of Flavius as friends if they acceded; as enemies if they did not.

*incommodaturum*] Med. has *incommodaturum*; hence Gronovius *incommodaturum*. But the word in the text is found in the margin of Cratander's ed., and Madvig restores it both here and in Fin. v. 50.

11. *remittas de deminuendo*] 'allow them to draw on the money:' cf. Acad. ii. 106, sed tibi aut concedendum est ita esse aut memoriam mihi remittas oportet, i.e. 'allow that memory exists.' So Ov. M. xi. 376, nec res dubitare remittit. If the word were here to be taken in its more usual sense of 'making a concession,' 'letting off,' Cicero would have written *de non deminuendo*.

*praescribas*] 'dictate.' So Med. rightly. Baiter gives *perscribas*, which would mean 'to make an entry,' or 'to make over,' senses quite alien to the context.

*Nolo*] 'I would not have you think that I am generous to Flavius and Pompeius at the expense of any act of injustice on your part towards Fundanius.'

*auctoritatem*] 'an official declaration or record in the form of a decree, or some letter framed to promote the cause and interest of Flavius' (Watson).

*quod sit*] 'adapted to the interests of Flavius and the justice of the case.'

dignitatisque retinens se apud te neque amicitia nec iure valuisse, et, ut opinor, Flavii aliquando rem et Pompeius et Caesar tibi commendarunt, et ipse ad te scripserat Flavius et ego certe. Quare si ulla res est quam tibi me faciendam petente putes, haec ea sit. Si me amas, cura, elabora, perfice, ut Flavius et tibi et mihi quam maximas gratias agat. Hoc te ita rogo, ut maiore studio rogare non possim.

IV. 12. Quod ad me de Hermia scribis, mihi meherecule valde molestum fuit. Litteras ad te parum fraterne scripseram: quas oratione Diodoti, Luculli liberti, commotus, de pactione statim quod audieram, iracundius scripseram, et revocare cupiebam. Huic tu epistolae non fraterne scriptae fraterne debes ignoscere. 13. De Censorino, Antonio, Cassiis, Scaevola, te ab iis diligi, ut scribis, vehementer gaudeo. Cetera fuerunt in eadem epistola graviora quamvellem, ὁρθὰν τὰν ναῦν et ἅπαξ θανεῖν. Maiora ista [erunt]:

retinens] 'tenacious of.'

12. *Hermia*] Supposed to have been a slave of M. Cicero.

*statim quod*] 'directly I had heard.' This is another instance of an usage common to Cicero's letters and the comic stage: compare Plaut. Amp. i. 1, 146. *diust quod ventri victum non datis*; also Ter. Heaut. i. 1, 2, *inde quod*; as well as a passage from another Roman letter-writer, Plin. Ep. iv. 27, *tertius dies est quod audivi*.

13. *graviora quam vellem*] 'more strongly expressed than I could have wished.'

ὁρθὰν τὰν ναῦν] Victorius tells us that the whole expression was εὖ ἴσθι, Ποσειδᾶν, ὅτι ὁρθὰν τὰν ναῦν καταδώσω, that is, a daring mariner defies Poseidon, and vaunts that if his ship must go down she will go down as a good ship should. So Quintus implies that he will give up the reins of office with credit, in spite of his own violence and the acts of his enemies, whom he defies. Vict. calls these words *sententiam illam vulgarem*, and they appear to be referred to by Sen. Epist. Mor. xii. 85, *qui hoc potuit dicere, 'Neptune, nunquam hanc navem nisi rectam' [videbis], arti satisfecit; tempestas non opus gubernatoris impedit sed successum*. But where Vict. got the other words besides ὁρθὰν τὰν ναῦν, I cannot discover. They are not to be found in the Paroem. Graeci of Leutsch; nor are they to be found in Stobaeus, who, in Serm. cvi., entitled,

ὅτι δεῖ γενναίως τὰ προσπίπτοντα φέρειν ὄντας ἀνθρώπους καὶ κατ' ἀρετὴν ζῆν ὀφείλοντας, quotes from a work of one Teles, περὶ περιστάσεων, by no means the same words, namely, καλῶς τὸ τοῦ κυβερνήτου 'ἀλλ' οὖν γε, ὃ Ποσειδῶν, ὁρθήν.' οὕτω καὶ ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς πρὸς τὴν τύχην, 'ἀλλ' οὖν γε ἄνδρα καὶ οὐ βλάκα.' This would make Quintus boast that whatever disasters may await him, he would oppose to them a brave front and stout heart; and will, even if foiled, 'die game,' to use a common phrase.

ἅπαξ θανεῖν] possibly from Aesch. Prom. Vinc. 769:

κρείσσον γὰρ εἰσάπαξ θανεῖν  
ἢ τὰς ἀπάσας ἡμέρας πάσχειν κακῶς.

From the context that follows it appears that Quintus means that he would rather die at once than be constantly harassed.

*Maiora ista erunt*] If *erunt* be right, the meaning must either be (1) 'such expressions must be reserved for more serious distresses,' or (2) 'you will find (on examining the tone of my letter) that these expressions are not warranted (by it).' For this use of the future, *ep. quiescet*, 'she will be found to be asleep,' Juv. i. 126 (Mayor); *sic erit*, 'you will find it so,' Ter. Phorm. 801. But perhaps we should omit *erunt* with Wesenberg, or perhaps *erunt* should be connected with the following words, *et* or *ut* being inserted before *fuerunt*. If *quae sunt non-*

meae obiurgationes fuerunt amoris plenissimae:† quae sunt non nulla, sed tamen mediocria et parva potius. Ego te numquam ulla in re dignum minima reprehensione putassem, cum te sanctissime gereres, nisi inimicos multos haberemus. Quae ad te aliqua monitione aut obiurgatione scripsi, scripsi propter diligentiam cautionis meae, in qua et maneo et manebo et, idem ut facias, non desistam rogare. 14. Attalus Hypaepenus mecum egit, ut se ne impedires quo minus, quod ad Q. Publicii statuam decretum est, erogaretur: quod ego te et rogo et admoneo, ne talis viri tamque nostri necessarii honorem minui per te aut impediri velis. Praeterea Aesopi [tragoedi], nostri familiaris, Licinus servus, tibi notus, aufugit. Is Athenis apud Patronem Epicureum pro libero fuit. Inde in Asiam venit. Postea Plato quidam Sardianus, Epicureus, qui Athenis solet esse multum et qui tum Athenis fuerat, cum Licinius eo venisset, cum eum fugitivum esse postea ex Aesopi litteris cognosset, hominem comprehendit et in custodiam Ephesi tradidit, sed in publicam an in pistrinum non satis ex litteris eius intellegere potuimus. Tu, quoquo modo potest, quoniam Ephesi est, hominem investiges velim summaque diligentia . . . vel tecum deducas. Noli spectare quanti homo

nulla be read, cp. Ep. xlv.; see also note on Ep. xxx. 23; xii. 13.

[*meae obiurgationes*] 'my reproaches were full of affection; such remarks may be just called reproaches, but in a very moderate, or rather in a very minute degree.' Such would be the only possible way of importing a meaning into these words, which no one could for a moment look on as the words of Cicero. Now the reading of the Med. is *quaesunt*. I believe Cicero to have written *quaerunt*. The sentence would then run, *QUAERUNT nonnulla sed tamen mediocria et parva potius*, and the meaning is, 'they (my reproaches) require some changes in your conduct, but slight or rather minute changes.' *Quaerunt* is often used, much as *requirunt*, when the subject is an inanimate thing, e.g. 2 Verr. i. 29, *negotio esse quidquam a testibus dictum quod . . . oratoris eloquentiam quaereret*. Even to read *requirunt* would be no great change. The change of tense in *fuerunt* and *quaerunt* is easily explained. 'My letters have always been conceived in a spirit of the warmest affection; they are expressive (as

you may still see by referring to them) only of a sense of the absence of certain qualities in you, but,' &c.: compare above, § 8, *cetera valde illius adventu tua requiruntur*.

14. *Hypaepenus*] of Hypaepa, in Lydia. *Aesopi*] the tragic actor mentioned Hor. Ep. ii. 1, 82.

*publicam*] sc. custodiam.

*pistrinum*] the mill where slaves were obliged to grind.

*quoquo modo potest*] 'in whatever way it is possible.' The Med. has *est*, not *potest*. But this is not a Ciceronian use of *est*: *potes* and *potest* have both been conjectured; the latter is the slightest change, and is the most likely word to have been corrupted, as *potest* for *fieri potest* is an idiomatic phrase, probably unfamiliar to the copyist, but common in Cicero and common to him with the comic drama. See Att. v. 1, 3, *nihil potuit dulcius*, and v. 17, 4, *quid possit* (sc. *fieri*): *potest* = *potest fieri* is very common in Plautus: Ussing, on Amp. 164, quotes sixteen instances, especially *quantum potest* (which is very similar to this).

sit: parvi enim pretii est, qui tam nihil sit: sed tanto dolore Aesopus est adfectus propter servi scelus et audaciam, ut nihil ei gratius facere possis quam si illum per te recuperarit.

V. 15. Nunc ea cognosce, quae maxime exoptas. Rem publicam funditus amisimus, adeo ut Cato, adolescens nullius consilii, sed tamen civis Romanus et Cato, vix vivus effugerit, quod, cum Gabinium de ambitu vellet postulare, neque praetores diebus aliquot adiri possent vel potestatem sui facerent, in contionem escendit et Pompeium privatum dictatorem appellavit. Propius nihil est factum quam ut occideretur. Ex hoc qui sit status totius rei publicae videre potes. 16. Nostrae tamen causae non videntur homines defuturi. Mirandum in modum profitentur, offerunt se, pollicentur. Equidem cum spe sum maxima tum maiore etiam animo, ut sperem superiores fore nos, ut confidam animo, ut in hac re publica ne casum quidem ullum pertimescam. Sed tamen se res sic habet: si diem nobis dixerit, tota Italia concurret ut multiplicata gloria discedamus: sin autem vi agere conabitur, spero fore studiis non solum amicorum, sed etiam alienorum ut vi resistamus. Omnes et se et suos amicos, clientes, libertos, servos, pecunias denique suas pollicentur. Nostra antiqua manus bonorum ardet studio nostri atque amore. Si qui antea aut alieniores fuerant aut languidiores, nunc horum regum odio se cum bonis coniungunt. Pompeius omnia pollicetur et Caesar: quibus ego ita credo, ut nihil de mea comparatione deminuum. Tribuni pl.

*qui tam nihil sit*] 'considering how worthless he is.'

15. *amisimus*] 'we have lost our hold on,' 'it has slipped from under our feet:' cp. *reipublicae statum illum . . . elapsum de manibus*, 'has slipped through our fingers.'

*Cato*] C. Porcius Cato, tribune, 697, 8 (b. c. 57, 6), 'a foolish young man, but yet a Roman citizen and a Cato.'

*adiri . . . facerent*] 'allowed no access to or communication with them' (Watson).

16. *Equidem cum spe*] Med. has *equidem cum spe summa maxima tum maiore etiam anima sperent superiores fore nos confidant animo ut in hac republica ne casum quidem ullum pertimescant*. Klotz, whose reading is that given in the text (1) changes *nt* into *m* in three verbs; (2) inserts *ut* twice, and the sentence gives a very fair sense with these slight changes.

But I am not sure that Madvig has not gone nearer to the words of Cicero in arranging the passage thus:—*equidem cum spe sum maxima, tum maiore etiam animo; spe, superiores fore nos; animo, ut in hac rep. ne casum quidem ullum pertimescam*; 'I feel great hope and still greater spirit: hope, which tells me that we shall be the victors in this struggle—spirit, which bids me fear no casualty in the present state of public affairs.'

*si diem . . . dixerit*] sc. Clodius.

*concurrer*] 'rally round me.'

*discedamus*] sc. ex iudicio.

*horum regum*] the triumvirs.

*ita ut nihil*] 'without, however, relaxing.' See Att. i. 1, 1.

*comparatione*] 'preparation,' so used in Cicero pro Leg. Man. 9; but usually 'an agreement,' or 'a procuring,' or 'trial of strength.'

designati sunt nobis amici. Consules se optime ostendunt. Praetores habemus amicissimos et acerrimos cives, Domitium, Nigidium, Memmium, Lentulum, bonos etiam alios, hos singulares. Quare magnum fac animum habeas et spem bonam. De singulis tamen rebus quae cotidie gerantur faciam te crebro certiore.

LIV. TO CULLEOLUS, PROCONSUL OF ILLYRICUM  
(FAM. XIII. 42.)

ROME, A. U. C. 695; B. C. 59; AET. CIC. 47.

M. Cicero L. Culleolo procos. Illyrici L. Luceium commendat.

M. CICERO S. D. L. CULLEOLO PROCOS.

1. L. Luceius meus, homo omnium gratissimus, mirificas tibi apud me gratias egit, cum diceret omnia te cumulatissime et liberalissime procuratoribus suis pollicitum esse. Cum oratio tua tam ei grata fuerit, quam gratam rem ipsam existimas fore, cum, ut spero, quae pollicitus es, feceris! Omnino ostenderunt Bullidenses sese Luceio Pompeii arbitratu satis facturos. 2. Sed

*Consules*] sc. *designati*, L. Piso and A. Gabinius.

*Praetores*] sc. *designatos*.

*Nigidium*] P. Nigidius Figulus, a senator given to the study of astronomy and Pythagorean philosophy.

*Memmium*] To whom Lucretius addressed his poem. *Singularis* is like our phrase 'one in a thousand.'

1. *L. Luceius*] This is the Luceius who is spoken of in the early letters to Atticus. He is said to have thought of standing for the consulship (Att. i. 17, 11), but apparently he never did so. The title of proconsul does not necessarily imply that Culleolus had been consul. It was sometimes given to a provincial governor in command of an army, but only as long as he was in his province. This letter must have been written before the termination of Caesar's first consulate, because to him was then assigned the province of the Gauls and Illyricum, which he did not relinquish during the life of Pompeius; now, this letter was evidently written during the life of

Pompeius. We have no evidence that Culleolus was governor of Illyricum at all, except the mention in this letter of the inhabitants of Bullis, a town in Illyricum. If Culleolus was not governor of Illyricum, there are no data for fixing the date of the letter.

*procuratoribus*] 'his agents.'

*Cum oratio*] 'When the expression of your readiness to serve him pleased him so much, how grateful will he be for the performance of your promise, when you keep it, as I hope you will.' *Oratione* and *re* correspond to the Greek λόγῳ and ἔργῳ.

*Bullidenses*] The inhabitants of Bullis, no doubt, owed Luceius money, and Culleolus promised him *litterae* to the Bullidenses, such as we read of, in the last letter, §§ 8, 10. The *Bullidenses* promised to do all Luceius wanted, but 'the good will and official countenance' of Culleolus were required to induce them to carry out their undertaking. *Bulliones* (the form of the name given in most edd.) would be an impossible formation from Bullis. See Adm. Crit.

vehementer opus est nobis et voluntatem et auctoritatem et imperium tuum accedere. Quod ut facias, te etiam atque etiam rogo. Illudque mihi gratissimum est, quod ita sciunt Luceii procuratores, et ita Luceius ipse ex litteris tuis, quas ad eum misisti, intellexit, hominis nullius apud te auctoritatem aut gratiam valere plus quam meam. Id ut re experiatur, iterum et saepius te rogo.

# LV. TO THE SAME CULLEOLUS (FAM. XIII. 41).

ROME, A. U. C. 695 ; B. C. 59 ; AET. CIC. 47.

M. Cicero L. Culleolo procos. Illyrici L. Luceium commendat.

## CICERO CULLEOLO S.

1. Quae fecisti L. Luceii causa, scire te plane volo te homini gratissimo commodasse, et cum ipsi quae fecisti pergrata sunt, tum Pompeius, quotienscumque me videt, videt autem saepe, gratias tibi agit singulares. Addo etiam illud, quod tibi iucundissimum esse certo scio, me ipsum ex tua erga Luceium beniginitate maxima voluptate adfici. 2. Quod superest, quamquam mihi non est dubium quin cum antea nostra causa, nunc iam etiam tuae constantiae gratia mansurus sis in eadem ista liberalitate, tamen abs te vehementer etiam atque etiam peto, ut ea, quae initio ostendisti, deinceps fecisti, ad exitum augeri et cumulari per te velis. Id et Luceio et Pompeio valde gratum fore teque apud eos praeclare positurum confirmo et spondeo. De re publica deque his negotiis cogitationibusque nostris perscripseram ad te diligenter paucis antea diebus easque litteras dederam pueris tuis. Vale.

2. *auctoritatem et gratiam*] 'moral or social influence.'

1. *Quae fecisti*] 'In what you have done (as to what you have done) let me tell you, you have obliged a most grateful man.' *Commodasse quae fecisti* must not be taken closely together; this would require *feceris*.

2. *tuae constantiae gratia*] 'to preserve your character for consistency.'

*ut ea . . . [velis]* 'that, as regards those services which you first promised in words, and afterwards rendered in acts, you will now allow them to be brought to a crowning issue and completion.'

*praeclare positurum*] 'that you will have well invested (laid out) your services in serving them.' This is often the meaning of *ponere* in Cicero, e. g. in Fam. xiii. 54, *apud gratos homines beneficium ponis*.



## PART III.

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### THE CORRESPONDENCE OF CICERO: LETTERS WRITTEN DURING HIS EXILE.

EPP. LVI-LXXXIX.

A. U. C., . . . . .	696-697
B. C., . . . . .	58-57
AET. CIC., . . . . .	48-49



### PART III.

THE Letters of Cicero's exile begin in April, 696 (b. c. 58), and end in August, 697 (b. c. 57). The first is a letter written to Atticus on Cicero's journey to the estate of his friend Sica, near Vibo, in Bruttium. The enactment forbidding him to live within 400 miles of Italy forced him to leave Vibo. He would have preferred to spend his exile in Athens; but Autronius and other Catilinarian conspirators were there, and he feared their hostility. Athens was also rendered ineligible by the fact that there was some doubt whether it was not less than 400 miles from Italy. This consideration, however, cannot have had much weight with him, for he spent a considerable part of his exile at Thessalonica, which is not so far as Athens from Italy. He was at Thessalonica from June 1 to the beginning of November. He was invited by Atticus to stay at his house at Buthrotum, but he rejected the offer, feeling (among other motives) that the associations of the place would be too painful in the absence of Atticus. It was through the kindness of his friend Plancius, whom he afterwards defended so well, that he was enabled to live in security in Thessalonica. Cicero went to Dyrrachium in the end of November, 696 (b. c. 58), so that he might be nearer to Italy, and might avoid meeting Piso, who was appointed governor of Macedonia. Cicero appears to have apprehended molestation from him and his soldiery. He left Dyrrachium on the 4th of August, 697 (b. c. 57), on the day on which the bill for his recall had passed the *comitia centuriata* (Att. iv. 1, 4), arriving at Brundisium on the next day. There he was met by Tullia. It happened to be Tullia's birthday (*ibid.*). On the 8th he heard of the success of the bill for his restoration, and at once set out for

Rome, where he arrived September 4, 697 (b. c. 57). Cicero's letters from exile are full of complaints about the perfidy of Hortensius and Pompeius, and the supineness of Atticus. Again and again he declares that he should never have left Rome, as he did, before he was assailed by name; but should have appealed to force against Clodius, in which case, he says, *aut occubuissem honeste, aut victores hodie viveremus*, Att. iii. 15, 4. His leaving Rome he calls *turpissimum consilium*, and, somewhat weakly, upbraids Atticus and his other friends for not dissuading him from such a step. Dio Cassius tells us that Cicero actually endeavoured to raise the mob, but was dissuaded by Cato and Hortensius, ἐπεχείρησε μὲν ὄπλα ἄρασθαι . . . κωλυθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ τε τοῦ Κάτωνος καὶ τοῦ Ὀρθησίου, μὴ καὶ ἐμφύλιος ἐκ τούτου πόλεμος γένηται, τότε δὴ καὶ ἄκων μετὰ τε αἰσχύνης καὶ μετὰ κακοδοξίας, ὥς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ συνειδύτος ἐθελοντῆς πεφηνγῶς, μετέστη (xxxviii. 17). But the whole tone of this extract shows the *animus* of Dio Cassius against Cicero. There is no evidence that Cicero ever seriously sought to appeal to violence before his banishment, though during his absence he often says that it would have been better to have lost his life in opposing Clodius than to languish in exile. His boast in the *Orat. pro Sest.* § 45, that he was deterred by patriotism from resisting Clodius by arms, *me propter salutem meorum civium, quae mihi semper fuit mea carior vita, dimicationem caedemque fugisse*, must be looked on as an afterthought, for the whole tenor of his letters in exile shows equally clearly that he never contemplated an appeal to force before his exile; and that after his exile he never ceased to regret that he had not made such an appeal. Indeed, a passage in Att. iii. 23, 5, when rightly understood, seems to show that he suggested, to bring about his restoration, the use of that violence which he might have used to avert his exile; the *multitudo comparata* there spoken of is probably the band of bravoos with which Milo did such good service, when μονομάχους τινὰς . . . ἀθροίσας ἐς χεῖρας τῷ Κλωδίῳ συνεχῶς ῥῖι, καὶ σφαγαὶ κατὰ πᾶσαν ὥς εἰπεῖν τὴν πόλιν ἐγίγνοντο

(Dio Cass. xxxix. 8). But there can be little doubt that if he had really sought to raise the mob in his behalf, and to bring to the city his numerous supporters among the rural populations, he would have found less difficulty in averting his banishment than he afterwards found in effecting his restoration. This he saw clearly when too late, as may be gathered from two letters to Terentia, Fam. xiv. 1, 2, *intellego quanto fuerit facilius manere domi quam redire*; and Fam. xiv. 3, 2, *eiicere nos magnum fuit, excludere facile est*. Next to his *turpissimum consilium* in leaving Rome, he regrets his want of resolution in not having at once destroyed himself when he saw that his exile was an accomplished fact, and he hints that, if the attempts made in the beginning of 697 (b. c. 57), should fail, no course will remain for him but to take his own life.

We meet a remarkable statement in Att. iii. 7, 3, *ego et saepius ad te et plura scriberem, nisi mihi dolor meus cum omnes partes mentis, tum maxime huius generis facultatem ademisset*; and we do find in the letters from exile a carelessness and inaccuracy of expression which contrasts strongly with the style of his happier days. See *Intro. I<sup>2</sup>, p. 58, note*.

Of the letters in exile, twenty-seven are addressed to Atticus, two to Quintus, his brother, four to Terentia and the other members of his family at Rome, and one to the consul Metellus Nepos, begging him to forget their former misunderstanding, and to aid in his restoration. The period of Cicero's exile is (as might be expected) destitute of literary and oratorical remains.

Atticus left Rome in the end of 696 (b. c. 58), and did not return till the beginning of 698 (b. c. 56), when he married Pilia, February 5th, 698 (b. c. 56), at the age of 53. Of this marriage the only issue was a daughter, born 703 (b. c. 51), who was married to M. Agrippa. Their daughter, Vipsania Agrippina, was the wife of Tiberius before he was Emperor.

## LETTERS OF THE ELEVENTH YEAR OF CICERO'S CORRESPONDENCE.

EPP. LVI.-LXXXVI.

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A. U. C. 696 ; B. C. 58 ; AET. CIC. 48.

CONS. L. PISO, A. GABINIUS.

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CLODIUS, after carrying several measures framed to win the support of the various classes at Rome, and having secured the assistance of the consuls by assigning Syria to Gabinius, and Macedonia to Piso, brought in a bill that *qui civem Romanum indemnatum peremisset ei aqua et igni interdiceretur*. Cicero afterwards saw that his proper course would have been to ignore this bill, or even to support it, for it had in it many elements of popularity. He appealed to Pompeius for advice. Pompeius replied: *se contra armatum tribunum pl. sine consilio publico decertare nolle, consulibus ex senatus consulto rempublicam defendentibus se arma sumpturum* (Pis. 77). This ungenerous reply—or perhaps another reply of Pompeius, recorded Att. x. 4, 3, *se nihil contra (Caesaris) voluntatem facere posse*—alarmed Cicero so much that he left Rome at the end of March. On the very day on which Cicero left Rome, Clodius brought in his second bill directed against Cicero expressly. It was brought before the *comitia tributa* and ran, *velitis iubeatis ut M. Tullio aqua et igni interdictum sit*. On its passing, his villas at Tusculum and Formiae, and his house on the Palatine, were destroyed, and the site of his house was dedicated to Liberty. For his movements during his exile, see Introd. to Part III.

On the 1st of June, 696 (b.c. 58) the first effort was made to restore Cicero. L. Ninnius Quadratus brought before the Senate a bill for his recall, which was unanimously accepted by the Senate, but was vetoed by the tribune Aelius Ligus, some obscure creature of Clodius. Again, on October 29, eight of the tribunes brought in a bill with a similar aim, which Cicero severely criticises in Att. iii. 23. In Att. iii. 24, Cicero bitterly regrets the blunder made by his friends in Rome, in allowing the estimates for the provinces to be passed before the new tribunes came into office. He feared that this step would alienate the tribunes, eight of whom were favourable to his cause. This apprehension, however, proved groundless (see Att. iii. 24, *notes*). At the end of this year Atticus left Rome. He had, towards the close of the year, been adopted, and left heir to a large fortune by the will of his uncle, Q. Caecilius, who died at this time.

## LVI. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. III. 3).

NEAR VIBO, A. U. C. 696 : B. C. 58 ; AET. CIC. 48.

M. Cicero scribit se Vibonem iter suum convertisse et vehementissime Attici eo adventum expectare.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Utinam illum diem videam, cum tibi agam gratias, quod me vivere coëgisti! Adhuc equidem valde me paenitet. Sed te oro, ut ad me Vibonem statim venias, quo ego multis de causis converti iter meum. Sed eo si veneris, de toto itinere ac fuga mea consilium capere potero. Si id non feceris, mirabor, sed confido te esse facturum.

## LVII. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. III. 2).

NARES LUCANAE, A. U. C. 696 ; B. C. 58 ; AET. CIC. 48.

M. Cicero scribit se in fundo Sicae prope Nares Lucanas versari et Attici adventum expectare.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Itineris nostri causa fuit, quod non habebam locum ubi pro meo iure diutius esse possem quam in fundo Sicae, praesertim

[*Adhuc equidem*] In reading *equidem*, with the Med., I follow Hofmann, who points out that again in Att. xiii. 26, 1, the Med. gives *equidem id erit primum*; again, in the same letter, § 2, we have *equidem credibile non est quantum scribam*, where it is very harsh to join *equidem* with *scribam*. But the most important argument in favour of *equidem* is not mentioned by its defenders. It is the usage of the comic stage, between which and the letters we have already found so many parallels. Ritschl has in vain endeavoured to expunge it from Plautus. Ussing, on Amph. 757, mentions at least five places where *equidem* with the third person is right. He adds a list of the other passages in which *equidem* is found with 2nd or 3rd pers. sing., or with the plural, viz., Sall. Cat. 52, 11, 16; 58, 4. Varro, R. R. i. 5, 1; Liv. v.

51, 4; and in poetry, Virg. Aen. x. 29; Prop. ii. 31, 5; Pers. v. 45; Luc. viii. 824. So that Priscian seems to have been right when he said, '*potest equidem et ad primam et ad secundam et ad tertiam transferri personam*;' and Bentley was misled by an erroneous theory that *equidem* was compounded of *ego* and *quidem*, when he said that *equidem* was never used but with the first person before the time of Nero.

[*Vibonem*] A town in Brutii called Hippo by the Greeks, but Vibo after its colonization by the Romans; now Monte Leone.

[*multis de causis*] The chief reason was his intention to cross from hence to Sicily, as appears from Planc. 95.

[*pro meo iure*] 'independent,' 'unmolested.'



nondum rogatione correcta, et simul intellegebam ex eo loco, si te haberem, posse me Brundisium referre, sine te autem non esse nobis illas partes tenendas propter Autronium. Nunc, ut ad te antea scripsi, si ad nos veneris, consilium totius rei capiemus. Iter esse molestum scio, sed tota calamitas omnes molestias habet. Plura scribere non possum, ita sum animo perculso et abiecto. Cura ut valeas. Data vi. Id. Apr. Narib. Luc.

## LVIII. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. III. 4.)

NEAR VIBO, A. U. C. 696 ; B. C. 58 ; AET. CIC. 48.

M. Cicero scribit se a Vibone discessisse et Brundisium contendere, quo ut veniat Atticum hortatur.

## CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Miseriae nostrae potius velim quam inconstantiae tribuas quod a Vibone, quo te arcessebamus, subito discessimus. Adlata est enim nobis rogatio de perniciē mea, in qua quod correctum esse audieramus, erat eius modi, ut mihi ultra quadringenta milia liceret esse. Illo cum pervenire mihi non liceret, statim iter

*nondum rogatione correcta*] 'since the bill is not yet finally amended.' Clodius having passed the law interdicting from fire and water anyone who should have compassed the death of Roman citizens uncondemned, afterwards carried a law in the *comitia tributa* banishing Cicero by name (Sest. 65). This bill had to be posted for three market-days before it passed (see Att. ii. 9, 1). In the meantime it could be amended. We see from the next letter that the bill was actually amended. Plutarch tells us that the limit of distance from Italy beyond which Cicero was to live was 500 miles in the original bill. We see from the next letter that the limit finally prescribed was 400 miles from Italy. Dio Cass. xxxviii. 17, 7, gives the distance as 3750 stadia from Rome.

*si te haberem*] sc. *mecum* : cp. *cum haberem Dolabellam*, Att. xiii. 9, 1.

*illas partes*] 'those districts:' cf. Fam. xii. 7, 2, *omnes quae in istis partibus essent opes* ; and pro Mur. 89, *ad Orientis partes*.

*Autronium*] P. Autronius Paetus, one of the Catilinarian conspirators, who would naturally seek to injure Cicero.

*tota calamitas*] Wesenberg corrects *tota* to *tanta* ; but it seems to me that *tota* of the mss is very much better. It is most pertinent to say, 'there is no part of this miserable business that is not full of annoyances,' one of which is the necessity of being troublesome to one's friends.

*Narib. Luc.*] Between the rivers Silarus and Crataeis is a piece of land called *Nares Lucanae*. *Naris Luc.* is the reading of M. The town on this piece of land is now called Monte Nero. Sal. Hist. 3 (Frag. 301). Onomast. Tull.

*inconstantiae*] 'fickleness,' 'changeableness.'

*Illo*] sc. *in Siciliam*. Cicero knows that Atticus understands that he had gone to Vibo for the purpose of crossing to Sicily, so he knows he will not be unintelligible to Atticus in writing *illo* instead

Brundisium versus contuli ante diem rogationis, ne et Sica, apud quem eram, periret et quod Melitae esse non licebat. Nunc tu propera, ut nos consequare, si modo recipiemur. Adhuc invitamur benigne. Sed, quod superest, timemus. Ne, mi Pomponi, valde paenitet vivere: qua in re apud me tu plurimum valuisti. Sed haec coram. Fac modo ut venias.

### LIX. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. III. 1).

NEAR THURII, A. U. C. 696; B. C. 58; AET. CIC. 48.

M. Cicero rogatione P. Clodii lecta Italia profugit et Epirum petens, ut se consequatur, Atticus hac epistola vehementer rogat.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Cum antea maxime nostra interesse arbitrabar te esse nobiscum, tum vero ut legi rogationem, intellexi ad iter id, quod constitui, nihil mihi optatius cadere posse, quam ut tu me quam primum consequerere, ut, cum ex Italia profecti essemus, sive per Epirum iter esset faciendum, tuo tuorumque praesidio uteremur, sive aliud quid agendum esset, certum consilium de tua sententia capere possemus. Quam ob rem te oro des operam ut me statim consequare, quod eo facilius potes, quoniam de provincia Macedonia

of *in Siciliam*. The passage, if sound, must be explained thus: 'not being allowed to repair to Sicily (through the opposition of C. Vergilius, governor of Sicily), I set out at once for Brundisium before the day of the passing of the bill, lest Sica should suffer the fatal consequences (of affording me shelter within the limit of distance), and because the bill does not permit me to remain at Malta, it being within the 400 miles.' If *illo* be taken, with Manutius, to mean 'the limit of distance prescribed by the bill,' we must, with Boot, insert *mari* before *pervenire*, comparing Planc. 96, nam *maritimos* cursus praecludebat *hiemis magnitudo*, 'it being impossible to go to the required distance by sea on account of the stormy weather.' Perhaps for *pervenire* should be read *per ventum ire*.

*ne et Sica*] *Et ne Sica* would be the

more natural order, but cf. Ep. lxi. (Att. iii. 6), where *et ut in Epiro* stands for *ut et*; De Fin. i. 15, *si aut for aut si*; Orator 149, *ut aut for aut ut*. The natural order of these particles seems to have been sometimes departed from, perhaps through carelessness.

*periret*] So Dio Cass., xxxviii. 17, 7, καὶ προσεπεκηρύχθη ἵν' εἰ δὴ ποτε ἐντὸς αὐτῶν φανείη, καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ ὑποδεξάμενοι αὐτὸν ἀνατὶ διόλωνται.

*de provincia Macedonia perlata lex*] Atticus had business transactions in Macedonia, so it would be for his interest to be in Rome at the appointment of the governor of Macedonia, to bespeak his good offices. The bill had just passed assigning Macedonia to Piso, so Atticus was free to leave Rome.

perlata lex est. Pluribus verbis tecum agerem, nisi pro me apud te res ipsa loqueretur.

# LX. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. III. 5).

THURII, A. U. C. 696; B. C. 58; AET. CIC. 48.

M. Cicero scribit sibi gratum esse, quod Terentia Attico gratias egerit, se in summa miseria sibi constare et amorem ab Attico expectare et ipsum praestare.

## CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Terentia tibi et saepe et maximas agit gratias. Id est mihi gratissimum. Ego vivo miserrimus et maximo dolore conficior. Ad te quid scribam nescio. Si enim es Romae, iam me adsequi non potes: sin es in via, cum eris me adsecutus, coram agemus quae erunt agenda. Tantum te oro, ut, quoniam me ipsum semper amasti, ut eodem amore sis. Ego enim idem sum: inimici mei mea mihi, non me ipsum ademerunt. Cura ut valeas. Data VIII Id. Apr. Thurii.

*vivo*] another echo of the comic drama, where *vivere* often nearly stands for *esse*, in phrases like *ecquis me vivit fortunatior*, Ter. Eun. v. 8, l, and in Plautus *passim*.

*ut, quoniam . . . ut*] So the Med. This repetition of *ut*, common when several words intervene, is seldom found after such a short parenthesis as this. But we must not desert M needlessly; and Hofmann adduces a parallel from Liv. xxii. 11, 4, *edicto proposito ut quibus oppida castellaque immunita essent ut ii commigrarent in loca tuta*. So also, but with a somewhat longer parenthesis, in Q. Fr. i. 1, 38.

*me ipsum*] 'since you have loved me for myself' (not for my position, &c.).

*Thurii*] M has *Thurii*, which Hofmann defends as the genitive of the old

form *Thurium*. So M has *Brundusii*, Att. iii. 7, *fin.*, and *Dyrrachii*, Att. iii. 22, *fin.*, which are rashly changed by Klotz to *Brundusio*, *Dyrrachio*; for though the address of the writer is usually put in the ablative, yet sometimes the genitive (or more properly speaking, the locative) is used. *Thessalonicae* is given by the Med. six times in the next few letters, *i. e.* in last words of Att. iii. 8, 9, 10, 12, 14, 20. It is very rash of Klotz to correct all these passages. There is no absolute uniformity of practice as to the address of Cicero's letters. In Att. xvi. 10, *fin.*, we have *in Sinuessano*; in Att. v. 3, *a Pontio ex Trebulano*; in the next letter *de Tarentino*. Klotz again rashly corrects *Thessalonicae* in Q. Fr. i. 3, *fin.*, and gives *Placentia* for *Placentiae* in Q. Fr. ii. 13 (15a), 1.

## LXI. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. III. 6).

NEAR TARENTUM, A. U. C. 696; B. C. 58; AET. CIC. 48.

Dolet M. Cicero Atticum ad se nondum venisse, sibi iter esse in Asiam, maxime Cyzicum.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Non fuerat mihi dubium quin te Tarenti aut Brundusii visurus essem, idque ad multa pertinuit: in eis, et ut in Epiro consistere-mus et de reliquis rebus tuo consilio uteremur. Quoniam id non contigit, erit hoc quoque in magno numero nostrorum malorum. Nobis iter est in Asiam, maxime Cyzicum. Meos tibi commendo. Me vix misereque sustento. Data xiv Kal. Maias de Tarentino.

## LXII. TO HIS FAMILY, IN ROME (FAM. XIV. 4).

BRUNDUSIUM, A. U. C. 696; B. C. 58; AET. CIC. 48.

M. Tullius uxori Terentia scribit se Brundusio per Macedoniam Cyzicum proficisci et sollicitum esse de ipsa et liberis: de servis manu mittendis, de doloris sui solacio, de libertorum fide.

TULLIUS S. D. TERENTIAE ET TULLIOLAE ET CICERONI SUIS.

1. Ego minus saepe do ad vos litteras quam possum, propterea quod cum omnia mihi tempora sunt misera tum vero, cum aut

*ad multa pertinuit*] 'was important to me for many reasons,' 'had many bearings on my case.' Boot reads *pertinuisset* (a marginal correction of the Med.), strangely adding, that *pertinuit* for *pertinebat* would be a solecism. But *pertinebat* would mean that when Cicero wrote the letter it was important; *pertinuit* means that at the time when Cicero felt certain that he would meet Atticus, it was highly important for his interests that that meeting should take place; but now he has learned that such a meeting is impossible. It was inattention to the modification which the tenses undergo in letter-writing that induced some copyist to suggest *pertinuisset* in the margin for *pertinuit*.

*ad multa*] cf. *ad multa quadrare*, 'to fall in with my plans in many respects,' Att. iv. 19, 2.

*in eis ut*] 'among other things, it affected my being able to make a stay in Epirus.'

*et ut*] for *ut et*: see note on *ne et Sica*, Att. iii. 4.

*Ego*] 'Yes, I *did* send;' the *ego* points to the fact that the clause in which it stands is an answer to a question. Terentia must have asked him why he wrote so seldom, and here we have the answer. Frey compares *Ego vero, Servi, vellem ut scribis*, Fam. iv. 6, 1; *ego vero Quinto epistolam ad sororem misi*, Att. xiii. 41; *de Q. fratre nihil ego te accusavi*, Fam. xiv.

scribo ad vos aut vestras lego, conficior lacrimis sic, ut ferre non possim. Quod utinam minus vitae cupidi fuissetus! certe nihil aut non multum in vita mali vidissemus. Quod si nos ad aliquam alicuius commodi aliquando recipiendi spem fortuna reservavit, minus est erratum a nobis: si haec mala fixa sunt, ego vero te quam primum, mea vita, cupio videre et in tuo complexu emori, quando neque di, quos tu castissime coluisti, neque homines, quibus ego semper servivi, nobis gratiam rettulerunt. 2. Nos Brundusii apud M. Laenium Flaccum dies XIII fuimus, virum optimum, qui periculum fortunarum et capitis sui prae mea salute neglexit neque legis improbissimae poena deductus est quo minus hospitii et amicitiae ius officiumque praestaret. Huic utinam aliquando gratiam referre possimus! habebimus quidem semper. 3. Brundusio profecti sumus a. d. II. Kalendas Maias: per Macedoniam Cyzicum petebamus. O me perditum! o adflictum! Quid enim? Rogem te ut venias? Mulierem aegram et corpore et animo confectam? Non rogem? Sine te igitur sim? Opinor, sic agam: si est spes nostri reditus, eam confirmes et rem adiuves:

1, 4; *quod de domo scribis . . . ego vero*, Fam. xiv. 2, 3: so *ibid.*, *ego ad quos scribam nescio*, is an answer to a suggestion of Terentia, that he should approach his friends by letter.

*Quod utinam*] 'Would that I had not clung so to life. I should then have seen no sorrow, or at least but little in my life.' Cicero often regrets that he had not destroyed himself, *e.g.* in Att. iii. 3. This use of *quod* is the *connective* use, as in *quod si*.

*si*] 'if my present bitter fate is unalterably fixed.' Some *edd.* would read *sin*, but the opposition is not strong enough to require such a change.

*neque di . . . neque homines*] Cicero often betrays how lightly he wears his religious beliefs; here, for instance, he shows much of the spirit of the modern Parisian: his business was with men; his wife's department was religion. See I<sup>2</sup>, *Introd.*, p. 40.

2. *M. Laenium Flaccum*] In Att. v. 21, 10, vi. 1, 6, &c., we meet a M. Laenius Flaccus, to whom Cicero, when governor of Cilicia, refused an appointment as praefectus, on the ground that he carried on a banking business in the province. But this can hardly be the

same man (though identified by Klotz in his *Index*, and Orelli in his *Onomasticon Tullianum*), for he is invariably mentioned as *Laenius tuus*, as the friend of Atticus, not of Cicero. Now, we must arraign Cicero of great forgetfulness of past favours, if we suppose the Laenius of whom he speaks so coldly afterwards to have been the man of whose kindness he here says he will ever have a grateful recollection. Cicero speaks again most warmly of this Laenius in *Plane*. 97, and *Sest.* 131.

*periculum fortunarum et capitis*] cf. Att. iii. 4, *ne et Sica periret*.

*prae*] 'in comparison with.'

3. *profecti sumus*] = *proficiscor*, 'I am setting out,' and *petebamus* = *petiturus sum*. Both are epistolary tenses, and look forward to the time when Terentia will read this letter; so in Att. viii. 3, 7, *reverti Formias*, though he had not yet left Caes, but would have returned to Formiae before Atticus received the letter. So *mihi*, in Att. iv. 2, 5, means 'I send herewith;' in Att. v. 15, 3, *faciebam* = *facturus sum*; in v. 17, 1, *habebam* = *habiturus sum*, and in vii. 23, 2, *remittebam* = *remissurus sum*.

*confirmes*] 'promote.'

sin, ut ego metuo, transactum est, quoquo modo potes, ad me fac venias. Unum hoc scito: si te habebo, non mihi videbor plane perisse. Sed quid Tulliola mea fiet? Iam id vos videte: mihi deest consilium. Sed certe, quoquo modo se res habebit, illius misellae et matrimonio et famae serviendum est. Quid, Cicero meus quid aget? Iste vero sit in sinu semper et complexu meo. Non queo plura iam scribere: impedit maeror. Tu quid egeris nescio: utrum aliquid teneas an, quod metuo, plane sis spoliata.

4. Pisonem, ut scribis, spero fore semper nostrum. De familia liberata nihil est quod te moveat. Primum tuis ita promissum est, te facturam esse, ut quisque esset meritus. Est autem in officio adhuc Orpheus: praeterea magno opere nemo. Ceterorum servorum ea causa est, ut, si res a nobis abisset, liberti nostri essent, si obtinere potuissent: sin ad nos pertineret, servirent, praeterquam oppido pauci. Sed haec minora sunt.

5. Tu quod me hortaris, ut animo sim magno et spem habeam recipiendae salutis, id velim sit eius modi, ut recte sperare possimus. Nunc, miser quando tuas iam litteras accipiam? quis ad me perferet? quas ego expectassem

*sin*] the opposition here is considerably more pointed than above.

*quid Tulliola mea fiet*] 'what will become of my dear Tullia:' cf. Att. vi. 1, 14; *quid illo fiet*, 'what will become of him,' Fam. xiv. 1, 5, *quid puero fiet*.

*illius misellae*] 'we must devote ourselves to the maintenance of the poor girl's conjugal happiness and of her good name.' For *serviendum*, cf. Att. v. 11, 5. Tullia was married to Calpurnius Piso, of whom Cicero always speaks in the highest terms, especially in Brut. 272. Piso refused to go to Pontus and Bithynia as quaestor, so that he might attend to the affairs of his exiled father-in-law in Rome, and incurred on Cicero's behalf the enmity of his kinsman, the consul (Post Red. in Sen. 38). He died probably about the time of Cicero's restoration. Cicero says (Sest. 68), *Piso ille gener meus cui fructum pietatis suae neque ex me neque a pop. Romano ferre licuit*. Tullia's dowry seems not to have been yet paid, and from this Cicero apprehends danger 'to her married happiness and good name.'

*complexu meo*] See Adn. Crit.: cp. in sinu est neque ego discingor, Q. Fr. ii. 11 (13), 1.

*teneas*] 'whether you hold in your hands (still retain) any of my property:' cf. Off. ii. 81, multa dotibus tenebantur.

4. *De familia liberata*] Terentia had heard that all their slaves had been given their freedom by Cicero. He assures her that she need not be uneasy. 'To your slaves,' he says, 'no promise was made at all, but that you would treat every one as he deserved. Now, Orpheus is so far very well behaved; besides him no one has shown himself particularly deserving. In the case of the others (my own), the arrangement made is this—that if the property is sold by public auction, and goes out of my hands (a nobis abisset), they should have the position of freedmen of mine, if they could make good their title to that position (against those who might urge that the penalties of confiscation were being thus evaded); but if the property is left in my hands, i. e. if I am allowed to buy it in (si ad nos pertineret), they should be still my slaves, except a very few (whom I have promised to manumit).'

*ea causa est*] is followed by past tenses, *essent, servirent, &c.*, because in sense it refers to past time, in referring to the result of an agreement already made.

Brundusii, si esset licitum per nautas, qui tempestatem praetermittere noluerunt. Quod reliquum est, sustenta te, mea Terentia, ut potes, honestissime. Viximus: floruimus: non vitium nostrum, sed virtus nostra nos adflixit. Peccatum est nullum, nisi quod non una animam cum ornamentis amisimus. Sed si hoc fuit liberis nostris gratius, nos vivere, cetera, quamquam ferenda non sunt, feramus. Atqui ego, qui te confirmo, ipse me non possum.

6. Clodium Philhetaerum, quod valetudine oculorum impediabatur, hominem fidelem, remisi. Sallustius officio vincet omnes. Pescennius est perbenevolus nobis: quem semper spero tui fore observantem. Sica dixerat se mecum fore, sed Brundusio discessit. Cura, quod potes, ut valeas, et sic existimes, me vehementius tua miseria quam mea commoveri. Mea Terentia, fidissima atque optima uxor, et mea carissima filiola et spes reliqua nostra, Cicero, valete. Pridie Kalendas Maias Brundisio.

## LXIII. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. III. 7.).

BRUNDUSIUM, A. U. C. 696; B. C. 58; AET. CIC. 48.

M. Cicero scribit se Brundisium venisse de causis quam ob rem in Epirum nolit accedere, de miseriis suis, de exigua spe libertatis publicae, de incerto itineris sui cursu.

## CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Brundisium veni a. d. xiv Kal. Maias. Eo die pueri tui mihi a te litteras reddiderunt, et alii pueri post diem tertium eius diei alias litteras attulerunt. Quod me rogas et hortaris, ut apud te in Epiro sim, voluntas tua mihi valde grata est et minime nova. Esset consilium mihi quidem optatum si liceret ibi omne tempus consumere—odi enim celebritatem, fugio homines, lucem aspicere vix possum, esset mihi ista solitudo, praesertim tam familiari in

5. *tempestatem*] 'a favourable wind,' usually *tranquillitas*.

*ornamentis*] 'my dignities.'

6. *Clodium*] He, as well as Pescennius and Sallustius, was probably a freedman of Cicero.

*mecum fore*] sc. in Graecia.

*quod potes*] Some edd. would here read *quoad potes*; but *quod potes* is used in quite the same sense. In proof of this, Hofm.

quotes *quod poteris*, Att. x. 2, 2]; *quod eius facere potueris*, Fam. iii. 2, 2; *quod eius facere poteris*, Att. xi. 12, 4. Add Att. ii. 7, 3; Fam. v. 8, *fin.*; Ep. xii. 36.

1. *in Epiro*] i.e. in Atticus's property at Buthrotum.

*Esset consilium*] See Adn. Crit.

*si liceret*] if the prescribed distance of 400 miles did not forbid.

loco, non amara—sed itineris causa, ut devorterer, primum est devium, deinde ab Autronio et ceteris quadridui, deinde sine te. Nam castellum munitum habitanti mihi prodesset, transeunti non est necessarium. Quod si auderem, Athenas peterem: sane ita cadebat ut vellem. Nunc et nostri hostes ibi sunt et te non habemus et veremur ne interpretentur illud quoque oppidum ab Italia non satis abesse, nec scribis quam ad diem te exspectemus.

2. Quod me ad vitam vocas, unum efficis, ut a me manus abstinere, alterum non potes, ut me non nostri consilii vitaeque paeniteat. Quid enim est quod me retineat, praesertim si spes ea non est, quae nos proficiscentes prosequeretur? Non faciam ut enumerem miseras omnes, in quas incidi per summam iniuriam et

*sed itineris causa*] 'but to go to Epirus' merely to suit my journey by making it a halting-place, would, firstly, be out of my way; secondly, it would place me only four days' journey from Autronius and my other enemies; lastly, I should miss you. A fortified place, like your property there, would be useful if I were living there, but is not necessary for one who is merely passing through.' On the careless construction of this and the next clause, see *Introd.* ii. § 2, note.

*Quod si auderem*] 'If I dared I would go to Athens: ah, that is the plan which I should really have liked; but my open enemies (such as Autronius) are there, and I have not you to help me, and I fear they might construe even that town (as well as Buthrotum) as not being at the required distance from Italy.' A difficulty has been raised because Cicero is said not elsewhere to speak of Athens as an *oppidum*, and because Cicero here expresses a doubt as to whether Athens was within the required distance, though he had been staying at Thessalonica, which was nearer to Italy. To the latter objection Hofm. replies that it was through the connivance of his friend Plancius, the *quaestor* to the governor of Macedonia, that he was allowed to remain at Thessalonica (*Planc.* 99). Cicero did not at this time intend to remain at Thessalonica, but to go on to Cyzicus. To the former his answer is, that Cornelius Nepos calls Athens, and even Rome, an *oppidum*. But the strongest defence of the text is not mentioned by Hofm. It is this: Cicero elsewhere uses *urbs* and *oppidum* as absolutely synonymous: see *De Div.* i. 53, where he describes Phrae as *urbs in Thessalia tum*

*admodum nobilis*, and then, after a short parenthesis, resumes his narration with the words *in eo igitur oppido*. So in the passage above (*Att.* ii. 1, 2), *curabis ut Athenis sit et in ceteris oppidis Graeciae*, we may perhaps hold that Cicero means to include Athens among *oppida*, though of course this passage is susceptible of another explanation, as an instance of a well-known classicism, of which we have an example in the Greek use of ἄλλος = 'besides': e.g. *χόρτος οὐδὲ ἄλλο δένδρον οὐδέν*, *Xen. Anab.* i. 5, 5. Hence Schütz is wrong in reading here *Achaia* for *Athenas* (see next letter, § 1), and in understanding *illud oppidum* to refer to Buthrotum.

*sane ita cadebat*] This can only be translated, 'indeed, the matter was turning out as I should wish.' (*Now* I cannot go to Athens.) In *vellem* we have, as often, the apodosis of a conditional sentence, the protasis of which is not expressed 'as I should wish if I had the choice.' For *cadere* = 'to fall out,' 'happen,' cp. *Att.* iii. 24, 1 (*Ep.* lxxxv.); *Att.* iv. 1, 1 (*Ep.* lix.). Observe that the *ut* is 'as,' and does not govern *vellem*.

*ab Italia*] See note on *Ep.* lvii.

*hostes*] For *hostes* = 'overt enemies,' see note on *Att.* ii. 19, 3.

2. *ad vitam vocas*] It is plain, from this and other passages, that Cicero really had thought of destroying himself, and was deterred by the advice of Atticus, which he afterwards regretted that he had followed.

*spes ea*] The nature of this hope is mentioned in *Q. Fr.* i. 4, 4, *saepe triduo summa cum gloria dicebar esse rediturus*.



scelus non tam inimicorum meorum quam invidorum, ne et meum maerorem exagitem et te in eundem luctum vocem. Hoc adfirmo, neminem umquam tanta calamitate esse adfectum, nemini mortem magis optandam fuisse; cuius oppetendae tempus honestissimum praetermissum est. Reliqua tempora sunt non tam ad medicinam quam ad finem doloris. 3. De re publica video te colligere omnia quae putes aliquam spem mihi posse adferre mutandarum rerum, quae quamquam exigua sunt, tamen, quoniam placet, exspectemus. Tu nihilo minus, si properaris, nos consequere. Nam aut accedemus in Epirum aut tarde per Candaviam ibimus. Dubitationem autem de Epiro non inconstantia nostra adferebat, sed quod de fratre, ubi eum visuri essemus, nesciebamus. Quem quidem ego nec ubi visurus nec quo modo dimissurus sim scio. Id est maximum et miserrimum mearum omnium miseriarum. Ego et saepius ad te et plura scriberem, nisi mihi dolor meus cum omnes partes mentis tum maxime huius generis facultatem ademisset. Videre te cupio. Cura ut valeas. Data prid. Kal. Mai. Brundusii.

*invidorum*] probably Hortensius: see Att. iii. 9, 2, and Q. Fr. i. 3, 8. So also in Att. iii. 8, 4.

*exagitem*] 'rouse afresh,' metaphor from stirring up grounds or dregs: cf. Col. xii. 19, 4, ut quidquid faecis subsederit *exagitet* et in summum reducat.

*sunt . . . ad*] 'are calculated to produce:' cf. Att. vi. 1, 14, *erit ad sustentandum*, 'will serve to keep the enemy at bay.' The meaning here is, 'I ought to have met an honourable death in resisting Clodius: that would have healed my heart-ache (wounded honour). All the subsequent opportunities (i. e. if I killed myself after my exile began) serve only to end my pain, not to heal it.' A noble death before he humiliated himself would have set him right in the eyes of the world, and so healed his pain; death now can only end it. Boot explains differently, '*quod superest non potest dolori remedium afferre, solum poterit hebetare dolorem*.' But how can this be found in the words? Surely (*afferre*) *finem dolori* is anything rather than *hebetare dolorem*. Perhaps he means, 'the rest of my life will serve not to heal my wound, but only to let it linger on till it is ended by death.' But I believe my explanation is the right one. I find that Boot now (*Obs. critt.* p. 46) explains the passage as I do.

3. *nihilo minus*] that is, 'though you

are still at Rome.'

*Candaviam*] A wild district of Illyria, lying in the road from Dyrrhachium to Thessalonica, and mentioned by Lucan, vii. 331, qua vastos aperit Candavia saltus.

*nec ubi visurus*] The best commentary on this passage is Att. iii. 9, 1, read with Q. Fr. i. 3, 4. In both passages Cicero expresses his fear that if he and his brother meet they will find it very hard to part. Therefore the reading usually adopted by editors, namely, *nec quo modo visurus nec ubi dimissurus sim*, can hardly be right. The question is not *where*, but *how*, he will be able to part with his brother. I have transposed *quo modo* and *ubi*. The sentence then runs, 'not only do I not know where I shall meet him (as is mentioned in the preceding sentence), but I do not know how I can part from him' (if I do meet him). *Quo modo* perhaps should stand both before *visurus* and before *dimissurus*, but my theory accounts better for the corruption. See Adn. Crit. I do not deny that the ordinary reading can be explained, for Cic. often speaks of an unwillingness even to look upon those who had known him in brighter days: see Q. Fr. i. 3, 1; Att. iii. 10, 2. But I hold that my reading is certainly more suitable to the context here, and virtually as near to the ms tradition.

*ego*] See last letter, § 1.

*huius generis facultatem*] 'my apti-

## LXIV. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. III. 8).

THESSALONICA, A. U. C. 696; B. C. 58; AET. CIC. 48.

M. Cicero Attico scribit sibi praeter causas, quas superiore epistola exposuisset, non placere in Epirum ire propterea, quod incertis nuntiis fratrem Athenas proficisci audisset. De miseriis suis, de sollicitudine propter iter fratris sibi prorsus incertum: dein respondet ad ea, quae Atticus scripserat, de inconstantia epistolarum suarum, de culpa sua, de rebus domesticis.

## CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Brundusii proficiscens scripseram ad te, quas ob causas in Epirum non essemus profecti, quod et Achaia prope esset plena audacissimorum inimicorum et exitus difficiles haberet, cum inde proficisceremur. Accessit, cum Dyrrhachii essemus, ut duo nuntii adferrentur: unus, classe fratrem Epheso Athenas, alter, pedibus per Macedoniam venire. Itaque illi ob viam misimus Athenas, ut inde Thessalonicam veniret. Ipsi processimus et Thessalonicam a. d. x. Kal. Iun. venimus, neque de illius itinere quidquam certi habebamus nisi eum ab Epheso ante aliquanto profectum. 2. Nunc istie quid agatur magno opere timeo. Quamquam tu altera epistola scribis Id. Mai. audire te fore ut acrius postularetur, altera, iam esse mitiora. Sed haec est pridie data quam illa: quo conturbor magis. Itaque, cum meus me

tude for this kind of mental exercise' (i. e. letter-writing). This is no mere *façon de parler*. We miss in the letters of Cicero's exile much not only of the interest, but even of the power and accuracy of expression which we find in the letters of his happier years. *Sane ita cedebat ut vellem* (above, § 1) is an example of a sentence which it would be difficult to parallel, except in the letters of his exile: so in next letter, § 4, *mentis motum . . . qui est commotus*.

1. *Achaia*] Relying on this passage, Schütz reads *Achaiam* for *Athenas* in the last letter, as if Cicero could not say in one letter that he had enemies in Athens, and in another, more broadly, that all Achaia was full of his enemies.

*Accessit ut*] this merely means 'further, two messages came; ' *accessit quod adlati sunt* would mean, 'another reason for not going to Epirus was the arrival of two messages.' If a new thought is to be added it is expressed by *acc. quod*, when it implies a *logical reason*, but by *acc. ut* when it implies a *historical fact*, Zumpt, 621, 626.

2. *istie*] Sc. Romae.

*Quamquam tu altera*] 'it is true that in one letter, dated May 15th, you say you hear that the trial of Quintus for extortion will be vigorously prosecuted, and in another, that the feeling against him is less strong; yet the latter is dated a day earlier than the former, which increases my perplexity.' For *conturbor*, see on Att. ii. 1, 2.

maeror cotidianus lacerat et conficit, tum vero haec addita cura vix mihi vitam reliquam facit. Sed et navigatio perdifficilis fuit et ille incertus ubi ego<sup>1</sup> essem fortasse alium cursum petivit. Nam Phaëtho libertus eum non vidit: vento reiectus ab Illo in Macedoniam Pellae mihi praesto fuit. Reliqua quam mihi timenda sint video nec quid scribam habeo et omnia timeo, nec tam miserum est quidquam quod non in nostram fortunam cadere videatur. Equidem adhuc miser in maximis meis aerumnis et luctibus, hoc metu adiecto, maneo Thessalonicae suspensus nec audeo quidquam.

3. Nunc *audi* ad ea, quae scripsisti. Tryphonem Caecilium non vidi. Sermonem tuum et Pompeii cognovi ex tuis litteris. Motum in re publica non tantum ego impendere video, quantum tu aut vides aut ad me consolandum adfers. Tigrane enim neglecto sublata sunt omnia. Varroni me iubes agere gratias: faciam, item Hypsaeo. Quod suades, ne longius discedamus, dum acta mensis Maii ad nos perferantur, puto me ita esse facturum; sed ubi? Nondum statui. Atque ita perturbato sum animo de Quinto, ut nihil queam statuere. Sed tamen statim te faciam certiore.

4. Ex epistolarum mearum inconstantia puto te mentis meae motum videre: qui, etsi incredibili et singulari calamitate adflictus sum, tamen non tam est ex miseria quam ex culpae nostrae recor-

*haec addita*] 'this additional anxiety about my brother hardly leaves me my life.' Another careless expression.

*alium cursum petivit*] 'went in a wrong direction.'

*Phaëtho*] a freedman of Cicero.

*ab Illo*] This is the admirable conjecture of Madvig for *ab illo*, which has been hitherto explained as referring to Quintus; and *reiectus ab illo* (sc. Quinto) in *Macedoniam* has been rendered, 'being separated from Quintus, and driven back by foul weather to Macedonia.' But surely such an expression is impossible.

3. *Tryphonem Caecilium*] a freedman of Caecilius. In early times a freedman took the *nomen* of his patron, but an arbitrary *praenomen*; later he took *nomen* and *praenomen* of his patron, taking his own name as *cognomen*.

*motum*] a rupture between the triumvirs.

*Tigrane enim neglecto*] Tigranes the younger, the son of king Tigranes, was brought home by Pompeius and left in safe keeping with Flavius, a senator.

Clodius, after a struggle in which many lives were lost, rescued the boy from Flavius, with the design of restoring him to his father, who had bribed Clodius. It was supposed that this daring act would have caused a rupture between the triumvirs, for Clodius was supported by Caesar. So Cicero says, 'now that they have overlooked this case, all chance of a rupture is gone.' Of course if Pompeius had openly quarrelled with Caesar (and through him with Clodius), there would have been good hopes of Cicero's restoration.

*Varroni*] M. Terentius, the antiquarian mentioned above, Att. ii. 25, 1, as a friend of Pompeius.

*Hypsaeo*] P. Plautius Hypsaeus, quaestor of Pompeius in the Mithridatic War.

*sed ubi? Nondum*] 'But where (shall I remain?) I have not yet made up my mind.' Thus it is best to punctuate, with Boot and Zumpt.

4. *motum . . . commotus*] See on last letter, *fin*.

datione commotus. Cuius enim scelere impulsus ac proditus simus iam profecto vides, atque utinam iam ante vidisses neque totum animum tuum maerori mecum simul dedisses! Qua re, cum me afflictum et confectum luctu audies, existimato me stultitiae meae poenam ferre gravius quam eventui, quod ei crediderim, quem esse nefarium non putarim. Me et meorum malorum memoria et metus de fratre in scribendo impedit. Tu ista omnia vide et governa. Terentia tibi maximas gratias agit. Litterarum exemplum, quas ad Pompeium scripsi, misi tibi. Data IIII Kal. Iunias Thessalonicae.

## LXV. TO ATTICUS, ON HIS WAY TO GREECE (ATT. III. 9).

THESSALONICA, A. U. C. 696; B. C. 58; AET. CIC. 48.

M. Cicero scribit quas ob causas Q. fratrem ex Asia reducem maluisset Romam properare quam ad se venire, de incerta spe sua, de Terentia, de fratris negotio, de mansionem suam Thessalonicae, de aliis rebus domesticis.

### CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Quintus frater cum ex Asia discessisset ante Kal. Mai. et Athenas venisset Idib., valde fuit ei properandum, ne quid absens acciperet calamitatis, si quis forte fuisset qui contentus nostris malis non esset. Itaque eum malui properare Romam quam ad me venire, et simul—dicam enim quod verum est, ex quo magnitudinem miseriarum mearum perspicere possis—animum inducere non potui, ut aut illum, amantissimum mei, mollissimo animo, tanto in maerore aspicerem aut meas miseras luctu afflictas et perditam fortunam illi offerrem aut ab illo aspici paterer. Atque

*Cuius enim scelere*] Hortensius, as appears from next letter, § 2, and Q. Fr. i. 3, 8. *existimato . . . putarim*] 'be assured that I am more galled by the punishment arising from the sense of my own folly, in believing one whose treachery I never suspected, than by the punishment consisting in the results which followed my foolish credulity.' 'I feel more punishment in the sense of my folly in believing, &c., than in the consequences which followed that credulousness.' Another very un-

Ciceronian sentence.

1. *ne quid absens acciperet calamitatis*] sc. *ne acrius postuletur*.

*mollissimo*] 'very nervous:' see Att. i. 17, 2.

*meas miseras luctu afflictas*] This is, perhaps, a careless expression meaning, 'the miseries of my afflicted position,' *miseras* being an abstract substantive put for a concrete. Or perhaps we should read *afflicti*, comparing *tuum pectus hominis*

etiam illud timebam, quod profecto accidisset, ne a me digredi non posset. Versabatur mihi tempus illud ante oculos, cum ille aut lictores dimitteret aut vi evelleretur ex complexu meo. Huius acerbitalis eventum altera acerbitate non videndi fratris vitavi. In hunc me casum vos vivendi auctores impulistis. Itaque mei peccati luo poenas. 2. Quamquam me tuae litterae sustentant: ex quibus quantum tu ipse speres facile perspicio. Quae quidem tamen aliquid habebant solacii ante, quam eo venisti a Pompeio: 'Nunc Hortensium adlice et eius modi viros.' Obseco, mi Pomponi, nondum perspicis quorum opera, quorum insidiis, quorum scelere perierimus? Sed tecum haec omnia coram agemus. Tantum dico, quod scire te puto: nos non inimici, sed invidi perdidierunt. Nunc si ista sunt, quae speras, sustinebimus nos et spe qua iubes nitemur. Sin, ut mihi videntur, infirma sunt, quod optimo tempore facere non licuit, minus idoneo fiet. 3. Terentia tibi saepe agit gratias. Mihi etiam unum de malis in metu est, fratris miseri negotium: quod si sciam cuius modi sit, sciam quid agendum mihi sit. Me etiam nunc istorum beneficiorum et litterarum expectatio, ut tibi placet, Thessalonicae tenet. Si quid erit novi adlatum, sciam de reliquo quid agendum sit. Tu si, ut scribis, Kal. Iun. Roma profectus es, propediem nos videbis. Litteras, quas ad Pompeium scripsi, tibi misi. Data Id. Iun. Thessalonicae.

*simplicis*, Phil. ii. 111; and *mea scripta timentis*, Hor. Sat. i. 4, 22: see especially note on Ep. xvi. 1 (Fam. v. 6), and a very parallel construction in Att. xi. 15, 2, *soliis enim meum peccatum corrigi non potest*, et fortasse Laelii. Boot explains *luctu adflictas* as *quas luctus reddit graviores*, but I do not see how *adflictas* could bear that meaning. I find, in the posthumous notes of Pluygers, published in *Mnemosyne*, that he takes the same view as I do of this passage.

*digredi non posset*] Cf. Q. Fr. i. 3, 4.

*lictores dimitteret*] A provincial governor retained his lictors and fasces till he returned to Rome. But he was bound to go straight from his province to Rome, using no unreasonable delay on the journey. If Quintus wished, therefore, to make any considerable sojourn with his brother, he would be obliged to dismiss his lictors, and lay down his *imperium*.

*vivendi auctores*] 'who are responsible

for my survival?' See next letter, § 2.

2. *quantum*] 'how little.' Boot, who compares Att. viii. 12, D. *fin.*; xi. 13, 1. But in these cases 'the extent of' is a better rendering; for this expression, like the Latin, depends on the context for its meaning.

*a Pompeio*] 'from (your mention of) P., to the place (in your letter) where (you say) *nunc Hortensium*,' &c.

*non inimici*] Here, as often, the plural is used to give a vagueness to a dangerous assertion, or to take some of the force from a violent expression. Hortensius *only* is referred to; Cicero hints that Hortensius was jealous of his forensic success.

*si ista sunt*] 'if these sources of hope really exist:' cf. Tusc. i. 10, *adeone me delirare censes, ut ista esse credam?* *fiet*] sc. *mortem optetam*.

3. *beneficiorum*] Certain advantages or services likely to accrue from friends in Rome, which Atticus had pointed out to

## LXVI. TO QUINTUS, IN ROME (Q. FR. I. 3).

THESSALONICA, A. U. C. 696 ; B. C. 58 ; AET. CIC. 48.

M. Cicero Q. fratri de pueris sine epistola missis se excusat, de exsili calamitate queritur, pro oblati facultatibus gratias agit, monet de quorundam fide suosque commendat.

## MARCUS Q. FRATRI S.

1. Mi frater, mi frater, mi frater, tune id veritus es, ne ego iracundia aliqua adductus pueros ad te sine litteris miserim? aut etiam ne te videre noluerim? Ego tibi irascerer? tibi ego possem irasci? Scilicet, tu enim me adflixisti: tui me inimici, tua me invidia ac non ego te misere perdi. Meus ille laudatus consularis mihi te, liberos, patriam, fortunas, tibi velim ne quid eriperit praeter unum me. Sed certe a te mihi omnia semper honesta et iucunda ceciderunt, a me tibi luctus meae calamitatis, metus tuae, desiderium, maeror, solitudo. Ego te videre noluerim? Immo vero me a te videri nolui. Non enim vidisses fratrem tuum, non eum, quem reliqueras, non eum, quem noras, non eum, quem flens flentem, prosequentem proficiscens dimiseras: ne vestigium quidem eius nec simulacrum, sed quamdam effigiem spirantis mortui. Atque utinam me mortuum prius vidisses aut audisses! utinam te non solum vitae, sed etiam dignitatis meae superstitem

him, but the nature of which we cannot guess. But we are not therefore justified in changing the text to *comitiorum*, as Gronovius does, comparing Att. iii. 12, 1, *spem ostendis secundum comitia*.

1. *Scilicet*] 'Yes, of course, it was you who crushed me. It was your enemies and envy of you that ruined me—and not I who utterly ruined you!' Ironical, of course, as Ter. And. i. 2, 14, *populus curat scilicet*. The sentence is redeemed from a certain degree of bad taste by the tenderness of *mi frater, mi frater, mi frater*. The *invidia* referred to is the envy of Hortensius.

*fortunas*] sc. *eripuit*.

*cecidit*] 'I have met with.'

*solitudo*] 'the want of my services as an advocate:' see § 2.

\* *videre noluerim*] 'I not want to see you.' For the subjunct., see on Att. ii. 12, 1 (Ep. xxxvii.)

*utinam te non solum vitae*] 'Would that I had left you behind me to look back on my life, not only finished, but finished with honour.' The meaning is clear, but the sentence is difficult to render precisely. Cicero recurs to his oft-expressed wish that he had perished nobly before his humiliation, so that Quintus would have survived his brother, but would not have had his present indignities to look back on. See Att. iii. 7, 2. The thought is, 'If I had destroyed myself before I left Rome, you would have been able to

reliquissem! 2. Sed testor omnes deos me hac una voce a morte esse revocatum, quod omnes in mea vita partem aliquam tuae vitae repositam esse dicebant. Qua in re peccavi scelerateque feci. Nam si occidissem, mors ipsa meam pietatem amoremque in te facile defenderet. Nunc commisi ut me vivo careres, vivo me aliis indigeres: mea vox in domesticis periculis potissimum occideret, quae saepe alienissimis praesidio fuisset. Nam quod ad te pueri sine litteris venerunt, quoniam vides non fuisse iracundiam causam, certe pigritia fuit et quaedam infinita vis lacrimarum et dolorum. 3. Haec ipsa me quo fletu putas scripsisse? Eodem quo te legere certo scio. An ego possum aut non cogitare aliquando de te aut umquam sine lacrymis cogitare? Cum enim te desidero, fratrem solum desidero? Ego vero suavitate [fratrem prope] aequalem, obsequio filium, consilio parentem. Quid mihi sine te umquam aut tibi sine me iucundum fuit? Quid, quod eodem tempore desidero filiam? qua pietate, qua modestia, quo ingenio! effigiem oris,

look back on my life as a finished drama without a single dishonourable episode.' Ernesti would transpose *vitae* and *dignitatis*. At first sight this seems plausible: 'would that I had in you a survivor not only of my honour, but of my existence;' but had Cicero died before he left Rome, his honour would have been (as he often says) intact; so if Quintus had been *vitae superstes* he would not have been *dignitatis superstes* in the sense which Ernesti gives to the words. If Cicero had written *utinam te non dignitatis sed vitae superstitem reliquissem*, then we should have the meaning which Ernesti looks for, 'would that you had survived, not my honour (as is now the case), but my life (as you would have done if I had perished in Rome).'

2. *scelerate*] 'with wretched, culpable imprudence.' *Scelus* has often in these letters this mitigated signification; cf. Att. iii. 15, 4, meo non tuo scelere praetermissum est.

*defenderet*] This may mean—(1) 'my very death itself would clearly prove and maintain my affection for you,' as in Fin. iii. 71; or (2) 'might allege in its defence,' as in Fin. ii. 117.

*mea vox*] 'that my voice should fail to be uplifted when peril threatened my own family—that voice which so often

was the saving of the merest strangers;' or perhaps *alienissimis* means 'enemies,' e. g. Vatinius and (possibly) Catiline.

*nam quod*] The last six sentences from *Non enim vidisses . . . praesidio fuisset* must be looked on as parenthetical. *Nam quod ad te pueri* resumes the train of thought broken off at *immo vero me a te videri nolui*, 'The reason I did not meet you was not that I did not care to see you; no, but I did not wish to be seen by you. The fact that my servants arrived without any letters for you is not to be taken to discredit what I have said. No, it was my helpless, unstrung condition (I have already shown that it was not any feeling of irritation), and the weight of woe that oppressed me.' *Pigritia* is 'listlessness;' cp. Tusc. iv. 18.

3. *scripsisse*] 'am writing;' epistolary perf. = English present.

*Cum enim te desidero*] 'When I am parted from you do I feel the loss only of a brother in you? In losing you, I lose a brother indeed (and one of well-nigh my own years) in charm of manner—a son in compliance with me—a parent in judgment.' The reading of M is *suavitate prope fratrem prope aequalem*, which Ernesti corrected as in the text. Orelli accepts the reading which Petrarch says he found in his text, *suavitate prope*

sermonis, animi mei! Quod filium venustissimum mihi que dulcissimum? quem ego ferus ac ferreus e complexu dimisi meo, sapientiore puerum quam vellem. Sentiebat enim miser iam quid ageretur. Quod vero tuum filium, quod imaginem tuam, quem meus Cicero et amabat ut fratrem et iam ut maiorem fratrem verebatur? Quid, quod mulierem miserrimam, fidelissimam coniugem, me prosequi non sum passus, ut esset quae reliquias communis calamitatis, communes liberos tueretur? 4. Sed tamen, quoquo modo potui, scripsi et dedi litteras ad te Philogono, liberto tuo, quas credo tibi postea redditas esse: in quibus idem te hortor et rogo, quod pueri tibi verbis meis nuntiarunt, ut Romam protinus pergas et properes. Primum enim te praesidio esse volui, si qui essent inimici quorum crudelitas nondum esset nostra calamitate satiata. Deinde congressus nostri lamentationem pertimui, digressum vero non tulissem atque etiam id ipsum quod tu scribis, metuebam, ne a me distrahi non posses. His de causis hoc maximum malum, quod te non vidi quo nihil amantissimis et coniunctissimis fratribus acerbius miseriuse videtur accidere potuisse, minus acerbum, minus miserum fuit, quam fuisset cum congressio tum vero digressio nostra. 5. Nunc, si potes, id quod ego, qui tibi semper fortis videbar, non possum, erige te et confirma, si qua subeunda dimicatio erit. Spero, si quid mea spes habet auctoritatis, tibi et integritatem tuam et amorem in

*aequalem*; and certainly the mention of *fratrem* (in the reply to *fratrem solum desidero*?) is to be accounted for only on the principle put forward in note on Att. iii. 7, *fin.* The *aequalis* (δμήλιξ, *comrade*) might well be placed above even a brother as regards *suavitas*, 'charm of manner,' and the word *fratrem* might have been inserted by some copyist who knew that Quintus was *prope aequalis* with his brother, and misunderstood *aequalis*. To read *suavitate aequalem* would give a still better sense, and *prope* might have been inserted by a copyist who thought that *aequalem* implied that Marcus and Quintus were of the same age, and did not perceive that *aequalis* here is simply δμήλιξ, 'a comrade.' I believe, therefore, that *fratrem* and *prope* are both corrupt, and that the sentence means, 'In you I lose one who is in charm of social intercourse as a comrade,

in compliance with my wishes as a son, in the soundness of his advice as a father. *ferus*] cp. *quam ferus et vere ferreus ille fuit*. Tibull. i. 10, 2.

*reliquias communis calamitatis*] 'all that is spared to us by the blow that has prostrated us both:' so *reliquias Danaum*, Virg. Aen. i. 30. Cicero uses *reliquias* in a slightly different sense in De Sen. 19, *reliquias avi*, 'the heirloom of a grandfather,' i. e. the war with Carthage.

4. *praesidio*] sc. *tibi* (Schütz); but *praesidio* implies action on behalf of another. Cicero would wish Quintus to resist any further hostile acts against himself or his family on the part of those whose malice was not yet sated by his present abject state.

5. *si potes*] sc. *facere*. See note on Fam. xiv. 4, 6. *auctoritatis*] 'basis,' 'grounds,' 'foundation.'



te civitatis et aliquid etiam misericordiam nostri praesidii laturam. Sin eris ab isto periculo vacuus, ages scilicet, si quid agi posse de nobis putabis. De quo scribunt ad me quidem multi multa et se sperare demonstrant, sed ego quid sperem non dispicio, cum inimici plurimum valeant, amici partim deseruerint me, partim etiam prodiderint, qui in meo reditu fortasse reprehensionem sui sceleris pertimescant. Sed ista qualia sint tu velim perspicias mihi que declares. Ego tamen, quam diu tibi opus erit, si quid periculi subeundum videbis, vivam: diutius in hac vita esse non possum. Neque enim tantum virium habet ulla aut prudentia aut doctrina, ut tantum dolorem possit sustinere. 6. Scio fuisse et honestius moriendi tempus et utilius, sed non hoc solum, multa alia praetermisi, quae si queri velim praeterita, nihil agam nisi ut augeam dolorem tuum, indicem stultitiam meam. Illud quidem nec faciendum est nec fieri potest, me diutius, quam aut tuum tempus aut firma spes postulabit, in tam misera tamque turpi vita commorari, ut, qui modo fratre fuerim, liberis, coniuge, copiis genere ipso pecuniae beatissimus, dignitate, auctoritate, existimatione, gratia non inferior quam qui umquam fuerunt amplissimi, is nunc in hac tam afflicta perditaue fortuna neque me neque meos lugere diutius possim. 7. Qua re quid ad me scripsisti de permutatione? quasi vero nunc me non tuae facultates sustineant, qua in re ipsa video miser et sentio quid sceleris admiserim, cum

*et aliquid etiam*] The order is *et etiam misericordiam nostri aliquid praesidii (tibi) laturam*.

*periculo*] The prosecution for malversation in his province with which he was threatened by Appius Claudius, son of Clodius.

*quem diu tibi opus erit*] Cicero seems to have thought of writing a speech for his brother, in defence of his administration.

*sustinere*] 'to bear up against:' cf. Q. Fr. i. 1, 19.

6. *genere ipso pecuniae*] 'blest in brother, children, wife, fortune—aye, even in the very nature of my wealth,' which was won by honourable means, so that he had an unblemished character and unsailable position in society. His wealth seems to have been derived chiefly from the large legacies left by grateful clients, and he did not dissipate his property like many rich men of his day. See Intro. i. § 2. Manutius ingeniously conjectured

*genero*, supposing a reference to Piso, but the order of the words should then be changed, and *pecunia* could hardly be retained. The whole sentence, *ut qui modo . . . diutius possim*, is very loosely constructed: 'it is impossible for me to linger longer than your needs or some trustworthy hope may warrant, in a life so miserable and ignominious, that I (who was once so blest in family, &c., and in rank, character, and reputation as high as ever was anyone, be he never so distinguished), even I, can no longer go on in my crushed and ruined state lamenting the fall of myself and my family.' This, surely, is a sentence which Cicero would never have written in his happier days.

7. *de permutatione*] Quintus had offered to negotiate a bill of exchange for Cicero in Rome, on his arrival there. The money would be paid to Cicero at Thessalonica.

*quid sceleris*] 'I see what a crime I committed when I squandered, to no pur-

tu de visceribus tuis et filii tui satis facturus sis quibus debes, ego acceptam ex aerario pecuniam tuo nomine frustra dissiparim. Sed tamen et M. Antonio, quantum tu scripseras, et Caepioni tantumdem solutum est: mihi ad id, quod cogito, hoc, quod habeo, satis est. Sive enim restituimur sive desperamur, nihil amplius opus est. Tu, si forte quid erit molestiae, te ad Crassum et ad Calpidium conferas, censeo. 8. Quantum Hortensio credendum sit nescio. Me summa simulatione amoris summaque adsiduitate cotidiana sceleratissime insidiosissimeque tractavit, adiuncto Q. Arrio: quorum ego consiliis, promissis, praeceptis destitutus in hanc calamitatem incidi. Sed haec occultabis, ne quid obsint. Illud caveto—et eo puto per Pomponium fovendum tibi esse ipsum Hortensium—ne ille versus, qui in te erat collatus, cum aedilitatem petebas, de lege Aurelia, falso testimonio confirmetur. Nihil enim tam timeo quam ne, cum intelligant homines quantum misericordiae nobis tuae preces et tua salus adlatura sit, oppug-

pose (probably on bribes to save himself from exile) the money which I got from the treasury on your account, while you are coining your blood and your son's blood to pay your creditors.' This is the money already referred to in Att. ii. 6 *fin.*, and ii. 16 *fin.* There is a difficulty in this sentence which seems not to be noticed by the commentators. After *admisserim* should stand some word to be the subject of (or to qualify) *dissiparim*. *Qui* would naturally be the word, *sento quid sceleris admisserim, qui, cum satis facturus sis quibus debes, dissiparim*; but then *ego* should be omitted. To read *cum, cum satis facturus sis quibus debes, dissiparim* would account for the disappearance of the first *cum*, but would be very cacophonous; *quod, cum* might be the true reading, but I have followed Wesenberg, who to some extent removes the difficulty by suggesting an emphatic *tu* before *de visceribus*; the same *cum* then governs both *satis facturus sis* and *dissiparim*; but I do not believe that this is what Cicero wrote. For *ex visceribus*, cf. Pro. Dom. 124, *cur ille gurgis, helluatus tecum simul reipublicae sanguinem, ad caelum tamen exstruit villam in Tusculano visceribus aerarii*.

*M. Antonio*] Antonius and Caepio were creditors of Quintus. Cicero had paid them some money before he left Rome.

*quantum tu scripseras*] 'the amount you mentioned in your letter,' probably;

but, possibly, 'the amount to which you drew on them:' cf. Pl. As. ii. 4, 34, *scribit numos*.

*desperamur*] sc. *ab amicis*. *Desperare aliquem*, 'to despair of a person,' is a very rare construction, but is found in Cic. Cat. ii. 10.

*molestiae*] 'a prosecution:' cf. Q. Fr. i. 4, 2, *si te satis innocentia tua et misericordia hominum vindicat a molestia*. He advises Quintus to apply for aid to Crassus (the triumvir) and M. Calpidius, if prosecuted. M. Calidius, as praetor, next year brought in the bill for Cicero's restoration.

8. *Pomponium*] Hortensius was a friend of Atticus.

*ne ille versus*] 'lest by some false testimony your authorship of that epigram be confirmed—that epigram about the Aurelian law which was attributed to you when you were a candidate for the aedileship.' Some epigram on the Aurelian Law, which gave the *iudicia* to the senate, knights, and *tribuni aerarii*, was attributed to Quintus. We do not know what it was; but we may infer that it was in some way offensive to Hortensius or some of the leading men of the time. Ernesti wrongly understands *collatus* as 'applied to,' but cf. Fam. v. 5, 2, *quod abs te aiunt falso in me conferri*; and Fam. vii. 32, 1, *omnia omnium dicta in me conferri*. Hence Cicero was called *scurra consularis*.

*tuae preces et tua salus*] 'your inter-

nent te vehementius. 9. Messallam tui studiosum esse arbitror : Pompeium etiam simulatorem puto. Sed haec utinam ne experire! quod precarer deos, nisi meas preces audire desissent. Verum tamen precor, ut his infinitis nostris malis contenti sint : in quibus tamen nullius inest peccati infamia, sed omnis dolor est, quod optime factis poena maxima est constituta. 10. Filiam meam et tuam Ciceronemque nostrum quid ego, mi frater, tibi commendem? quin illud maereo, quod tibi non minorem dolorem illorum orbitas adferet quam mihi. Sed te incolumi orbi non erunt. Reliqua, ita mihi salus aliqua detur potestasque in patria moriendi, ut me lacrimae non sinunt scribere! Etiam Terentiam velim tueare mihique de omnibus rebus rescribas. Sis fortis, quoad rei natura patiatur. Idibus Iuniis, Thessalonicae.

## LXVII. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. III. 10.).

THESSALONICA, A. U. C. 696; B. C. 58; AET. CIC. 48.

M. Cicero Attico scribit litteris eius se certiore factum quae usque ad a. d. viii Kal. Iun. acta essent, reliqua se Thessalonicae expectare, tum se statuere posse ubi sit, de exigua spe sua recuperandae salutis et de animo non sine idonea causa adfecto.

## CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Acta quae essent usque ad a. d. viii Kalend. Iun. cognovi ex tuis litteris. Reliqua expectabam, ut tibi placebat, Thessalonicae: quibus adlatis facilius statuere potero ubi sim. Nam, si erit causa, si quid agetur, si spem videro, aut ibidem opperiar aut me ad te conferam: sin, ut tu scribis, ista evanuerint, aliquid aliud videbimus. Omnino adhuc nihil mihi significatis nisi discordiam

cession on my behalf consequent on your acquittal,' for if Quintus was himself under an adverse sentence, he could not, with any effect, plead his brother's cause.

9. *Messallam*] Consul with M. Piso in 693 (b. c. 61).

*etiam*] 'still,' as before in my case.

10. *Reliqua*] 'More—I swear by my hopes of restoration and of a grave in my fatherland—more my tears do not let me write!': cf. Att. v. 15, 2, *ita vivam, ut maximos sumptus facio*, 'by my life I

am drawing enormously on my own resources.'

1. *ad te*] 'to your estate in Epirus.'

*sin, ut tu scribis*] Schütz gives *me ad te conferam, ut tu scribis*; *sin ista evanuerint*, on the grounds that Atticus would be more prone to put the hopeful view of the case before Cicero. But the change is quite wrong; Atticus did not write him reassuring letters: see Att. iii. 12, *fin.*; 13, 1; and especially 14, 1.

istorum, quae tamen inter eos de omnibus potius rebus est quam de me. Itaque quid ea mihi prosit nescio. Sed tamen, quoad me vos sperare vultis, vobis obtemperabo. 2. Nam quod me tam saepe et tam vehementer obiurgas et animo infirmo esse dicis, quaeso equod tantum malum est quod in mea calamitate non sit? equis umquam tam ex amplo statu, tam in bona causa, tantis facultatibus ingenii, consilii, gratiae, tantis praesidiis bonorum omnium concidit? Possum oblivisci qui fuerim? non sentire qui sim? quo caream honore, qua gloria, quibus liberis, quibus fortunis, quo fratre? quem ego, ut novum calamitatis genus attendas, cum pluris facerem quam me ipsum semperque fecissem, vitavi ne viderem, ne aut illius luctum squaloremque aspicere aut me, quem ille florentissimum reliquerat, perditum illi adflictumque offerrem. Mitto cetera intolerabilia. Etenim fletu impediior. Hic utrum tandem sum accusandus, quod doleo, an, quod commisi, ut haec aut non retinerem (quod facile fuisset nisi intra parietes meos de mea perniciē consilia inirentur), aut certe

*istorum*] 'those friends of yours;' *sc.* Pompeius, Clodius, and Gabinius.

*vos*] Atticus and the others who had advised Cicero's flight.

2. *tam ex amplo*] *cp. quam in optimo = in quam optimo*, 'the best possible,' Fin. v. 26, and the note of Madvig there.

*mitto*] 'I pass over:' cf. Att. iv. 3, 5, and note on Ep. xlv. (Att. ii. 19, 1).

*hic*] i. e., *in hac re*.

*utrum*] Retaining the *non* which I have bracketed, I cannot import any meaning into the sentence. Here is the only meaning it could bear: 'Am I to be blamed for feeling this grief, or rather for having acted in such a manner as to forfeit these blessings, or at least not to forfeit them but by death?' It will be at once seen how utterly devoid of logical consecution are the words in italics. Omitting *non*, the words give an excellent sense, and convey a sentiment which Cicero has frequently expressed in his letters from exile: 'am I to be blamed for feeling such grief? or am I to be blamed rather for having acted in such a manner as to forfeit these blessings, or at least for having acted in such a manner as to forfeit them *while still retaining my life*' (*aut certe quod commisi ut vivus amitterem*, 'as to forfeit them *while still retaining my life*, *vivus*')? This sentiment recurs repeatedly in Cicero's letters

from exile. His first error was 'his having incurred the loss of all his blessings and glories,' *quod commisi ut haec non retinerem*; but his second and worse error was 'his having incurred these losses, and allowed himself to survive,' *quod commisi ut haec vivus amitterem*. Madvig saw the complete want of connexion in the *vulg.*, and proposed to get the meaning which I have given to the sentence by reading *non aut for aut non* before *retinerem*; but it seems to me that *non aut* almost immediately succeeded by *aut . . . non* would be somewhat confusing. His conjecture is certainly far from improbable. However, my arrangement of the sentence involves a very slight change, and supposes on the part of the copyist a very likely blunder. One might thus convey the meaning of the sentence as I understand it:—*Am I to be blamed for feeling this grief or for having acted in such a way as to miss either (on the one hand) the retaining of these good things, or (on the other) the satisfaction of not losing them but by death.* The two alternatives are—(1) to keep the good things; (2) to lose them, but to lose life at the same time.

*quod facile fuisset*] *sc. retinere*. In the 'plots against him within his own walls,' he refers to the treachery of Hortensius and Arrius.

vivus [non] amitterem? 3. Haec eo scripsi, ut potius relevares me, quod facis, quam ut castigatione aut obiurgatione dignum putares, eoque ad te minus multa scribo, quod et maerore impedior et quod exspectem istinc magis habeo quam quod ipse scribam. Quae si erunt adlata, faciam te consilii nostri certiore. Tu, ut adhuc fecisti, quam plurimis de rebus ad me velim scribas, ut prorsus ne quid ignorem. Data XIII Kal. Quinct. Thessalonicae.

## LXVIII. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. III. 11).

THESSALONICA, A. U. C. 696; B. C. 58; AET. CIC. 48.

M. Cicero Attico scribit quae se res adhuc Thessalonica tenuerint, cupit se iuvare ab Attico, nec tamen obiurgari propter aerumnas suas, Q. fratrem sustentandum commendat.

et

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Me <sup>ut</sup> tuae litterae et quidam boni nuntii non optimis tamen auctoribus et expectatio vestrarum litterarum et quod tibi ita placuerat, adhuc Thessalonicae tenebant. Si accepero litteras quas exspecto, si spes erit ea, quae rumoribus adferebatur, ad te me conferam: si non erit, faciam te certiore quid egerim.  
2. Tu me, ut facis, opera, consilio, gratia iuva: consolari iam desine, obiurgare vero noli, quod cum facis, ut ego tuum amorem et dolorem desidero! quem ita adfectum mea aerumna esse arbi-

3. *quod et maerore*] 'I write the less because I am let and hindered by my distress of mind, and (because) I have more to expect from you than to tell you myself.' The ellipse of *quod* = 'because' before *quod exspectem* (where *quod* is of course the relative) is very harsh. To supply the *quod* (conjunction) before *quod* (relative) would be cacophonous, though Cicero is not very sensitive about such matters, as has been shown above on Ep. xx. § 2. As the sentence stands it can hardly be right. Perhaps we should read *quod et maerore impedior et quod exspecto istinc magis quam habeo quod ipse scribam*: cf. Att. iii. 12 *fin.*  
*ut . . . ne quid*] Cf. Q. Fr. i. 1, 38, *ut*

*ne quod* in nobis insigne vitium fuisse dicatur.

1. *ad te me conferam*] That is, 'I shall go to *your property* in Epirus' (see Att. iii. 14, 2; 19, 1). Atticus was himself in Rome, but *ad te* means 'to your house': see note on Att. ii. 2, *fin.* In Att. iv. 5, 3, *ad te* is used to designate the town-house of Atticus in contradistinction to his *horti*, or 'suburban villa.' We may suppose that Cicero would not have used here an expression that might more properly mean 'to your town-house,' but that the circumstances of the case rendered it impossible that he should

tror, ut te ipsum consolari nemo possit. Quintum fratrem optimum humanissimumque sustenta. Ad me obsecro te ut omnia certa perscribas. Data IIII Kal. Quint.

## LXIX. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. III. 12).

THESSALONICA, A. U. C. 696 ; B. C. 58 ; AET. CIC. 48.

M. Cicero scribit de spe, quam ostenderit Atticus, exigua, de oratione in Curionem praepostere prolata, de condicione sua, de rebus familiaribus.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Tu quidem sedulo argumentaris quid sit sperandum et maxime per senatum, idemque caput rogationis proponi scribis, qua re in senatu dici nihil liceat ; itaque siletur. Hic tu me accusas, quod me adflixtem, cum ita sim adflictus, ut nemo umquam, quod tute intellegis. Spem ostendis secundum comitia. Quae ista est, eodem tribuno pl. et inimico consule designato ?  
2. Percussisti autem me etiam de oratione prolata. Cui vulneri, ut scribis, medere, si quid potes. Scripsi equidem olim ei iratus quod ille prior scripserat, sed ita compresseram, ut numquam emanaturam putarem. Quo modo exciderit nescio. Sed quia numquam accidit ut cum eo verbo uno concertarem et quia scripta mihi videtur neglegentius quam ceterae, puto posse probari non esse meam. Id, si putas me posse sanari, cures velim : sin plane

here be taken as referring to Atticus' house in Rome : cf. Att. iii. 17, 2 ; 19, 1 ; 22, 4.

1. *Tu quidem sedulo*] 'You argue earnestly about what hope I may entertain, and especially through the action of the Senate ; and yet you tell me that the clause of the Clodian bill forbidding any reference to my restoration is actually being posted up. Therefore not a word is said about my case : ' see Att. iii. 15, 6. Malaspina conjectured *sileti*, which would certainly give a better sense ; but it is rash to make an alteration in such cases ; *siletur* gives a good sense.

*eodem tribuno*] 'What hope have I with Clodius re-elected as tribune, and

the consul elect my enemy ?' In both these vaticinations Cicero proved wrong. Clodius was not re-elected as tribune, and Metellus Nepos, who had been hostile to Cicero in his tribunate, befriended him heartily as consul.

2. *oratione*] *In Curionem* : see Att. iii. 15, 3.

*compresseram*] 'suppressed it,' 'kept it out of circulation.'

*exciderit*] 'got out.' See Att. iv. 17, 1, where I would read *lepidum quid ne quo excidat*.

*posse probari non esse meam*] The modern detractors of Cicero make this the ground of some very violent denunciations of Cicero. It seems to me that even

perii, minus laboro. 3. Ego etiam nunc eodem in loco iaceo, sine sermone ullo, sine cogitatione ulla. Licet tibi, ut scribis, significarim, ut ad me venires† si donatam† ut intellego te istic prodesse, hic ne verbo quidem levare me posse. Non queo plura scribere, nec est quod scribam: vestra magis exspecto. Data xvi Kal. Sext. Thessalonicae.

## LXX. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. III. 14).

THESSALONICA, A. U. C. 696; B. C. 58; AET. CIC. 48.

M. Cicero ab Attico requirit quid Cn. Pompeius actis nunc iam comitiis de se agi velit, de spe sua, Thessalonicae se nolle amplius commorari propter viae celebritatem, in Epirum se nolle proficisci, fortasse in Asiam.

## CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Ex tuis litteris plenus sum expectatione de Pompeio quidnam de nobis velit aut ostendat. Comitia enim credo esse habita: quibus absolutis scribis illi placuisse agi de nobis. Si tibi stultus

at the present day if a public man wrote something which, on reflection, seemed likely to injure him, and also seemed unworthy of him in style, he would wish to conceal his authorship, though he would probably not avow such a desire even in a letter to an intimate friend. See for similar charges against the character of Cicero, Att. vi. 6, 4; and Att. xi. 9, 2: see also Introd. I<sup>2</sup>, 41 ff., on this whole subject.

3. *Licet tibi, ut scribis, significarim*] Schütz would transpose *ut scribis* to after *intellego te*; but it is quite right where it stands. Atticus had used the word *significare* in his letter in a somewhat unusual sense. Cicero replies, 'though I did intimate to you (make you a sign—beckon you, to use your own expression) to come to me, yet I have now discovered that you are useful to me at Rome, but that here you could not relieve me even by a word of comfort:' see Att. iii. 10, 1. I have rendered the sentence as amended by Koch, *ut ad me venires; dudum tamen intellego*. Many other attempts have been made to emend the corrupt words *si donatam*. By far the best is that of H. A. J.

Munro, kindly communicated to me by him. It is, *ut ad me venires, res si idonea tamen, nunc intellego te istic prodesse* (nunc was written *ne*, hence *ut*).

*Non queo*] This is in favour of my view of Att. iii. 10, 3.

1. *quidnam . . . ostendat*] 'what view of my case he takes, or puts forward.'

*Si tibi stultus*] 'If I seem to you to be foolish in indulging a hope, it is you that prompt me to it; and I mind me that it is rather your wont in your correspondence with me to check and discourage me and my hopes (therefore I attach the more significance to the hopeful tone of your recent letters)'. Such is the meaning of this passage. The commentators have all misunderstood the meaning, and have accepted *etsi* for *et*, a reading which Bosius adduced from his pretended *codex Y*. But my rendering, besides preserving *et*—the ms reading—gives a sense quite in keeping with Att. iii. 10, 1, when vindicated from the mistaken correction of Schütz. Why, in the face of Cicero's repeated assertion that the letters of Atticus were *discouraging*, should an editor

esse videor qui sperem, facio tuo iussu, et scio te me iis epistolis potius et meas spes solitum esse remorari. Nunc velim mihi plane perscribas quid videas. Scio nos nostris multis peccatis in hanc aerumnam incidisse. Ea si qui casus aliqua ex parte correxerit, minus moleste feremus nos vixisse et adhuc vivere. 2. Ego propter viae celebritatem et cotidianam expectationem rerum novarum non commovi me adhuc Thessalonica. Sed iam extrudimur, non a Plancio—nam is quidem retinet—verum ab ipso loco minime apposito ad tolerandam in tanto luctu calamitatem. In Epirum ideo, ut scripseram, non ii, quod subito mihi universi nuntii venerant et litterae, qua re nihil esset necesse quam proxime Italiam esse. Hinc si aliquid a comitiis audierimus, nos in Asiam convertemus, neque adhuc stabat quo potissimum, sed scies. Data XII Kal. Sext. Thessalonicae.

insist on altering the text to suit his own groundless impression that those letters must have been hopeful? The absurd explanation of Graevius, quoted by Boot, will illustrate the shifts to which editors have been obliged to resort, misled as they were by Bosius: 'etsi scio cum me iuberet sperare, te potius hoc fecisse ut me et meam spem foveres, ne desperationem in consilium adhiberem vitaeque renunciarem, quam quod ita rem se habere putares uti scribebas.' So that *remorari* means much the same as *fovere*, according to this explanation.

2. *ab ipso loco*] sc. *extrudimur*: 'it is the nature of the place which is driving me away.'

*In Epirum*] 'I did not go to Epirus, as I had said I would, for this reason, that of late all the intelligence I have received, and all my letters have told me

with one accord, that there was no occasion for me to remain so near Italy.' For *universi*, Koch (Einladungsprogramm, 22 May, 1868) suggests *adversi*, comparing *boni nuntii*, Att. iii. 11, 1. This and *introitus in caveam* for *in causam* (Att. i. 18, 2) are the only suggestions of interest on this portion of the letters.

*aliquid a comitiis*] 'anything of importance from the scene of the elections.' *A* is sometimes taken to mean *after*, as in Att. v. 21, 4, a *Lentuli triumpho* = *post Lentuli tr.*; cf. also Att. iii. 9, 2, a *Pompeio*. This use is very frequent with adverbs, e. g. *confestim a praelio*; and in such phrases as *a puero*. For *aliquid* = 'something of importance,' cf. Att. iii. 15, 5, and *fin.*; Att. iv. 2, 2; Tusc. i. 45; v. 104.

*stabat*] 'I am not yet certain:' cf. Fam. ix. 2, 5.



## LXXI. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. III. 13.).

THESSALONICA, A. U. C. 696; B. C. 58; AET. CIC. 48.

M. Cicero Attico significat se propter imminutam spem salutis suae non fore in Epiro, habitis comitiis quod nihil ad se de salute sua scriptum sit, magis etiam desperat, non vult tamen eo accusari, quod adflictus sit in summa desperatione rerum omnium. Cyzicum se proficisci: denique Q. fratrem Attico commendat.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Quod ad te scripseram me in Epiro futurum, postea quam extenuari spem nostram et evanescere vidi, mutavi consilium, nec me Thessalonica commovi, ubi esse statueram, quoad aliquid ad me de eo scriberes, quod proximis litteris scripseras, fore uti secundum comitia aliquid de nobis in senatu ageretur: id tibi Pompeium dixisse. Qua de re, quoniam comitia habita sunt tuque nihil ad me scribis, proinde habebō ac si scripsisses nihil esse, neque me temporis non longinqui spe ductum esse moleste feram. Quem autem motum te videre scripseras, qui nobis utilis fore videretur, eum nuntiant qui veniunt nullum fore. In tribunis pl. designatis, reliqua spes est: quam si exspectaro, non erit quod putes me causae meae, voluntati meorum defuisse. 2. Quod me saepe

1. *postea quam*] 'When I saw my gleam of hope growing less and less, and finally vanishing.'

*secundum comitia*] 'immediately after the election of the consuls in July.' So *secundum aurem* (Fam. iv. 12, 2) is 'behind the ear.'

*nihil esse*] sc. *actum de nobis*.

*neque me temporis*] 'Nor shall I regret that the hope by which I have been lured had not to await any distant time for its fulfilment or non-fulfilment.' This is clearly the meaning. Cicero is glad that he is put out of pain at once. It would have been worse had he been kept longer in suspense before he found how baseless were his hopes. But M, R, I, have *neque*, not *neque*; Bosius (of course claiming the authority of X and Y) reads *neque*; and Ernesti *neque me*. I should prefer to read *neque* with the ms, and supply *non* before *moleste feram*. The

*non* might have fallen out owing to the almost immediate precedence of another *non*. On the same principle I supply a *non* immediately after another *non* at Att. vi. 6, 4, *non dico equidem non quid egerit, sed tamen multo minus, laboro*, 'I don't say I care not, but I care much less, what he has done' (Hermathena, i. p. 208).

*motum*] See Att. iii. 8, 3.

*quam si exspectaro*] 'if I await its issue:' cf. above, *temporis longinqui spe*, 'hope destined to find its issue in no long time.'

*causae meae, voluntati meorum*] This asyndeton between two words is very common in Cic. Epp. Cp. *patrimonio fortuna*, Att. xi. 9, 3; *officiis liberalitate*, Fam. xiii. 24, 3; *vultu taciturnitate*, Fam. iii. 8, 2; *studiis beneficiis*, Fam. vii. 5, 1. This defends my conjecture, *populo convicio* for *populi convicio* in Q. Fr. ii. 10 (12), 1.

accusas, cur hunc meum casum tam graviter feram, debes ignoscere, cum ita me afflictum videas, ut neminem umquam nec videris nec audieris. Nam quod scribis te audire me etiam mentis errore ex dolore adfici, mihi vero mens integra est. Atque utinam tam in periculo fuisset! cum ego iis, quibus meam salutem carissimam esse arbitrabar, inimicissimis crudelissimisque usus sum, qui, ut me paullum inclinari timore viderunt, sic impulerunt, ut omni suo scelere et perfidia abuterentur ad exitium meum. Nunc, quoniam est Cyzicum nobis eundum, quo rarius ad me litterae perferentur, hoc velim diligentius omnia, quae putaris me scire opus esse, perscribas, Quintum fratrem meum fac diligas, quem ego miser si incolumem relinquo, non me totum perisse arbitror. Data Nonis Sextilibus.

2. *accusas cur . . . feram*] This use of *cur* for *propterea quod* is taken from the direct question *cur tam graviter fers*: cf. *illud reprehendo et accuso cur . . . [non] feceris*, Verr. iii. 16; *irascor amicis Cur me funesto properent arcere veterno*, Hor. Ep. i. 8, 10; *corruptum . . . cur ambulare*, Plin. Epp. iii. 5, 16; *consules invasit cur silerent*, Tac. Ann. vi. 4.

*audieris*] Wesenberg after *audieris* supplies *magis*. But this is a needless violation of the ms authority. *ITA afflictum ut neminem umquam nec videris nec audieris* is very like *hac TAM esse QUAM audio non puto*, Q. Fr. i. 2, 9. But the latter passage finds its closest parallel in the next clause but one, where *tam* stands for *tam integra*.

*Nam quod*] 'You write that you hear my brain is affected by my affliction—no, my brain is quite sound. Would it had

been as sound (*tam* sc. *integra*) in the time of my peril.' He refers to the mistake he made in leaving the city, before he was assailed by name. The matter is fully dwelt on in Att. iii. 15, 4, 5.

*mihi vero*] For the *corrective* use of *vero*, see on *ego vero*, Ep. lxxii. 5; a good example of this idiom occurs in Planc. 86.

*iis, quibus meam salutem*] See Att. iii. 9, 2, *nos non inimici sed invidi perdidierunt*; Fam. xiv. 1, 2, *aut stultorum amicorum aut improborum*.

*inclinari*] 'to waver.'

*abuterentur*] *abuti* means 'to consume in the use,' 'use up': cp. Att. xvi. 6, 4; and *usus non abusus legatur*, Top. 3. It is used in a good sense, Nat. Deor. ii. 151; in a bad sense, Rosc. Am. 54, the sense being *generally* (but not always) fixed by a qualifying adverb. It is often, 'to misuse,' 'abuse': cf. ἀποχρησθαι.

## LXXII. TO HIS BROTHER QUINTUS (Q. FR. I. 4.)

THESSALONICA, A. U. C. 696 ; B. C. 58 ; AET. CIC. 48.

M. Cicero dolet sibi amicorum fidem et consilium defuisse. Rogat, ut quam reditus spem in novis tribunis pl. habere possit frater sibi aperiat.

## MARCUS QUINTO FRATRI SALUTEM.

1. Amabo te, mi frater, ne, si uno meo fato et tu et omnes mei corruistis, improbitati et sceleri meo potius quam imprudentiae miseriaeque adsignes. Nullum est meum peccatum, nisi quod iis credidi, a quibus nefas putaram esse me decipi, aut etiam, quibus ne id expedire quidem arbitrabar. Intimus, proximus, familiarissimus quisque aut sibi pertimuit aut mihi invidit : ita mihi nihil misero praeter fidem amicorum . . . cautum meum consilium fuit. 2. Quod si te satis innocentia tua et misericordia hominum vindicat hoc tempore a molestia, perspicis profecto eequaenam nobis spes salutis relinquatur. Nam me Pomponius et Sestius et Piso noster adhuc Thessalonicae retinuerunt, cum longius discedere propter nescio quos motus vetarent. Verum ego magis exitum

1. *imprudentiae miseriaeque*] 'my pitiable shortsightedness : ' for the *hendiadys*, see Ep. 1, 1, and *inertiae nequitiaeque*, Catil. i. 4. Cic. refers to that unnerved condition which he calls *pigritia* in Q. Fr. i. 3, 2.

*putaram*] 'I had made up my mind (that they could not be so wicked as to play me false).'

*arbitrabar*] 'it never entered my head (that it could be for their interest to desert me).'

*Intimus*] The allusion is to Hortensius and Pompeius. Pompeius *sibi pertimuit*, Hortensius *mihi invidit*. For the asyndeton, cp. *consiliis promissis praeceptis*, Ep. lxxi. § 8.

*ita mihi nihil*] I have left the text as arranged by Klotz, 2nd ed. He believes that *defuit* fell out where the *lacuna* is marked. But this would make Cicero say that there was no want of judgment on his part—that the only thing wanting was the honest support of his friends.

Now he has just asked Quintus to attribute their common fall to his *want of judgment*. Therefore, I incline to adopt the conjecture of Malaspina, who marks no *lacuna*, and reads *defuit* for *fuit* : 'there was nothing wanting in my case but good faith in my friends, and good judgment in myself.' There was no *improbitas* or *scelus*, but there was *imprudentia*. See also the last words of this letter.

2. *molestia*] 'a prosecution.'

*Pomponius*] Atticus. Sestius, tribune elect, took an active part in the restoration of Cicero, and was subsequently defended by him successfully. Piso was Cicero's son-in-law.

*motus*] Att. iii. 8, 3. There were certain prospects of a rupture between the triumvirs, which Cicero's friends hoped would issue in his restoration.

*Verum*] 'It was rather the letters of these friends than any definite hopes of my own that made me await the issue of these commotions.'

illorum litteris quam spe certa exspectabam. Nam quid sperem potentissimo inimico, dominatione obtrectatorum, infidelibus amicis, plurimus invidis? 3. De novis autem tribunis plebis est ille quidem in me officiosissimus Sestius et, spero, Curius, Milo, Fadius, Fabricius, sed valde adversante Clodio, qui etiam privatus eadem manu poterit contiones concitare, deinde etiam intercessor parabitur. 4. Haec mihi proficiscenti non proponebantur, sed saepe triduo summa cum gloria dicebar esse rediturus. Quid tu igitur? inquires. Quid? multa convenerunt quae mentem exturbarent meam: subita defectio Pompeii, alienatio consulum, etiam praetorum, timor publicanorum, arma. Lacrimae meorum me ad mortem ire prohibuerunt, quod certe et ad honestatem et ad effugiendos intolerabiles dolores fuit aptissimum. Sed de hoc scripsi ad te in ea epistola, quam Phaëthonti dedi. Nunc tu, quoniam in tantum luctum et laborem detrusus es quantum nemo umquam, si levare potest communem casum misericordia hominum, scilicet incredibile quiddam adsequeris: sin plane occidimus—me miserum!—ego omnibus meis exitio fuero, quibus ante dedecori non eram. 5. Sed tu, ut ante ad te scripsi, perspice rem et pertempta et ad me, ut tempora nostra, non ut amor tuus fert, vere perscribe. Ego vitam, quoad

*potentissimo inimico*] Clodius.  
*obtrectatorum*] the triumvirs.

3. *Curius*] M. Curius, to whom is addressed Fam. xiii. 49. He was *quaestor urbanus* in 693 (b. c. 61). Cicero had been quaestor to his father, *Post Red. in Sen.* 21.

*Fadius*] See Att. iii. 23, 4. To him is addressed Fam. v. 18.

*Fabricius*] The conjecture of Manutius for *Gratidius*. Fabricius was one of the tribunes who brought in the bill for Cicero's recall, Mil. 38; Sest. 75.

*manu*] 'gang.'

4. *consulum*] Most probably the consuls of this year, Piso and Gabinius, not the consuls elect, though he did apprehend opposition from Metellus Nepos (Att. iii. 12, 2), who, with Lentulus Spinther, was consul elect for 697 (b. c. 57). Cicero says (Q. Fr. i. 2, *fin.*), *consules se optime ostendunt*, but we know from Dio Cass. xxxviii. 15, *fin.*, compared with *ibid.*, 16, 17, that Piso and Gabinius at first seemed likely to defend Cicero, but afterwards proved hostile. See also Pis. 29. As he refers to the consuls of this year, so also he refers to the prae-

tors, not to the praetors elect. He had spoken (Q. Fr. i. 2, *fin.*) of the praetors in the same terms as the consuls: how or why they changed in feeling towards Cicero we do not know.

*timor publicanorum*] (1) 'fear lest they should become hostile,' for hitherto they were well disposed to Cicero: see Q. Fr. i. 1, 6; (2) or, better, 'the timid support given me by the publicans,' 'the hesitating attitude of the publicans.'

*arma*] 'the Clodian gangs of roughs.'

*quantum nemo umquam*] The preposition is not repeated: cf. Att. iii. 19, 2, *in tantam spem . . . quantam*; Att. viii. 11, D 3, *in eadem opinione qua reliqui*; De Legg. iii. 33, *in ista sententia qua*. When the verb in both clauses is the same, and the same prep. governs antecedent and relative, the prep. need not be repeated, Mayor, Phil. ii. § 26.

5. *quoad . . . interesse*] Cicero thought his services as an advocate might be available for his brother even while he was in exile. He might, if Quintus were hard pressed, write a speech which might be delivered by some friend on his behalf.

putabo tua interesse aut ad spem servandam esse, retinebo. Tu nobis amiceissimum Sestium cognoscēs: credo tua causa velle Lentulum, qui erit consul. Quamquam sunt facta verbis difficiliora. Tu et quid opus sit et quid sit videbis. Omnino, si tuam solitudinem communemque calamitatem nemo despexerit, aut per te aliquid confici aut nullo modo poterit: sin te quoque inimici vexare coeperint, ne cessaris: non enim gladiis tecum, sed litibus

*ad spem servandam*] This may be rendered—(1), 'as long as I think it ought to be preserved for the hope of better things:' cf. Planc. 13, tempora . . . *ad quae tu te ipse servaras*; or (2), *servandam* may agree with *spem*, not with *vitam*, and then *ad* will have the same sense as in *ad medicinam*, Att. iii. 7, 2; *ad sustentandum*, Att. vi. 1, 14. We should then render, 'as long as I think it (my life) is calculated to afford grounds for the maintenance of hope.'

*tua causa velle*] Cf. Fam. i. 1, 1, *regis causa si qui sunt qui velint*. So Div. in Caec. 21.

*Quamquam sunt*] 'it is easier to say soft words than to do kind deeds,' which implies that Lentulus had spoken kindly, but perhaps would not be so ready to act; or (perhaps), 'but it is easier for me to talk than for you to act.' But it seems to me that we might extract a very fair meaning from the ms reading, *quamquam sed non sunt facta verbis difficiliora*, by marking an aposiopesis after *quamquam*. Cicero was about to discuss further the reality of the friendship of Lentulus; but he suddenly breaks off, remembering that it will be easier for Quintus on the spot to take the necessary steps to conciliate or improve the good feeling of Lentulus, than for him in his absence to weigh the *pros* and *cons* of the question; for in the meantime some act of Lentulus might give a quite different complexion to the whole case. It would then be rendered, 'Yet—but enough of this; this is a case where it is not more difficult for you to act than for me to discuss the question. You, who are on the spot, will see what is going on and what is to be done.' This explanation should not be rejected, without some attempt to account for the supposed corruption of the Med. in this passage.

*nemo despexerit*] 'It comes to this: if no one shows his sense of (*despexerit*) your unprotected condition (in my absence) and of our common ruin (*i. e.* by

prosecuting you), then you will be able to do something to effect my return, or else it will be proved impossible.' *Despexerit*, however, is used in a very unusual sense, though not unprecedented in Cicero (*e. g.* pro Rosc. Am. 22). It would be much easier to translate if we supposed a *non* to have fallen out before *despexerit*, which could then be taken in its natural sense, 'if all agree in looking down on your unprotected condition as too low to be the object of vindictiveness (and thus you escape prosecution).' Perhaps, however, Cic. wrote *respexerit*: cp. *nisi quis nos deus respexerit*, Att. i. 16, 6. The sense would then be, 'On the whole if no one regards (turns a pitying glance on) your unprotected state (that is, 'if nobody will lend you a helping hand') you must either do something yourself, or it is all up with us.'

*tecum*] Cicero implies that Quintus was better in the field than in the law courts, and that he would have to use all his energies to defend himself in this unwonted arena. But it seems to me that the editors act rashly in unanimously rejecting *mecum* of the Med. for *tecum* of R in the words *non enim gladiis mecum sed litibus agetur*. We should never abandon the ms reading, where even after our defection from it we get but a misty and unsatisfactory meaning. The meaning (retaining *mecum*) would be, 'but if you are prosecuted, you will have to bestir yourself; for then all the animosity of my enemies, abandoning open hostility, will concentrate itself on the proceedings in the law courts against you.' If it were not too daring to understand after *ne cessaris* some such words as *me certiore facere*, we could explain thus; 'if threatened with a prosecution *apply to me at once* (and I shall write a defence for you): for the battle will then be in the law courts—a sphere congenial to me, but not to you, who are a man of action (which I am not). Mr. Purser would read *non*

agetur. Verum haec absint velim. Te oro, ut ad me de omnibus rebus rescribas et in me animi aut potius consilii minus putes esse quam antea, amoris vero et officii non minus.

### LXXIII. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. III. 15).

THESSALONICA, A. U. C. 696 ; B. C. 58 ; AET. CIC. 48.

M. Cicero Attico ad quattuor, quas acceperat, epistolas respondet : ad primam, qua obiurgatus erat, quod tanto opere adfigeretur, de misera condicione sua exponit et de hominibus, a quibus Atticus se salutem sperare iubeat, subdubitatur, se accusans propter sua peccata, de sermone ab Attico cum Culleone habito de privilegio, et quaerit quid agere de se Romae velint amici : se acta Kal. Sext. Thessalonicae exspectare, donec statuatur utrum in Epirum in agros Attici an Cyzicum se conferat, ab Attico vult effici, ut restituatur, aut si id fieri non possit, certior fieri vult sibi nihil esse sperandum.

#### CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Accepi Id. Sext. quattuor epistolas a te missas : unam, qua me obiurgas ut sim firmitior, alteram, qua Crassi libertum ais tibi de mea sollicitudine macieque narrasse, tertiam, qua demonstras acta in senatu, quartam de eo, quod a Varrone scribis tibi esse confirmatum de voluntate Pompeii. 2. Ad primam tibi hoc scribo, me ita dolere, ut non modo a mente non deserar, sed id ipsum doleam, me tam firma mente ubi utar et quibuscum non habere. Nam si tu me uno non sine maerore cares, quid me censes, qui et te et omnibus ? Et, si tu incolumis me requiris, equo modo a me ipsam incolumitatem desiderari putas ? Nolo commemorare quibus rebus sim spoliatus, non solum quia non ignoras, sed etiam ne rescindam ipse dolorem meum. Hoc confirmo, neque tantis bonis

*enim gladiis tecum ut mecum sed litibus agetur.* This would give an excellent sense and account for the corruption of the ms.

1. *obiurgas ut sim*] 'try to upbraid me into being,' 'urge me with reproaches to be.'

*quod a Varrone*] 'the assurances about the view of P. which you say Varro gave you.'

2. *me ita dolere, ut*] 'that my distress is of such a nature as not in the least to

affect my mental faculties—nay, of such a nature as to make me feel distressed that I have no sphere or society in which to display the vigour of my mental powers.'

*incolumis*] 'in the enjoyment of all your civil rights.' *Incolumitas* is opposed to *calamitas*.

*rescindam*] 'to open a wound : ' cf. *Fam.* v. 17, 4, *ne refricem . . . dolorem tuum*, which is just the same as *vulneribus manus afferam* below. *Rescindam* is a plausible but needless conjecture.

esse privatum quemquam neque in tantas miserias incidisse. Dies autem non modo non levat luctum hunc, sed etiam auget. Nam ceteri dolores mitigantur vetustate, hic non potest non et sensu praesentis miseriae et recordatione praeteritae vitae cotidie augeri. Desidero enim non mea solum neque meos, sed me ipsum. Quid enim sum? Sed non faciam ut aut tuum animum angam querellis aut meis vulneribus saepius manus adferam. Nam quod purgas eos, quos ego mihi scripsi invidisse, et in eis Catonem, ego vero tantum illum puto ab isto scelere afuisse, ut maxime doleam plus apud me simulationem aliorum quam istius fidem valuisse. Ceteros quod purgas, debent mihi purgati esse, tibi si sunt. 3. Sed haec sero agimus. Crassi libertum nihil puto sin cere locutum. In senatu rem probe scribis actam. Sed quid Curio? an illam orationem non legit? quae unde sit prolata nescio. Sed Axius, eiusdem diei scribens ad me acta, non ita laudat Curionem. At potest ille aliquid praetermittere, tu, nisi quod erat, profecto non scripsisti. Varronis sermo facit expecta-

*vetustate*] See on Ep. xii. 16. Cp. *multa vetustas Lenit*, Ov. Art. Am. ii. 647.

*cotidie augeri*] See note on Ep. xxvi. § 7.

*me ipsum*] Cf. Q. Fr. i. 3, 1, non eum quem reliqueras.

*ego vero . . . puto*] 'why, I hold him to have been so far from any such baseness that it makes my chief grief to think that the treachery of others had more weight with me than his loyalty.' *Ego vero* is constantly used in this *corrective* sense, where an Englishman would say, 'why, I hold him,' &c., and an Irishman would use the national particle, 'sure.'

*Ceteros quod purgas*] 'As to your defence of the conduct of the others, if you think their hands are clean, they ought to be held clear by me.' This seems to me a very strange sentiment, but it does not seem to offend the commentators. Surely their culpability, if guilty, affected Cicero, not Atticus. Does Cicero mean, 'you are a bystander, and take an unprejudiced (and therefore probably more correct) view'? Or is it possible that Cicero here means to make a playful allusion to the classical taste of Atticus: 'as to your apology for (*purgas*) the rest, if they are *purgati* (free from blemish) to the critical sense of Atticus, then I should find no fault'? I would then read in the next sentence, *sed haec serio agimus*. But I

do not think that Cicero is here in a mood for jesting.

3. *Crassi libertum*] He here refers to the contents of the *second* letter spoken of in § 1. The freedman of Crassus had said that Cicero was looking ill. Cicero says his sympathy was simulated; or else he refers to something else in the letter, not mentioned above.

*In senatu*] The contents of the third letter, § 1.

*illam orationem*] The speech of which he says above (Att. iii. 12, 2) that he thinks its authorship might be denied. Some of the fragments of it which are still preserved are quoted on Att. i. 16, 10. Curio spoke in Cicero's behalf, wherefore Cicero asks, 'is it possible that he has not read my invective against him?' Curio the elder is referred to, the younger being always spoken of by Cicero as *Curio meus*, or *adolescens*, or *fratrus*.

*ita laudat*] perhaps, 'does not quote Curio to that effect,' which seems to agree better with *at potest ille aliquid praetermittere*. But of course it may mean, 'does not give so favourable an account of Curio's conduct;' though the latter use of *ita* is not so normal as the former.

*Varronis sermo*] he here passes to the *fourth* letter mentioned in § 1.

*facit expectationem Caesaris*] 'gives me hopes of Caesar's support.' The ob-

tionem Caesaris, atque utinam ipse Varro incumbat in causam! quod profecto cum sua sponte tum te instante faciet. 4. Ego, si me aliquando vestri et patriae compotem fortuna fecerit, certe efficiam, ut maxime laetere unus ex omnibus amicis, meaque officia et studia, quae parum antea luxerunt—fatendum est enim—sic exsequar, ut me aequae tibi ac fratri et liberis nostris restitutum putes. Si quid in te peccavi ac potius quoniam peccavi, ignosce. In me enim ipsum peccavi vehementius. Neque haec eo scribo, quo te non meo casu maximo dolore esse adfectum sciam, sed profecto, si, quantum me amas et amasti, tantum amare deberes ac debuisses, numquam esses passus me, quo tu abundabas, egere consilio, nec esses passus mihi persuaderi utile nobis esse legem de collegiis perferri. Sed tu tantum lacrimas prae buisti dolori meo, quod erat amoris, tamquam ipse ego: quod meritis meis perfectum potuit, ut dies et noctes quid mihi faciendum esset

jective gen., like *timor publicanorum* (according to one explanation) in Q. Fr. i. 4, 4; and *expectationem convivii istius*, Att. ii. 12, 2.

4. *luxerunt*] 'were conspicuous:' cf. Sest. 60, *virtus quae lucet in tenebris*.

*quo non*] See Att. ii. 25, 1, for *non quo. tantum amare deberes et debuisses*] This is to be taken in close connexion with *in me ipsum peccavi vehementius*. 'In failing in my duty to you, I really failed still more in my duty to myself (not that you did not deeply feel my affliction, but), if all the love you bear me and have borne to me were earned by services on my part all along (if in loving me you were now, and had been all along, discharging a debt, repaying an obligation), you would never have suffered me to stand in need of that judgment of which you have so much; you would never have allowed me to be persuaded that it was for my interest that the Clodian bill for restoring and multiplying the clubs should pass. You gave to my distress, as I did myself, only tears—which showed your affection; but what might (if I had any obligation to urge) have been brought about, namely, that day and night you should think over what course I should take—that was neglected through my own fault, not yours.' Cicero considers that Atticus did all that could be expected from a friend, but that if he himself had taken care to lay Atticus under obligations when he had the power

to do so, the zeal of Atticus would have led him to devote such considerations to the case of his friend and benefactor as might have prevented Cicero from taking the false step he did in leaving the city before he was attacked by name. The ingenious conjecture of Pius, who for *tantum amare deberes et debuisses*, reads *tantum amorem re exhibuisses*, is by no means to be accepted. So violent a remedy should be applied only in desperate cases. Besides, the conjecture of Pius does not harmonise with the succeeding context. Cp. *debemus*, Fam. i. 1, 4. Boot now (*Obs. critt.* p. 46) explains the passage as I do. But I have no reason to think that he has ever seen my edition.

*collegiis*] τὰ ἑταιρικά κολληγία ἐπιχωρίως καλούμενα, ὅντα μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ἀρχαίου, καταλθόντα δὲ χρόνον τινα (in 690, b. c. 64), ἀνελεύσαστο, Dio Cass. xxxviii. 13. These 'clubs,' 'companies,' 'chapters,' were for social, mercantile, or religious purposes, but might easily be made political engines.

*scelere*] 'culpable imprudence,' 'neglect:' see on Q. Fr. i. 3, 2.

*potuit*] This is the ms reading. Orelli conjectured *oportuit*, which Klotz accepts; but for a full defence of *potuit* as a characteristic usage of the letters of Cicero, see note on Att. ii. 9, 1, citius quam *potuit*. The ellipse of *esse* is also characteristic: see Introd. ii. § 2, for a list of very strong ellipses.



cogitares, id abs te meo, non tuo scelere praetermissum est. Quod si non modo tu, sed quisquam fuisset qui me Pompeii minus liberali responso perterritum a turpissimo consilio revocaret, quod unus tu facere maxime potuisti, aut occubissem honeste aut viatores hodie viveremus. Hic mihi ignosces. Me enim ipsum multo magis accuso, deinde te quasi me alterum et simul meae culpa socium quaero, ac si restituar, etiam minus videbimur deliquisse, abs teque certe, quoniam nullo nostro, tuo ipsius beneficio diligemur. 5. Quod te cum Culleone scribis de privilegio locutum, est aliquid, sed multo est melius abrogari. Si enim nemo impedit, quid est firmitus? Sin erit qui ferri non sinat, idem senatus consulto intercedet. Nec quidquam aliud opus est abrogari. Nam prior lex nos nihil laedebat. Quam si, ut est promulgata, laudare voluissemus aut, ut erat neglegenda, neglegere, nocere omnino nobis non potuisset. Hic mihi primum meum consilium defuit, sed etiam obfuit. Caeci, caeci, inquam, fuimus in vestitu mutando,

Quod si] 'If you, or no matter who, had dissuaded me from my ignominious resolve (to fly from the city). when alarmed by the ungenerous reply of P.—and you were certainly the proper person to dissuade me—I should have died honourably, or I should have been this day the conqueror of Clodius.'

minus liberali responso] *se nihil contra huius (Caesaris) voluntatem facere posse*, Att. x. 4, 3. See also Pis. 77, and Intro. to Part. iii.

Hic] 'in this matter,' that is, 'when I condemn your conduct.'

si restituar] 'If I am restored our common error will be still further diminished in my eyes, and to you at least I shall be endeared by your services to me, since I can lay claim to no services done by me to you.' This passage is a further confirmation of the needlessness of the conjecture of Pius, quoted above.

5. Quod te cum Culleone] I think Cicero probably wrote *tecum Culleonem*. Why would Atticus mention Culleo at all if the suggestion had not emanated from Culleo? The meaning of the whole passage is this: Q. Terentius Culleo, probably one of the tribunes, had suggested to Atticus that the law interdicting Cicero from fire and water could be attacked as a *privilegium*, or 'law directed against an individual,' which was forbidden by the Twelve Tables. It could therefore be set aside

by a decree of the Senate. But, argues Cicero, it is better that it should be abrogated directly in the regular manner by the passing of a new bill rescinding it. For this is the most secure method in the absence of any opposition; and, supposing opposition were offered, the decree of the Senate would be quite as difficult to carry, for it would be as easy to veto the decree of the Senate as the bill,

Nec quidquam aliud] 'nor is there any need to have anything else abrogated (but the bill of interdiction, passed against Cicero by name, *ut M. Tullio aqua et igni interdictum sit*). For the former bill (*qui civem Romanum indemnatum peremisset ei aqua et igni interdiceretur*) did not touch me' (not being aimed at me by name).

sed etiam] Boot has shown quite satisfactorily to my mind that *sed etiam* may stand in a subsequent clause without any such expression as *non solum* in the foregoing part of the sentence. For, what can be more uncritical than to insert *non solum* or to mark a lacuna (as Klotz does here), when Boot has produced such an array of passages in which the mss agree in giving *sed etiam*, as here, without any precedent *non solum*. The passages are these: Att. iv. 16, 10; v. 21, 6; x. 16, 6; Fam. xiii. 64, 2; xvi. 16, 2; Q. Fr. i. 1, 44. Surely the copyists did not err in all these cases. And be it observed that if we suppose them to have

in populo rogando, quod nisi nominatim mecum agi coeptum esset, fieri perniciosum fuit. Sed pergo praeterita. Verum tamen ob hanc causam, ut, si quid agatur, legem illam, in qua popularia multa sunt, ne tangatis. 6. Verum est stultum me praecipere quid agatis aut quo modo. Utinam modo agatur aliquid! In quo ipso multa. *Multa* occultant tuae litterae, credo, ne vehementius desperatione perturber. Quid enim vides agi posse aut quo modo? Per senatumne? Ast tute scripsisti ad me quoddam caput legis Clodium in curiae poste fixisse, NE REFERRI NEVE DICI LICERET. Quo modo igitur Domitius se dixit relaturum? Quo modo autem, iis, quos tu scribis, et de re dicentibus et ut referretur postulanti- bus, Clodius tacuit? Ac, si per populum, poteritne nisi de omnium tribunorum pl. sententia? Quid de bonis? quid de domo? poteritne restitui? Aut, si non poterit, egomet quo modo potero? Haec nisi vides expediri, quam in spem me vocas? Sin autem spei nihil est, quae est mihi vita? Itaque expecto Thessalonicae acta Kal. Sext., ex quibus statuam in tuosne agros

erred, we must suppose them to have found an easy, unmistakable phrase, and written a rare and doubtful one—to have found *non solum . . . sed etiam*, and to have written *sed etiam* alone.

*vestitu mutando*] τὴν βουλευτικὴν ἐσ-  
θῆτα ἀπορρίψας ἐν τῇ ἱππᾷ περιενόσσει.

*pergo praeterita*] sc. *explicare*, 'I still dwell on the past. But it is to prevent you from meddling with the first law, in which there are many elements of popularity.' That is, the law, 'qui civem Romanum indemnatum peremisset ei igni et aqua interdicretur.' So Att. iv. 11, 1, *perge reliqua*; and Legg. ii. 69, *perge cetera*.

6. *In quo ipso multa*] 'On which much depends' (it is important that we should be seen to be up and doing).

*Multa occultant*] I have supplied a second *multa*, as in Att. ii. 22, 1, *utinam mansisses*; *MANSISSES profecto*; and in next letter in the final words, *quae putabis, ut putabis*.

*in curiae poste fixisse*] See Att. iii. 12, 1.

*Domitius*] L. Dom. Ahenobarbus was praetor this year, Piso and Gabinius consuls. Consuls, praetors, and tribunes, could put a question, but the consuls took precedence. They refused to put the question of Cicero's recall, though the

other senators called on them to do so (ut referretur postulanti- bus), and declined to hear Piso and Gabinius on any other question (Sest. 29).

*poteritne*] 'will it be possible?' See above, § 5, and note on Att. ii. 9, 1.

*quo modo potero*] sc. *restitui*, 'how can I be restored to my former state?'

*acta Kal. Sext.*] 'The gazette of the 1st of August.' This contained the proceedings in the Senate, and was first regularly published every day in the first consulship of Caesar in 695 (b. c. 59) (Suet. Jul. 20), though before such a gazette had occasionally been published by private individuals, e. g. the debate on the Catilinarian conspiracy by Cicero (Sal. Catil. 41-44). The *acta diurna* were somewhat like our newspaper, containing a list of births and deaths, and 'occasional notes,' recording prodigies, conflagrations, a list of the games, and interesting events in private life, in which the names were not suppressed (Fam. ii. 15, 5). This gazette was compiled by certain *actuarii* assisted by *notarii* (shorthand writers), edited by some government official (probably the censors under the republic), and then posted in public. Certain scribes (*operarii*) made copies of these *acta*, and sold them to the wealthy, especially in the provinces (Cic. Fam. viii. 1, 2).

confugiam, ut neque videam homines quos nolim, et te, ut scribis, videam, et propius sim, si quid agatur—id quod intellexi cum tibi, tum Quinto fratri placere—an abeam Cyzicum. 7. Nunc, Pomponi, quoniam nihil impertisti tuae prudentiae ad salutem meam, quod aut in me ipso satis esse consilii decreras aut te nihil plus mihi debere quam ut praesto esses, quoniamque ego proditus, inductus, coniectus in fraudem, omnia mea praesidia neglexi, totam Italiam [in me] erectam ad me defendendum destitui et reliqui, me meosque meis tradidi inimicis inspectante et tacente te, qui si non plus ingenio valebas quam ego, certe timebas minus: si potes, erige adflictos et in eo nos iuva: sin omnia sunt obstructa, id ipsum fac ut sciamus, et nos aliquando aut obiurgare aut communiter consolari desine. Ego si tuam fidem accusarem, non me potissimum tuis tectis crederem: meam amentiam accuso, quod a te tantum amari quantum ego vellem putavi: quod si fuisset, fidem eamdem, curam maiorem adhibuisses, me certe ad exitium praecipitantem retinuisses, istos labores, quos nunc in naufragiis nostris suscipis, non subisses. 8. Qua re fac ut omnia ad me perspecta et explorata perscribas meque, ut facis, velis esse aliquem, quoniam qui fui et qui esse potui iam esse non possum, et ut his litteris non te, sed me ipsum a me esse accusatum putes. Si qui erunt quibus putes opus esse meo nomine litteras dari, velim conscribas curesque dandas. Data xiv Kal. Sept.

7. *inductus*] 'taken in,' 'deceived.' Plautus uses *perductus* in the same sense. *sin omnia sunt obstructa*] 'if every path is closed against me.'

*communiter consolari*] 'to console me and my family in common:' cf. Fam. xiii. 12, 1, *communiter commendavi legatos*. See Adn. Crit.

*naufragiis*] For the same metaphor, pushed to a far greater length, see Att. iv. 19, 2, *haec enim me una ex hoc naufragio tabula delectat*.

*non subisses*] 'you would have escaped all the trouble which you are now taking to procure my restoration' (for you would

have prevented my banishment).

8. *aliquem*] 'somebody,' 'of some importance.' See on Att. iii. 14, 2.

*meo nomine*] 'in my name.' Letters were so generally written by the *amanuensis*, that Atticus could easily write a letter purporting to come from Cicero. In Att. vi. 6, 4, Cicero tells us that he did such a service for Atticus. Cicero dictated to the *amanuensis* of Atticus a letter speaking highly of Caelius, and then read it to the latter, as a letter received by him from Atticus. *Meo nomine* is not, therefore, to be taken to mean, 'on my account.'

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## LXXIV. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. III. 16).

THESSALONICA, A. U. C. 696 ; B. C. 58 ; AET. CIC. 48.

De incerto itinere propter expectationem litterarum et de parva spe sua Attici litteris iterum lectis.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Totum iter mihi incertum facit expectatio litterarum vestrarum Kal. Sext. datarum. Nam si spes erit, Epirum : si minus, Cyzicum, aut aliud aliquid sequemur. Tuae quidem litterae, quo saepius a me leguntur, hoc spem faciunt mihi minorem, quae cum . . . lectae sunt, tum id, quod attulerunt ad spem infirmant, ut facile appareat te et consolationi servire et veritati, itaque te rogo plane, ut ad me, quae scies, ut erunt, quae putabis, *ut putabis*, ita scribas. Data XII Kal.

## LXXV. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. III. 17).

THESSALONICA, A. U. C. 696 ; B. C. 58 ; AET. CIC. 48.

De variis nuntiis et sollicitudine de itinere Q. fratris, de exigua spe sua, de summo suo erga Atticum amore.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

## 1. De Quinto fratre nuntii nobis tristes nec varii venerant ex

*aliud aliquid sequemur*] 'take some other direction.'

*quae cum . . .*] Klotz marks a lacuna here, which Boot makes a good attempt to supply by the words, *quae cum leguntur spem faciunt cum lectae sunt tum id*, &c. Z has *laetae* for *lectae*, which had occurred to myself as a very probable conjecture before I knew it had ms authority. Then there would be no lacuna, and the meaning would be, 'which (letters) are cheerful

in tone, but also are careful not to excite too much hope, so that it is plain that you are devoted at the same time to the task of consoling me and the cause of truth.' Wesenberg gives *laetae* in his text.

*ut putabis*] is well inserted by Klotz : cf. last letter, § 6, 'when you have news of which you are certain, give it as it is ; and in cases where you can only surmise, give me your real surmises.'

ante diem III Non Iun. usque ad prid. Kal. Sept. Eo autem die Livineius, L. Reguli libertus, ad me a Regulo missus venit. Is omnino mentionem nullam factam esse nuntiavit, sed fuisse tamen sermonem de C. Clodii filio:† isque mihi a Q. fratre litteras attulit. Sed postridie Sestii pueri venerunt, qui a te litteras attulerunt non tam exploratas a timore, quam sermo Livineii fuerat. Sane sum in meo infinito maerore sollicitus et eo magis, quod Appii quaestio est. 2. Cetera, quae ad me eisdem litteris scribis de nostra spe, intellego esse languidiora, quam alii ostendunt. Ego autem, quoniam non longe ab eo tempore absumus, in quo res diiudicabitur, aut ad te conferam me aut etiam nunc circum haec loca commorabor. 3. Scribit ad me frater omnia sua per te unum sustineri. Quid te aut horter, quod facis, aut agam gratias, quod non exspectas? Tantum velim fortuna det nobis potestatem, ut incolumes amore nostro perfruamur. Tuas litteras semper maxime exspecto in quibus cave vereare ne aut diligentia tua mihi molesta aut veritas acerba sit. Data prid. Non. Septembr.

1. *Is omnino*] 'He says there was no notice whatever lodged with the praetor of an intended prosecution of Quintus, but that there was a rumour that the prosecutor would be Appius, the son of C. Clodius' (and therefore nephew of P. Clodius).

a *Q. fratre*] The reading in the text (that of Klotz) is not satisfactory, for if Cicero had received a letter from Quintus, he would not speak so doubtfully. The letter spoken of in § 3 arrived after Sept. 1.

*non tam exploratas a timore*] 'not so positive (satisfactory) as regards the degree of apprehension I ought to feel:' *a* is, 'on the score of:' cf. Att. i. 1, 2, inopes ab existimatione; v. 18, 2, copioso a frumento; vii. 15, 3; imparati cum a militibus tum a pecunia; viii. 14, 1, tempus

mutum a litteris.

*Appii*] This was the brother of P. Clodius (and uncle of the Appius, son of C. Clodius, mentioned above). The case of Quintus was to come before him as praetor.

2. *languidiora*] 'less sanguine.'

3. *quod facis*] sc. *facere*: 'why should I exhort you to do what you are already doing, or offer my thanks which you do not expect?' For *quod*, in the words *quod non exspectas*, where we should rather have expected *quas*, see note on Ep. xii. § 13, where this usage is shown to be characteristic of the letters and the comic stage. Cf. also Q. Fr. i. 1, §§ 13, 23, 36.

*vereare*] The correction of Wesenberg for *vereri*; *cave* with the *infin.* does not occur in Cicero, though found in Sallust, Catullus, Virgil, Horace, and Pliny.

## LXXVI. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. III. 18).

THESSALONICA, A. U. C. 696 ; B. C. 58 ; AET. CIC. 48.

Expectatione non parva excitata eo, quod scripserat Atticus Varronem confirmasse Pompeium suam causam suscepturum, vult certior fieri quid Romae in sua causa agatur, de Q. fratris litteris itemque de Attici.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Expectationem nobis non parvam attuleras, cum scripseras Varronem tibi pro amicitia confirmasse causam nostram Pompeium certe suscepturum, et, simul a Caesare ei litterae, quas exspectaret, remissae essent, actorem etiam daturum. Utrum id nihil fuit an adversatae sunt Caesaris litterae? an est aliquid in spe? Etiam illud scripseras, eundem 'secundum comitia' dixisse. 2. Fac, si vides quantis in malis iaceam et si putas esse humanitatis tuae, fac me de tota causa nostra certiozem. Nam Quintus frater, homo mirus, qui me tam valde amat, omnia mittit spei plena, metuens, credo, defectionem animi mei. Tuae autem litterae sunt variae: neque enim me desperare vis nec temere sperare. Fac, obsecro te, ut omnia, quae perspicui a te possunt, sciamus.

1. *pro amicitia*] 'as a friend.'

*simul*] = simul ac.

*actorem*] 'an agent.' Pompeius was himself Cicero's *auctor salutis*, but the instrument whom Pompeius chose, to carry out his plan, was Lentulus the consul.

*Utrum id*] 'did it come to nothing? or did Caesar's letter prove unfavourable? and is there still room for hope?'

2. *homo mirus*] Boot lays down that *homo mirus* means, 'a strange fellow' (one whom you can't make out); *homo mirificus* (Att. iv. 11, 2), 'an admirable man.' Perhaps the distinction is rather this, that *mirificus* is generally used of men, and *mirus* very rarely.

*Mirabilis* is also applied to men (Att. ii 2, 1). But *mirus* when applied to men seems to have the same meaning as *mirificus* and *mirabilis*. Surely here Cicero calls Quintus 'an admirable' brother, who, through affection for his brother, sends far too sanguine reports. There is nothing 'strange, inexplicable,' in his conduct. In fact Cicero explains it here. In the next letter he calls Quintus *optimi atque unici fratris*. Perhaps, however, we should read *amet*, and render 'whose affection for me is really inexplicable' (when one considers how much I have injured him). He often dwells on the injuries he has done to his brother.

## LXXVII. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. III. 19.).

THESSALONICA, A. U. C. 696; B. C. 58; AET. CIC. 48.

Significat M. Cicero quas ob causas iam in Epirum se conferre cogitet, se nolle, quamvis tenui spe ad huc sustentetur, causam suam suorumque deserere: T. Pompeium maximo opere orat et obsecrat, ut se suosque tueatur sibi que pueros cum litteris mittat.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Quoad eius modi mihi litterae a vobis adferebantur, ut aliquid ex iis esset exspectandum, spe et cupiditate Thessalonicae retentus sum: postea quam omnis actio huius anni confecta nobis videbatur, in Asiam ire nolui, quod et celebritas mihi odio est et, si fieret aliquid a novis magistratibus, abesse longe nolebam. Itaque in Epirum ad te statui me conferre, non quo mea interesset quae esset loci natura, qui lucem omnino fugerem, sed et ad salutem libentissime ex tuo portu proficiscar et, si ea praecisa erit, nusquam facilius hanc miserrimam vitam vel sustentabo vel, quod multo est melius, abiecero. Ero cum paucis: multitudinem dimittam. 2. Me~~X~~tuae litterae~~X~~numquam in tantam spem adduxe-

1. in Asiam] i. e. to Cyzicus.  
celebritas] 'company,' 'society,' 'the madding crowd.'

ad te] 'to your property in Epirus.'  
Atticus was himself in Rome: see note on *apud nos* in Att. ii. 2, 3, where a slightly different usage of *ad te* is noticed.

quae esset loci natura] 'not that it is of any consequence to me what the character of the place may be.' See Adn. Crit. *Quae esset* was inserted by Müller. The words *quae ESSET* immediately succeeding the word *INTERESSET* would, very probably, be omitted. This is the commonest case of ἀβλεψία. Yet many editors here adhere to the ms. and make *natura* the nominative to *interesset*. It is very rash to ascribe to Cicero such an usage as *loci natura interest*, 'the nature of the place is of consequence.' Cicero never has such a construction except with pronouns, nor indeed any other writer with *interest*; though *refert* has a personal construction in Plaut., Lucr., and Plin.

qui lucem omnino fugerem] 'since I completely avoid appearing in public:' cf. in luce Asiae, Q. Fr. i. 1, 9, and De Sen. 12, nec vero ille in luce modo atque in oculis civium magnus, sed intus domique praestantior. These words are sometimes translated 'since I loathe the very light.' Cicero says above, Att. iii. 7, 1, odi enim celebritatem, fugio homines, lucem aspicere vix possum, where *lucem* of course means 'the light of day;' but *lucem fugerem* here is parallel to *fugio homines*, not to the italicised words in Att. iii. 7.

sustentabo . . . abiecero] For the fut. perf. used in quite the same sense as the simple future, cp. Roby, 1485; Mayor on Phil. ii. 118; Madv. 340, note 4. In Fam. xiii. 65, 2, we have *ornaris . . . feceris . . . capies . . . adfeceris*.

2. in tantam spem . . . quantam] For the omission of the preposition *in* before *quantam*, see note on Q. Fr. i. 4, 4. This passage shows clearly that the tone of the letters of Atticus was *not* hopeful.

runt quantam aliorum. Ac tamen mea spes etiam tenuior semper fuit quam tuae litterae. Sed tamen, quoniam coeptum est agi, quoquo modo coeptum est et quacumque de causa, non deseram neque optimi atque unici fratris miseras ac luctuosas preces nec Sestii ceterorumque promissa nec spem aerumnosissimae mulieris [Terentiae] nec miserrimae [mulieris] Tulliolae obsecrationem et fideles litteras tuas. Mihi Epirus aut iter ad salutem dabit aut quod scripsi supra. 3. Te oro et obsecro, T. Pomponi, si me omnibus amplissimis, carissimis iucundissimisque rebus perfidia hominum spoliatum, si me a meis consiliariis proditum et proiectum vides, si intellegis me coactum ut ipse me et meos perderem, ut me tua misericordia iuves et Quintum fratrem, qui potest esse salvus, sustentens; Terentiam liberosque meos tueare; me, si putas te istio visurum, exspectes, si minus, invisas, si potes, mihiq; ex agro tuo tantum adsignes, quantum meo corpore occupari potest: et pueros ad me cum litteris, quam primum et quam saepissime mittas. Data XVI Kal. Octobr.

### LXXVIII. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. III. 20).

THESSALONICA, A. U. C. 696; B. C. 58; AET. CIC. 48.

M. Cicero gratulatur Attico de eius adoptione per Q. Caecilium avunculum iam mortuum facta, de condicione et spe sua, de domo sua et ceteris rebus suis, quas universas Attico commendat, de humanitate Attici, de rogatione Sestii.

#### CICERO S. D. Q. CAECILIO Q. F. POMPONIANO ATTICO.

1. Quod quidem ita esse et avunculum tuum functum esse officio vehementissime probo, gaudere me tum dicam, si mihi hoo

*deseram*] 'be wanting to,' 'disappoint:' cf. *salus deseratur*, Fam. i. 7, 8; *an tu me cum in summam expectationem adduxeris, deseris*, Tusc. i. 39.

*Sestii*] tribune elect for the following year. See Att. iii. 20, 3.

*quod scripsi supra*] *sc. mortem*. He refers to the words above, *vitam* . . . *abiecero*.

3. *proiectum*] 'cast away,' a *vox propria* for exiles: cf. Ov. Pont. ii. 3, 30,

*vix duo proiecto tresve tulistis opem*.

*istic*] in Rome. 'If you think there

is any chance of seeing me in Rome, wait for me there; if not, come to me in Epirus, if possible, and let me have of your land there — enough for a grave.'

*Cicero S. D., &c.*] Cicero salutem dicit Q. Caecilio Quinti filio Pomponiano Attico.

1. *Quod quidem ita esse*] The words refer to the superscription of the letter, in which Cicero conveys his knowledge of the fact that the uncle of Atticus had died, adopting Atticus in his will, and



verbo licebit uti. Me miserum! quam omnia essent ex sententia, si nobis animus, si consilium, si fides eorum, quibus credidimus, non defuisset! quae colligere nolo, ne augeam maerorem. Sed tibi venire in mentem certo scio quae vita esset nostra, quae suavis, quae dignitas. Ad quae recuperanda, per fortunas! incumbe, ut facis, diemque natalem reditus mei cura ut in tuis aedibus amoenissimis agam tecum et cum meis. Ego huic spei et expectationi, quae nobis proponitur maxima, tamen volui praestolari apud te in Epiro, sed ita ad me scribitur, ut putem esse commodius non eisdem in locis esse. 2. De domo et Curionis oratione, ut scribis, ita est. In universa salute, si ea modo nobis restitueretur, inerunt omnia, ex quibus nihil malo quam domum. Sed tibi nihil mando nominatim, totum me tuo amoris fideique commendo. Quod te in tanta hereditate ab omni occupatione expediti, valde mihi gratum est. Quod facultates tuas ad meam salutem polliceris, ut omnibus rebus a te praeter ceteros iuver, id quantum sit praesidium video intellegoque te multas partes meae salutis et suscipere et posse sustinere neque, ut ita facias, rogandum esse. 3. Quod me vetas quidquam suspicari accidisse ad animum tuum quod secus a me erga te commissum aut praetermissum

leaving him a large fortune (10,000,000 sesterces, according to Nepos Vit. Att. v. 2). T. Pomponius Atticus now became Q. Caecilius Pomponianus Atticus, his uncle's name having been Q. Caecilius. In Att. iv. 15, 1, Cicero, in thanking Atticus for manumitting a slave, Eutychides, at his request, observed that the new freedman's name will be T. Caecilius, by a combination of Atticus' old praenomen, Titus, and his (Atticus) new nomen by adoption, Caecilius. Boot points out that in two other letters, Fam. i. 10, and vii. 29, the meaning of the first sentence of the letter depends on the superscribed address. Add Fam. xvi. 18.

*animus*] 'courage and judgment (on my part); honesty on the part of my friends.' See Q. Fr. i. 4, 1.

*colligere*] 'to review in the mind,' 'think over:' cf. cum . . . maximarum civitatum veteres animo calamitates colligo. De Inv. i. 1.

*esset*] 'what my life was, how charming and how dignified' (what a position).

*per fortunas*] 'in the name of fortune.' It is strange that this should be in the plural, in which number *fortunae* means

'circumstances,' whether good or bad. So *per fortunas* should mean 'I adjure you in the name of our weal or woe.' He uses the same phrase afterwards (e. g. Att. v. 11, 1, v. 13, 3), when not in affliction, but merely as a strong adjuration. But see Fam. xiv. 1, where he says *per miseris fortunas*.

*diemque natalem*] 'the day of my restoration,' 'my second birthday.' So he speaks of his restoration as *παλιγγενεσία*, or 'second birth' (Att. vi. 6, 4). It was also his daughter's birthday, and the anniversary of the foundation of the colony of Brundisium, and of the building of the Temple of Salus. Sest. 131.

*praestolari*] *praestolari* is always followed by the dative in Cicero, though in the Comic poets it takes the accusative, and sometimes even the genitive.

2. *ea . . . restitueretur*] sc. *arca*. See next letter, § 3.

*multas partes*] 'have a large share in my restoration.'

3. *accidisse ad animum*] 'that it had ever entered your mind that I was guilty of any sin of commission or omission against you.' *Humanitas*, 'generosity.'

videretur, geram tibi morem et liberabor ista cura, tibi tamen eo plus debebo, quo tua in me humanitas fuerit excelsior quam in te mea. Velim quid videas, quid intellegas, quid agatur ad me scribas tuosque omnes ad nostram salutem adhortere. Rogatio Sestii neque dignitatis satis habet nec cautionis. Nam et nominatim ferri oportet et de bonis diligentius scribi, et id animadvertas velim. Data IIII Non. Octobr. Thessalonicae.

LXXIX. TO TERENCE AND HIS FAMILY, IN ROME  
(FAM. XIV. 2).

THESSALONICA, A. U. C. 696 ; B. C. 58 ; AET. CIC. 48.

Cicero Terentiae brevitatem litterarum excusat, C. Pisonis generi officia laudat, dolet Terentiae vicem, rogat ut doti parcat et valetudini suae operam det.

TULLIUS S. D. TERENCE ET TULLIOLAE ET CICERONI SUIS.

1. Noli putare me ad quemquam longiores epistolas scribere, nisi si quis ad me plura scripsit, cui puto rescribi oportere. Nec enim habeo quid scribam nec hoc tempore quidquam difficilium facio. Ad te vero et ad nostram Tulliolam non queo sine plurimis lacrimis scribere. Vos enim video esse miserrimas, quas ego beatissimas semper esse volui idque praestare debui et, nisi tam timidi fuissetis, praestitissem. 2. Pisonem nostrum merito eius amo plurimum. Eum, ut potui, per litteras cohortatus sum gratiasque egi, ut debui. In novis tribunis pl. intellego spem te habere. Id erit firmum, si Pompeii voluntas erit, sed Crassum tamen metuo. A te quidem omnia fieri fortissime et amantissime video, nec miror, sed maereo casum eius modi, ut tantis tuis mise-

*Rogatio Sestii*] 'The bill of Sestius (for my restoration) is not drawn up respectfully enough nor carefully enough. The bill brought in ought expressly to name me, and there should be a carefully constructed clause about my effects.'

1. *praestitissem*] 'I should have secured,' 'should have been able to guar-

antee' (your happiness).

2. *Novis tribunis*] of the tribunes of 697 (b. c. 57), the most active in Cicero's behalf were T. Annius Milo, P. Sestius, and Q. Fadius.

*si Pompeii voluntas erit*] sc. *firma*. *casum eius modi*] 'I grieve for circumstances which cause.' But I believe we should insert *esse*, with Ernesti.

riis meae miseriae subleventur. Nam ad me P. Valerius, homo officiosus, scripsit, id quod ego maximo cum fletu legi, quem ad modum a Vestae ad tabulam Valeriam ducta esses. Hem, mea lux, meum desiderium, unde omnes opem petere solebant! te nunc, mea Terentia, sic vexari, sic iacere in lacrimis et sordibus! idque fieri mea culpa, qui ceteros servavi, ut nos periremus!

*P. Valerius, homo officiosus*] 'my kind friend, P. Valerius.'

*a Vestae ad tabulam Valeriam*] Terentia had probably taken refuge in the temple of Vesta, where her half-sister was one of the Vestals. *Tabula Valeria* is 'the Bank of Valerius.' It seems to have been customary in Rome for a person about to make a solemn statement as to his solvency or such like matters to repair to a banker's, and there make the statement in presence of witnesses. It was to make such a solemn declaration that Naevius summoned his friends *ad tabulam Sestiam* (pro Quint. 25). Terentia was probably forced by Clodius to repair to the bank of Valerius, there to make some declaration about her husband's estate, probably that no effects had been made away with, or that she was not keeping his property under the pretence that it was hers. See § 3, note. We see from a previous letter that Cicero had resorted to some means to evade the full rigour of the confiscation. See his last letter to Terentia (Fam. xiv. 4, 4). See also Att. v. 8, 2, where Cicero shows how he can save part of Milo's *familia* from the confiscation, and secure her dower to Fausta, Milo's wife. It cannot have been merely to borrow money that Terentia was taken to the *tabula Valeria*. There would have been no humiliation, if she had had credit enough to borrow from the bank; and no object in taking her there if she had not. The idea of Manutius that the *tabula Valeria* was a sort of tribune's court, whither Terentia was conducted to give security for some payments, is quite baseless, resting only on an obscure passage (Vat. 21), which implies no more than that some tribunes happened to be at the *tabula Valeria*, perhaps in the discharge of their private affairs. *Tabula* is doubtless to be explained as above; but it might possibly here mean 'an auction room' (strictly, 'auction bill,' Off. iii. 68), as in Att. xii. 40, 4; xiii. 33, 4; xv. 3, 2. There would be then a reference to some public sale of

Cicero's goods; however, this had probably been long since effected. The origin of the name of this *tabula Valeria* is given by the author of the *Scholia Bobiensia* on the *or. in Vat.* ix. 1, on the words, *Et a tabula Valeria collegae tui mitti iuberent*. The *schol.* is this: 'Hi collegae intercesserant P. Vatiniō † furenti M. Bibulum in invidiam duci † [*iuberenti M. Bib. in vincula duci*, Orelli]. Quod vero ad tabulam Valeriam pertinere videtur, loci nomen sic ferebatur *quemadmodum ad tabulam Sestiam*, cuius meminit *pro Quinctio*; ita et *ad tabulam Valeriam* dicebatur, ubi Valerius Maximus tabulam rerum ab se in † Gallia [*Sicilia*, Mai] prospere gestarum proposuerat ostentui vulgo.' There is also a passage in Pliny, xxxv. 7, which apparently bears on the *tabula Valeria*, and tells us its topographical position in Rome; it is this: *picturae dignatio praecipua Romae increvit, ut existimo, a M. Valerio Maximo Messalla, qui princeps tabulam picturae praefici, quo Carthaginenses et Hieronem in Sicilia devicerat, proposuit in latere Curiae Hostiliae anno ab urbe condita ccccxc.* It would follow then that the *tabula Sestia* was so called from being the place where once hung a picture commemorating the victories of some (what?) Sestius, and the phrase *ad tabulam Sestiam* would merely indicate a certain definite spot in Rome. But it is plain that the *tabula Sestia* spoken of in the *or. pro Quinctio*, § 25, as well as the *tabula Valeria* here, was a place at which it was customary to make some formal declaration, and it seems rash to infer that the *tabula Sestia* was named from the exploits of some unknown Sestius, even though we accept the account of the Scholiast as to the origin of the designation of the *tabula Valeria*.

*opem petere*] that is, they used to entreat her good offices to gain the advocacy of her husband.

*te . . . vexari*] the interjectional infin. *servavi . . . periremus*] His action in the matter of Lentulus and his accomplices had saved the Senate and wrought

3. Quod de domo scribis, hoc est, de area, ego vero tum denique mihi videbor restitutus, si illa nobis erit restituta. Verum haec non sunt in nostra manu. Illud doleo, quae impensa facienda est, in eius partem te miseram et despoliatam venire. Quod si conficietur negotium, omnia consequemur: sin eadem nos fortuna premet, etiamne reliquias tuas misera proiciies? Obsecro te, mea vita, quod ad sumptum attinet, sine alios, qui possunt, si modo volunt, sustinere, et valetudinem istam infirmam, si me amas, noli vexare. Nam mihi ante oculos dies noctesque versaris: omnes labores te excipere video: timeo ut sustineas. Sed video in te esse omnia. Qua re ut id, quod speras et quod agis, consequamur, servi valetudini. 4. Ego ad quos scribam nescio, nisi ad eos, qui ad me scribunt, aut ad eos, de quibus ad me vos aliquid scribitis. Longius, quoniam ita vobis placet, non discedam, sed velim quam saepissime litteras mittatis, praesertim, si quid est firmitus quod speremus. Valete, mea desideria, valete. D. A. D. III Nonas Octobres, Thessalonicae.

his own ruin. See *post. Red. in Sen.* 4, ille annus quem ego mihi quam patriae malueram esse fatalem.

3. *tum . . . si*] cp. Catull. xvi. 8:

Qui *tum* denique habent salem ac leporem  
Si sunt molliculi ac parum pudici.

*Illud doleo*] 'What distresses me is that you, in your miserable and impoverished condition, should incur any part of the necessary expenses. Of course, if my restoration be effected, we gain everything; but should the same disastrous fortune again pursue me, will you be so foolish as to throw away the scanty remains of your fortune? Pray allow others who can, if they will, to bear the expenses requisite, and do not, for my sake, tax your already impaired strength.' Cicero wishes that while the matter is yet uncertain, Terentia should leave the necessary expenses to his wealthy friends. If his

restoration were certain, it would be no matter how much she spent. What the 'necessary expenses' were may be gathered from Dion Cass. xxxix. 8, where he tells us that Milo *μονομάχους τινάς . . . ἀπορίσας ἐς χεῖρας τῷ Κλωδίῳ συνεχῶς ἔει*. He wishes that Terentia should reserve her own property (which seems to have been spared) for the support of herself and son, if the attempt to restore him should fail: see Fam. xiv. 1, 5, where the argument here hinted at is plainly put. It may perhaps be inferred from Fam. xiv. 3, 5, that if the attempt to restore him had failed, Cicero would have destroyed himself.

4. *ad quos scribam*] Terentia had probably urged him to write more to influential persons in his own behalf; the emphatic *ego* shows that the words are the answer to some suggestion of Terentia.

D] = *data*.

## LXXX. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. III. 21).

THESSALONICA, A. U. C. 696; B. C. 58; AET. CIC. 48.

M. Cicero Attico scribit se velle ire in Epirum, et rogat, ut se de omnibus rebus certiore faciat et quibus opus putet suo nomine litteras scribat.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Triginta dies erant ipsi, cum has dabam litteras, per quos nullas a vobis acceperam. Mihi autem erat in animo iam, ut antea ad te scripsi, ire in Epirum et ibi omnem casum potissimum exspectare. Te oro, ut, si quid erit quod perspicias, quaecumque in partem quam planissime ad me scribas, et meo nomine, ut scribis, litteras, quibus putabis esse opus, ut des. Data v Kal. Novembres.

## LXXXI. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. III. 22).

DYRRACHIUM, A. U. C. 696; B. C. 58; AET. CIC. 48.

De litteris Q. fratris et Pisonis acceptis, Attici exspectatis, se etiam nunc a Plancio retineri, de Lentuli studio et Pompeii voluntate, de Metello, de desiderio suorum. Haec scripsit Thessalonicae; dedit autem Dyrrachii.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Etsi diligenter ad me Quintus frater et Piso quae essent acta scripserant, tamen vellem tua te occupatio non impedisset quo minus, ut consuesti, ad me quid ageretur et quid intellegeres perscriberes. Me adhuc Plancius liberalitate sua retinet iam ali-

*ipsi*] 'exactly 30 days:' cf. detraxit xx *ipsos* dies etiam aphractus Rhodiorum, Att. vi. 8, 4. So also *nunc ipsum*, &c.

*quaecumque in partem*] 'whether for good or evil.' Compare the phrase *in bonam partem accipere*. So *magnam vim esse fortunae in utramque partem*, Off. ii.

19; *mitiorem in partem interpretarere*, pro Mur. 64.

1. *Plancius*] Cn. Plancius was now quaestor in Macedonia. He had been *trib. mil.* in the same province, and was after *trib. pl.*; he was defended by Cicero in 700 (b.c. 54).

quotiens conatum ire in Epirum. Spes homini est iniecta non eadem quae mihi, posse nos una decedere: quam rem sibi magno honori sperat fore. Sed iam, cum adventare milites dicentur, faciendum nobis erit ut ab eo discedamus. Quod cum faciemus, ad te statim mittemus, ut scias ubi simus. 2. Lentulus suo in nos officio, quod et re et promissis et litteris declarat, spem nobis non nullum adfert Pompeii voluntatis. Saepe enim tu ad me scripsisti eum totum esse in illius potestate. De Metello, scripsit ad me frater quantum sperasset profectum esse per te. 3. Mi Pomponi, pugna ut tecum et cum meis mihi liceat vivere et scribe ad me omnia. Premor luctu desiderio omnium meorum, qui mihi me cariores semper fuerunt. Cura ut valeas.

4. Ego, quod, per Thessaliam si irem in Epirum, per diu nihil eram auditurus et quod mei studiosos habeo Dyrrachinos, ad eos perrexi, cum illa superiora Thessalonicae scripsissem. Inde cum ad te me convertam, faciam ut scias, tuque ad me velim omnia quam diligentissime, cuicumodi sunt, scribas. Ego iam aut rem aut ne spem quidem exspecto. Data VI Kal. Decembr. Dyrrachii.

*una decedere*] 'to leave for Italy together.'

*milites*] of Piso, the consul of this year, who was coming to his province of Macedonia.

*mittemus*] 'send word to you,' as Att. ii. 25, 1.

2. *eum*] 'that he (Pompeius) would do anything for him' (Lentulus, the consul for 697, b. c. 57).

*De Metello*] 'With regard to Metellus Nepos (the other consul for 697, b. c. 57), my brother tells me you have done for me all that he hoped.' *Sperasset* is right, because Quintus would have said in his letter, '*quantum speravi* (or *speraveram*) *profectum est per T. Pomponium*.'

3. *luctu desiderio*] I have omitted the comma after *luctu* because *luctu* and *desiderio* are not co-ordinate. 'I am oppressed with grief *through* regret for,' &c.

4. *ad te*] 'to your property in Epirus.' *cuicumodi*] for *cuiuscuiusmodi*; in old Latin the *s* would be elided, and then we should have *cuiu'cuiu'modi*, which would soon become *cuicumodi* (Boot). Kennedy, *Public School Grammar*, p. 144, looks on *cuicumodi* as a gen. for *cuisuismodi*, *cuius* (*quius*) being scanned as a monosyll. (*cuis*) in the scenic poets. Roby calls *cuicumodi* *aliimodi* locatives, § 1311.

*aut rem aut ne spem quidem*] 'I look forward to some definite step (towards my restoration), or else utter despair.'

## LXXXII. TO HIS FAMILY IN ROME (FAM. XIV. 1).

DYRRACHIUM, A. U. C. 696 ; B. C. 58 ; AET. CIC. 48.

Cicero Terentiae uxori scribit de calamitatis suae magnitudine, de spe restitutionis, de familia, de Cn. Plancii officiis, de C. Pisonis humanitate, de componendis discordiis domesticis, de dote retinenda, de itinēris sui rationibus.

TULLIUS TERENTIAE SUAE, TULLIOLAE SUAE, CICERONI  
SUO S. D.

1. Et litteris multorum et sermone omnium perfertur ad me, incredibilem tuam virtutem et fortitudinem esse teque nec animi neque corporis laboribus defatigari. Me miserum ! te ista virtute, fide, probitate, humanitate in tantas aerumnas propter me incidisse ! Tulliolamque nostram, ex quo patre tantas voluptates capiebat, ex eo tantos percipere luctus ! Nam quid ego de Cicerone dicam ? qui cum primum sapere coepit, acerbissimos dolores miserasque percepit. Quae si, tu ut scribis, fato facta putarem, ferrem paullo facilius, sed omnia sunt mea culpa commissa, qui ab iis me amari putabam, qui invidebant, eos non sequebar, qui petebant. 2. Quod si nostris consiliis usi essemus neque apud nos tantum valuisset sermo aut stultorum amicorum aut improborum, beatissimi viveremus. Nunc, quoniam sperare nos amici iubent, dabo operam ne mea valetudo tuo labori desit. Res quanta sit intellego quantoque fuerit facilius manere domi quam redire. Sed tamen, si omnes tribunos pl. habemus, si Lentulum tam studiosum quam videtur, si vero etiam Pompeium et Caesarem, non est desperandum. 3. De familia, quo modo placuisse scribis amicis,

1. *qui ab iis*] Cicero, though always an Optimate at heart, was at first disposed to adopt an attitude independent of the Optimates, as Pompeius did. But after he had been raised by the Optimates to the consulate, he stood forth as their champion. He now sees that he was mistaken in supposing that they really regarded him as their champion. He was envied by men like Hortensius ; looked down on by men like Lucullus.

*qui petebant*] 'who wanted me ;' re-

ferring to the overtures originally made by the anti-Optimate party : or perhaps it is to be understood as referring to Caesar's offer of a post as his Legate.

2. *stultorum . . . aut improborum*] 'misguided' (like Atticus, and perhaps Cato) ; or 'treacherous' (like Hortensius and Arrius).

*tuo labori desit*] 'fail to second your exertions.'

3. *familia*] See Fam. xiv. 4, 4.

faciemus. De loco, nunc quidem iam abiit pestilentia, sed quam diu fuit, me non attigit. Plancius, homo officiosissimus, me cupit esse secum et adhuc retinet. Ego volebam loco magis deserto esse in Epiro, quo neque Hispo veniret nec milites, sed adhuc Plancius me retinet: sperat posse fieri ut mecum in Italiam decedat. Quem ego diem si videro et si in vestrum complexum venero ac si et vos et me ipsum reciperaro, satis magnum mihi fructum videbor percepissee et vestrae pietatis et meae. 4. Pisonis humanitas, virtus, amor in omnes nos tantus est, ut nihil supra possit. Utinam ea res ei voluptati sit! gloriae quidem video fore. De Q. fratre nihil ego te accusavi, sed vos, cum praesertim tam pauci sitis, volui esse quam coniunctissimos. 5. Quibus me voluisti agere gratias, egi, et me a te certiore factum esse scripsi. Quod ad me, mea Terentia, scribis te vicum vendituram, quid, obsecro te—me miserum!—quid futurum est? Et, si nos premet eadem fortuna, quid puero misero fiet? Non queo reliqua scribere—tanta vis lacrimarum est—neque te in eundem fletum adducam. Tantum scribo: si erunt in officio amici, pecunia non deerit: si non erunt, tu efficere tua pecunia non poteris. Per fortunas miseras nostras, vide ne puerum perditum perdamus. Cui si aliquid erit ne egeat, mediocri virtute opus est et mediocri fortuna, ut

*loco*] i. e. the place where I now am, i. e. Thessalonica. Terentia had been told that Thessalonica was visited by an epidemic.

*Hispo*] Ed. Neapolitana. M. has *ipso*. Hence *ipse* was suggested by Benedictus, who supposed Cicero thus to refer to Piso the consul, whose arrival in Macedonia was expected, and from whom Cicero apprehended hostility. But *ipse* would never have been corrupted to *ipso*, and the same remark applies with even greater force to *Piso*, the reading of Manutius. Now, *Hispo* would very probably have been corrupted to *ipso*. We should therefore perhaps adopt the suggestion of Melanchthon, who conjectures that *Hispo* may have been a *praefectus cohortium* sent to watch Cicero in his exile. Orelli follows Melanchthon. The theory that *Hispo* is a disguised form of the name *Piso*, whom Cicero fears openly to refer to, is groundless. It is true that in a subsequent letter Cicero calls Hirrus Hillus, but there he calls the attention of his correspondent to the pseudonym. Here he would not

have been understood.

4. *possit*] For the ellipse of *esse*, cf. Att. iii. 15, 4; ii. 9, 1; Q. Fr. i. 2, 14; and notes thereon.

5. *vicum vendituram*] 'a village,' Marquardt, i. 8. This, no doubt, belonged to Terentia's portion. Cicero is strongly opposed to her selling the property, for the reasons laid down in Fam. xiv. 2, 3, which see, with note.

*Tantum scribo*] 'This is all I have to say: if my friends do their part, there will be abundance of money; if they do not, you will not be able to effect my restoration with yours.'

*Per fortunas miseras nostras*] See Att. iii. 20, 1.

*perditum perdamus*] cp. *nota noscere*, Plaut. Mil. iii. 1, 42; *inventum inveni*, Capt. ii. 3, 81; *actum agere*, Ter. Phorm. 419.

*Cui si*] 'If he has enough to keep him from want, but little excellence on his part or good fortune will be requisite to completely reinstate him.'



cetera consequatur. 6. Fac valeas et ad me tabellarios mittas, ut sciam quid agatur et vos quid agatis. Mihi omnino iam brevis exspectatio est. Tulliolarum et Ciceroni salutem dic. Valet. D. A. D. VI Kalendas Decembres Dyrrachio.

7. Dyrrachium veni, quod et libera civitas est et in me officiosa et proxima Italiae. Sed si offendet me loci celebritas, alio me conferam: ad te scribam.

## LXXXIII. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. III. 23).

DYRRACHIUM, A. U. C. 696; B. C. 58; AET. CIC. 48.

M. Cicero ad tris epistolas Attici respondet et maxime de lege ea conscribenda praecipit qua ipse revocetur. In extrema epistola Atticum rogat, ut uno impetu rem suam conficiat, sin id minus perfici possit, suos eius fidei commendat.

## CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. A. d. v Kal. Decembr. tris epistolas a te accepi, unam datam a. d. VIII Kal. Novembr., in qua me hortaris, ut forti animo mensem Ianuarium expectem, eaque, quae ad spem putas pertinere, de Lentuli studio, de Metelli voluntate, de tota Pompeii ratione perscribis. In altera epistola praeter consuetudinem tuam diem non ascribis, sed satis significas tempus. Lege enim ab octo tribunis pl. promulgata scribis te eas litteras eo ipso die dedisse, id est, a. d. IIII Kalend. Novembr., et quid putes utilitatis eam promulgationem attulisse scribis. In quo si iam haec nostra

6. *brevis exspectatio*] 'my suspense cannot now last long.'

7. *libera*] an independent state; and therefore a Roman exile would there be *sui iuris*: cf. Att. iii. 2, *pro meo iure*.

1. *ad spem . . . pertinere*] Cf. *ad multa pertinuit*, Att. iii. 6, 1; *ad multa quadrare*, Att. iv. 19, 2; *quicquam ad spem* = 'any hopeful sign,' Att. xi. 15, 1; 20, 1.

*Lege enim*] This was the bill for Cicero's recall, which was brought forward by eight tribunes, Oct. 29, and is not to be confounded with the bill of Ninnius, brought in on the Kalends of

June, and vetoed by Aelius Ligus (who is doubtless the person referred to in the words, *ut etiam Ligurino μῶμος satisfaciam*, Att. v. 20, 6; see Sest. 68). Even though vetoed, it might have a good effect on the new tribunes, as showing a change of feeling. Hence *quid putes utilitatis . . . attulisse*.

*In quo si iam*] 'And I shall take this opportunity of saying, if by this time all chance of my restoration has been lost with the bill, I hope you will think the trouble I am about to take (in examining the bill) a subject for pity rather than contempt.'

salus cum hac lege desperata erit, velim pro tuo in me amore hanc inanem meam diligentiam miserabilem potius quam ineptam putes: sin est aliquid spei, des operam ut maiore diligentia posthac a novis magistratibus defendamur. 2. Nam ea veterum tribunorum pl. rogatio tria capita habuit, unum de reditu meo, scriptum incaute. Nihil enim restituitur praeter civitatem et ordinem: quod mihi pro meo casu satis est, sed quae cavenda fuerint et quo modo te non fugit. Alterum caput est tralaticium de impunitate, SI QUID CONTRA ALIAS LEGES EIUS LEGIS ERGO FACTUM SIT. Tertium caput, mi Pomponi, quo consilio et a quo sit inculcatum vide. Scis enim Clodium sanxisse, ut vix aut omnino non posset nec per senatum nec per populum infirmari sua lex. Sed vides numquam esse observatas sanctiones earum legum, quae abrogarentur. Nam si id esset, nulla fere abrogari posset—neque enim ulla est quae non ipsa se saepiat difficultate abrogationis—sed, cum lex abrogatur, illud ipsum abrogatur, quo minus eam abrogari oporteat. 3. Hoc quod re vera ita est,

*novis*] *nostris* would mean, 'who are in my favour:' cf. *nostrī trib.*, § 3. Manutius' conjecture, *novis*, seems to me demanded by the antithesis in *veterum*, § 2.

2. *veterum*] the tribunes of 695, 696 (b. c. 59, 58), colleagues of Clodius, the *octo tribuni* referred to above; he did not yet know whether the bill had passed or not.

*ordinem*] 'my place in the Senate.'

*pro meo casu*] 'under the circumstances.'

*quae cavenda*] especially his house and property, as we gather from previous letters.

*Alterum caput*] 'The second clause is the traditional one providing indemnity for the proposers, if in carrying out the law any other law be infringed.' *Ergo = causa.* (cf. *επφορ* 'function')?!

*sanxisse*] 'has provided sanctions such as to make it almost or altogether impossible to repeal his law.'

*sed, cum lex abrogatur*] 'when a law is abrogated, with it is abrogated the sanction forbidding its abrogation.' *Quo modo* is the reading of M. Baiter keeps *quo modo*, and Watson renders, 'when a law is repealed, the very sanction against repeal (*illud ipsum*) is repealed in the way in which the law itself must be repealed.'

But surely this would require *oportet* instead of *oporteat*. Klotz read *quo minus*, supposing the corruption to have arisen from the compendious way of writing *minus*; for the same reason at Att. iv. 2, 6, for *quin* he read *quo minus*.

3. *Hoc quod*] 'Though this theory (that the clause forbidding the repeal is repealed with the law) is always acted on, it being actually the case (that the repeal of the law carries the repeal of the clause forbidding repeal), yet my eight tribunes have inserted this clause: *If there be any enactment in this bill which, by the laws or the decrees of the people (which, mark you, include the Clodian bill), it be not lawful to enact now (at the rogatio), or was not lawful (at the promulgatio), without thereby incurring a penalty; whether that enactment be a proposal, a repeal, a partial repeal, or a modification, of an old law; or if there be anything which to him who has proposed such enactment, or such repeal may involve penalty or fine—by this bill nothing of the above nature is proposed.* The letters *s. f.* stand for *sine fraude*; the verb *abrogare* is explained by Ulpian as above; Paulus Diaconus explains, 'to pass a new law in opposition to an old one.' The explanation of Ulpian makes *abrogare* more co-ordinate with the other terms.

cum semper ita habitum observatumque sit, octo nostri tribuni pl. caput posuerunt hoc: SI QUID IN HAC ROGATIONE SCRIPTUM EST, QUOD PER LEGES PLEBISVE SCITA, hoc est, quod per legem Clodiam, PROMULGARE, ABROGARE, DEROGARE, OBROGARE S. F. SUA NON LICEAT, NON LICUERIT, QUODVE EI, QUI PROMULGAVIT DEROGAVIT, OB EAM REM POENAE MULTAEVE SIT, E. H. L. N. R. 4. Atque hoc in illis tribunis pl. non laedebat: lege enim collegii sui non tenebantur. Quo maior est suspicio malitiae alicuius, cum id, quod ad ipsos nihil pertinebat, erat autem contra me, scripserunt: ut novi tribuni pl., si essent timidiore, multo magis sibi eo capite utendum putarent. Neque id a Clodio praetermissum est. Dixit enim in contione a. d. III Non Nov. hoc capite designatis tribunis pl. praescriptum esse quid liceret, tamen in lege nulla esse eius modi caput te non fallit. Quod si opus esset, omnes in abrogando uterentur. Ut Ninnium aut ceteros fugerit investiges velim et quis attulerit, et, qua re octo tribuni pl. ad senatum de me referre non dubitarint—scilicet quod observandum illud caput non puta-

*e. h. l. n. r.] eius hac lege nihil rogatur.* For *nihil eius (generis)*, cf. *quod eius (rei)*, often in these letters.

4. *Atque hoc in illis]* This clause did not touch them (the *tribuni veteres, octo tribuni nostri*), for the only law contravened by their bill was the Clodian, by which they were not bound, as being a law emanating from their own college. The theory of Hofmann is that Clodius only provided against any attempt at repeal coming from *subsequent* tribunes, but not from his own colleagues, as against them he could use his *veto*. Perhaps, as they did not use their *veto* against Clodius' bill of interdiction, Clodius did not suppose that they would make any attempt to repeal his law. It is pretty certain that a tribune could not thus bind his colleagues. Momm. St. R. i. 278, and note.

*ad ipsos nihil pertinebat]* 'since they have added a clause unnecessary for their own protection, injurious to me, and likely to result in making the new tribunes (if somewhat timid) suppose that they *a fortiori* are bound to introduce that clause.'

*Neque id a Clodio]* 'nor did Clodius fail to see the significance of their action; for he laid it down that this clause defines the powers of the tribunes elect; now, you

know very well that such a clause (binding the tribunes elect) is never inserted in any law. Yet, if it were requisite, *everyone* would employ it in repealing a law.' I have retained *quod* of the ms, as does Orelli. Madvig conjectured, *quo si opus esset, omnes uterentur*. He has been followed by all the subsequent edd.; yet his conjecture blunts, almost destroys, the point of the argument.

*Ut]* 'how this point happened to escape Ninnius.' See Adn. Crit.

*quis attulerit]* 'who it was who added the saving clause.'

*scilicet quod]* *Sive quod*, M. Klotz follows M, marking a lacuna, in which he supposes the other alternative to be put; but even granting this hypothesis, the required meaning does not emerge. I have given the conjecture of Lallemand, accepted by Baiter and Hofmann. Translate, 'and why it was that the eight tribunes did not hesitate to bring my case before the Senate—which of course showed that they disregarded the Clodian clause against the repeal of his law—and yet have been so cautious in proposing the repeal of that law, as to show the greatest respect for a sanction by which they were not bound—a sanction which need not be

bant,—iidem in abrogando tam cauti fuerint, ut id metuerent, soluti cum essent, quod ne iis quidem, qui lege tenentur, est curandum. Id caput sane nolim novos tribunos pl. ferre, sed perferant modo quidlibet: uno capite, quo revocabor, modo res conficiatur, ero contentus. Iam dudum pudet tam multa scribere. Vereor enim ne re iam desperata legas, ut haec mea diligentia miserabilis tibi, aliis irridenda videatur. Sed si est aliquid in spe, vide legem, quam T. Fadio scripsit Visellius: ea mihi perplacet. Nam Sestii nostri, quam tu tibi probari scribis, mihi non placet. 5. Tertia est epistola prid. Id. Novembr. data, in qua exponis prudenter et diligenter quae sint quae rem distinere videantur, de Crasso, de Pompeio, de ceteris. Qua re oro te, ut si qua spes erit posse studiis bonorum, auctoritate, multitudine comparata rem confici, des operam ut uno impetu perfringatur, in eam rem incumbas ceterosque excites: sin, ut ego perspicio cum tua coniectura tum etiam mea, spei nihil est, oro obtestorque te, ut Quintum fratrem ames, quem ego miserum misere perdidisti, neve quid eum patiari gravius consulere de se quam expediat sororis tuae filio: meum Ciceronem, cui nihil misello relinquo praeter invidiam et ignominiam nominis mei, tueare quoad poteris: Terentiam, unam omnium aerumnosissimam, sustentas tuis officiis. Ego in Epirum proficiscar, cum primorum dierum nuntios excepero. Tu ad me

regarded even by those who come under its terms.' He has said above that when a law is repealed, so also is repealed the clause forbidding its repeal; therefore such a clause is habitually disregarded even by those who come under its terms. But these eight tribunes did *not* come under its terms, for Clodius only provided against the repeal of his law by *subsequent* tribunes; yet these tribunes, in the wording of the bill for Cicero's recall, show the greatest respect for this clause—though, on the other hand, their whole action in bringing the case of Cicero before the Senate was a virtual ignoring of the clause providing against the repeal of the Clodian law. Cicero therefore adds, 'I hope the new tribunes will not introduce this clause.'

[*Visellius*] C. Visellius Varro was a learned juriconsult who had drawn up for Fadius (one of the new tribunes) a form for a bill for Cicero's recall. Vi-

sellius was a cousin of Cicero.

[*Sestii*] See or. pro Sest. *passim*.

5. *rem distinere*] 'keep the measure for my recall in abeyance.'

[*auctoritate*] 'influence,' generally 'moral influence,' *gratia* being 'social influence.' There is no reference here to *auctoritas senatus*, mentioned in Att. iii. 26. [*multitudine comparata*] probably the 'band of braves' hired by Milo, referred to in Dion. Cass. xxxix. 8, quoted above on Fam. xiv. 2, 3; but possibly, also, 'the influx of supporters from the country towns,' where Cicero was very popular. *Comparare* is, 'to procure,' 'suborn.'

[*perfringatur*] 'the barrier be broken through.'

[*perdidisti*] See Q. Fr. i. 3, 7.

[*primorum dierum*] The first days after the entrance of the tribunes into office, which would take place Dec. 10: see Att. i. 1, 1.

velim proximis litteris ut se initia dederint perscribas. Data prid. Kal. Decembr.



# LXXXIV. TO HIS FAMILY IN ROME (FAM. XIV. 3.).

DYRRACHIUM, A. U. C. 696; B. C. 58; AET. CIC. 48.

Cicero sua culpa factum esse dolet, ut cum suis in tantas miserias deveniret: Dyrrachii se recte et posse et velle eorum, quae de salute sua agantur, exitum expectare scribit: uxorem Romae manere iubet.

TULLIUS S. D. TERENTIAE SUAE ET TULLIOLAE ET CICERONI.

1. Accepi ab Aristocrito tris epistolas, quas ego lacrimis prope delevi. Conficior enim maerore, mea Terentia, nec me meae miseriae magis excruciant quam tuae vestraeque. Ego autem hoc miserior sum quam tu, quae es miserrima, quod ipsa calamitas communis est utriusque nostrum, sed culpa mea propria est. Meum fuit officium vel legatione vitare periculum vel diligentia et copiis resistere vel cadere fortiter. Hoc miserior, turpius, indignius nobis nihil fuit. 2. Qua re cum dolore conficior tum etiam pudore. Pudet enim me uxori [meae] optimae, suavissimis liberis virtutem et diligentiam non praestitisse. Nam mihi ante oculos dies noctesque versatur squalor vester et maeror et infirmitas valetudinis tuae, spes autem salutis pertenuis ostenditur. Inimici sunt multi, invidi paene omnes. Eicere nos magnum fuit, excludere facile est. Sed tamen quam diu vos eritis in spe, non deficiam, ne omnia mea culpa cecidissee videantur. 3. Ut tuto sim

se . . . dederint] Cf. Ter. Hec. iii. 3, 20, *ut res dant sese ita magni atque humiles sumus*. Reid on *pro Balbo* 3 proposes to read here *ut initia ceciderint*, comparing *haec res quemadmodum ceciderit*, Att. iii. 24, 2 (Ep. lxxxv.)

1. *legatione*] offered by Caesar.  
*hoc*] sc. *consilio*, the step which he took in leaving Rome, which he calls above *turpissimum consilium*, Att. iii. 15, 4.

2. *Eicere . . . excludere*] Cf. Fam. xiv. 1, 2, *intellego quanto fuerit facilius manere domi quam redire*.

*ne omnia*] 'lest everything should appear to have happened through my own

fault (i. e. not only my banishment, but the failure of the means employed to bring about my restoration.)' This is the best explanation of *cecidissee*, which is very frequently used by Cicero = 'to happen.' Possibly, however, *cecidissee* means, 'to have failed,' but in this sense it is generally applied to persons: cf. however, Off. ii. 45, *tua laus pariter cum Rep. cecidit*; but *cadere* applied to things in this sense is very rare. *Laus* is almost a personification in this sentence.

3. *Ut . . . tuto sim*] Wesenberg inserts *in* before *tuto*, but there is no reason to depart from the ms. We have already frequently met *esse* with such adverbs as

quod laboras, id mihi nunc facillimum est, quem etiam inimici volunt vivere in his tantis miseriis. Ego tamen faciam quae praecipis. Amicis quibus voluisti egi gratias, et eas litteras Dexippo dedi, meque de eorum officio scripsi a te certiores esse factum. Pisonem nostrum mirifico esse studio in nos et officio et ego perspicio et omnes praedicant. Di faxint, ut tali genero mihi praesenti tecum simul et cum liberis nostris frui liceat! Nunc spes reliqua est in novis tribunis pl. et in primis quidem diebus: nam si inveterarit, actum est. 4. Ea re ad te statim Aristocritum misi, ut ad me continuo initia rerum et rationem totius negotii posses scribere, etsi Dexippo quoque ita imperavi, statim huc ut recurreret, et ad fratrem misi, ut crebro tabellarios mitteret. Nam ego eo nomine sum Dyrrachii hoc tempore, ut quam celerrime quid agatur audiam, et sum tuto, civitas enim haec semper a me defensa est. Cum inimici nostri venire dicentur, tum in Epirum ibo. 5. Quod scribis te, si velim, ad me venturam, ego vero, cum sciam magnam partem istius oneris abs te sustineri, te istic esse volo. Si perficitis quod agitis, me ad vos venire oportet: sin autem—Sed nihil opus est reliqua scribere. Ex primis aut summum secundis litteris tuis constituere poterimus quid nobis faciendum sit. Tu modo ad me velim omnia diligentissime perscribas, etsi magis iam rem quam litteras debeo exspectare. Cura ut valeas et ita tibi persuadeas, mihi te carius nihil esse nec umquam fuisse. Vale, mea Terentia, quam ego videre videor, itaque debilitor lacrimis. Vale. Pridie Kalendas Decembres.

*tam, ita, recte*: see Q. Fr. i. 2, 9; Att. iii. 13, 2, and notes thereon. We have another case of *tuto esse* in § 4, and in Att. xiv. 20, 3, *cui si esse in urbe tuto licebit*; and a similar usage with other adverbs in Fam. xvi. 10, 2, *Pompeius erat apud me, cum haec scribebam, hilare et libenter*.

*primis . . . diebus*] See last letter, *fin. inveterarit*] 'if it be allowed to languish,' 'to hang fire.' *Refrizerit* is more often used by Cicero in this sense.

4. *sum tuto*] See I<sup>2</sup> Introd., p. 71.

5. *oneris*] called *labores* above, Att. iii. 15, 7, 'the labour of bringing about his restoration.' *Istic*, in Rome.

*sin autem*] he hints that he will destroy himself if the attempts to restore him fail.

*rem*] 'some definite action' in my favour.

*quam ego videre videor*] Cf. Fam. xiv. 2, 3, *mihi ante oculos dies noctesque versaris*.

*debilitor lacrimis*] Cf. *conficior lacrimis*, Fam. xiv. 4, 1.

## LXXXV. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. III. 24.)

DYRRACHIUM, A. U. C. 696 ; B. C. 58 ; AET. CIC. 48.

De exigua spe reditus sui post ornatas consulum provincias cum propter offensionem tribunorum pl., tum propterea quod illa opinio amissa esset, senatum ante quam de se actum esset nihil decernere.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Antea, cum ad me scripsissetis, vestro consensu consulum provincias ornatas esse, etsi verebar quorsum id casurum esset, tamen sperabam vos aliquid aliquando vidisse prudentius : postea quam mihi et dictum est et scriptum vehementer consilium vestrum reprehendi, sum graviter commotus, quod illa ipsa spes exigua, quae erat, videretur esse sublata. Nam si tribuni pl. nobis suscensent, quae potest spes esse? Ac videntur iure suscensere

1. *scripsissetis*] 'You, my friends at Rome.'

*provincias ornatas*] 'that the estimates for the consular provinces were passed.' *Decernere provv.* was, to determine what provinces should be assigned to the consuls on the expiration of their office. This was done before the *comitia consularia*; but *ornare provincias* (also expressed *ornare consules*; see below) was to arrange points of detail, such as the force to be sent to each province, the staff to be assigned to each governor, and the amount of money for the carrying on of the government of each province. The latter (*ornare provv.*) was always deferred till after the consuls entered on office, Jan. 1; but on this occasion, for some reason or other, it had been done before Dec. 1. Consequently the new tribunes, who entered on their office Dec. 10, could take no part in it—a matter which they resented both for their own sake, and because they thereby lost an opportunity of befriending Cicero, for whom they could have secured the good offices of the consuls by meeting their views in the arrangement of the estimates; for the tribunes were, as we know,

friendly to Cicero.

*aliquid . . . vidisse prudentius*] 'I hoped you had some sound reason for the step you took.'

*reprehendi*] 'was severely criticised ("strongly resented") i. e. by the tribunes.'

*videntur iure suscensere*] 'and I think they naturally resent the step you have taken, since they were not made cognizant of your design, though supporters of me, and (since) now, by your concession, they have lost the power of exercising their just right (i. e. of taking part in *ornandis provinciis*), especially as they say that they desired to be able to exercise their powers in this matter, not for the purpose of opposing the consuls, but that they might attach them to my cause. Whereas now (the tribunes say), if the consuls choose to oppose me, they can do so without any restraint: but if they choose to support me, they can do nothing against the will of them, the tribunes.' The *consilium* is, of course, the step which the friends of Cicero took in supporting the innovation whereby the estimates for the provinces were passed before the *comitia*

cum et expertes consilii fuerint ii, qui causam nostram suscep-  
rant, et vestra concessione omnem vim sui iuris amiserint, prae-  
sertim cum ita dicant, se nostra causa voluisse suam potestatem  
esse de consulibus ornandis, non ut eos impedirent, sed ut ad  
nostram causam adiungerent; nunc, si consules a nobis alieniores  
esse velint, posse id libere facere, sin velint nostra causa, nihil  
posse se invitis. Nam quod scribis, ni ita vobis placuisset, illos  
hoc idem per populum adsecuturos fuisse, invitis tribunis pl. fieri  
nullo modo potuit. Ita vereor ne et studia tribunorum amiserimus  
et si studia maneant, vinclum illud adiungendorum consulum  
amissum sit. 2. Accedit aliud non parvum incommodum, quod  
gravis illa opinio, ut quidem ad nos perferebatur, senatum nihil  
decernere ante, quam de nobis actum esset, amissa est, praesertim  
in ea causa, quae non modo necessaria non fuit, sed etiam inusi-  
tata ac nova. Neque enim umquam arbitror ornatas esse pro-  
vincias designatorum, ut, cum in hoc illa constantia qua erat

*consularia.* For *velint nostra causa*, see on Att. ii. 16, 4. In the words *nihil posse se invitis*, if *se* be retained, of course *posse* and *nihil posse* must depend on *ita dicant*. We must then render as above, and suppose the tribunes to have in these words uttered language quite amounting to a menace against Cicero. But this is plainly inconsistent with their subsequent conduct. We have in this passage (I am confident) the expression of an apprehension on Cicero's part which the sequel proved to be groundless. We have many such groundless apprehensions in the letters from exile. The *Ed. Iensoniana* has the probably true reading, *eis* for *se*; then *posse* and *nihil posse* depend on *videntur* above (*videntur iure suspensere*), and we have an expression of Cicero's forebodings: 'now it seems to me that if the consuls choose to hold aloof from me they can do so unfettered; and if they desire to support me, they can do nothing if opposed by the tribunes.' *Se* arose from a ditto-graphy, *posse se*.

→ *Nam quod scribis*] 'For as to your remark, that if you had opposed the step (of passing the estimates earlier than usual) they would have gained their end by means of the people—this could not have been effected against the sense of the tribunes.' Atticus probably thought of the action of the people in assigning his province to Caesar, when the Senate

had to give in, and even to add Gallia Comata, *veritis patribus ne si ipsi negasent populus et hanc daret*, Suet. Iul. 22.

2. *Accedit aliud*] 'Moreover, there is another great disadvantage in the step you have taken. I have now lost the benefit of that opinion so strongly expressed—at least so it was reported to me—that the Senate would pass no act until my case was settled—lost it, moreover, under circumstances which not only did not demand its sacrifice, but were unusual and even unprecedented; for I remember no case in which the provincial estimates were made while the future consuls were still only consuls elect; so that the whole result is, that now any act may be passed by the Senate (before my case), since by this one act the firm front has been broken which the Senate had shown in my cause.' *Gravis opinio* is explained by Boot to mean, 'so important for my cause: ' but the words *ut quidem ad nos perferebatur*, as well as the usage of Cicero, are strongly in favour of my rendering.

*decernere*] The tense must be accounted for thus: if the *opinio* were expressed in the direct form, it would run *senatus nihil decernebat nisi (antequam) de Cicerone actum esset*, where *decernebat* = *decreturum se dicebat*, with which compare Att. ix. 2, 3, *Curtius venit nihil nisi classes loquens et exercitus; eripiebat Hispaniam, tenebat Asiam, . . . persequeretur*, 'he talked of



mea causa suscepta, imminuta sit, nihil iam possit non decerni. Iis, ad quos relatum est, amicis placuisse non mirum est. Erat enim difficile reperire qui contra tanta commoda duorum consulum palam sententiam diceret. Fuit omnino difficile non obsequi vel amicissimo homini Lentulo, vel Metello, qui simultatem humanissime deponeret. Sed vereor ne, hos cum tamen tenere potuerimus, tribunos pl. amiserimus. Haec res quem ad modum ceciderit et tota res quo loco sit velim ad me scribas et ita ut instituisti. Nam ista veritas, etiam si iucunda non est, mihi tamen grata est. Dat. III Id. Decembr.

## LXXXVI. TO ATTICUS (ATT. III. 25).

DYRRACHIUM, A. U. C. 696; B. C. 58; AET. CIC. 48.

De Attici ab urbe discessu queritur et rogat ut ante Kal. Ian. ad se veniat.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Post tuum † a me † discessum litterae mihi Roma adlatae sunt, ex quibus perspicio nobis in hac calamitate tabescendum esse, neque enim—sed bonam in partem accipies—si ulla spes salutis

the seizure of Spain, the occupation of Asia, the pursuit,' &c., i. e. 'he said how Caesar would wrest Spain from Pompeius,' &c. So, omnia senatus reiciebat nisi de me primum consules retulissent, Sest. 68. Cp. Eur. Herc. Fur. 467, ὅν δ' ἦσθα . . . Ὁβῶν ἄναξ, 'you (he used to say) are to be king of Thebes.' To these may be added, Liv. ii. 29, 7; ii. 41, 4; xxvi. 8, 2.

ad quos relatum est, amicis] 'who were consulted on the question' (whether the oratio should be allowed to be settled before the consuls entered on their office, Jan. 1). Cicero says he is not surprised that the opinions were in favour of the step taken, as few would care openly to speak against a plan so highly advantageous to both consuls.

Fuit omnino] 'it would have been very difficult to refuse to oblige Lentulus, who is so kind to me, or Metellus (as a return) for his great goodness in laying aside his resentment against me.' Such is the force of the subjunctive. Boot's deposuerat

is worse than needless. For instances of the power of the subjunctive, see Introd. ii. § 2, p. 64.

hos cum tamen tenere] 'I fear that, while we might have retained the good will of the consuls in any case (even though we did not take this step), we have forfeited the support of the tribunes' (by it).

veritas] 'your candour, though it does not give me pleasure, is yet acceptable to me.' That is, 'though I do not enjoy the candour which hides from me no news, however disagreeable, yet I like it—it is what I require.'

Post tuum † a me † discessum] It is certain from the rest of this letter that Atticus had left the city, and it is equally clear that he cannot in the meantime have joined Cicero, and then left him, for in this and the next letter Cicero begs Atticus to join him. A me of the ms must therefore be wrong; for it is too harsh to explain tuum a me discessum, 'your desertion of my cause' (in leaving Rome at

nostrae subesset, tu pro tuo amore in me hoc tempore discessisses. Sed ne ingrati aut ne omnia velle nobiscum una interire videamur, hoc omitto: illud abs te peto, des operam, id quod mihi adfirmasti, ut te ante Kal. Ian., ubicumque erimus, sis.

this critical time). Klotz' *ab urbe* and Wesenberg's *a Roma* merely cut the knot, which should be untied. Kahnt conjectures *a meis*. Perhaps *post tuum ad me discessum*, 'since your leaving Rome to join me.' It is to be noted that *discessisses* below stands absolutely for 'you would have left Rome.' Atticus was obliged to leave Rome on business; but he might have proposed to himself to meet Cicero after its transaction.

*omnia velle nobiscum una interire*] Atticus had left Rome to attend to some

business which called him away. Cicero says he must not complain—he must not expect Atticus to sacrifice real interests for his sake; that would seem as if he wished all his friend's affairs to be involved in the ruin which had overtaken himself.

*te . . . sis*] This is a legal phrase, meaning to 'present oneself,' 'appear' (before a court), 'report oneself,' 'put in an appearance.' Cicero uses it to show his sense of the absolute obligation under which Atticus was bound not to fail to meet him.

LETTERS OF THE TWELFTH YEAR OF CICERO'S CORRESPONDENCE  
(FIRST EIGHT MONTHS).

EPP. LXXXVII.-LXXXIX.

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A. U. C. 697; B. C. 57; AET. CIC. 49.

COSS. P. CORN. LENTULUS SPINTHER, Q. CAEC. METELLUS NEPOS.

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THE only letters of the first eight months of 697 are three letters written in the month of January, Att. iii. 26, 27, and Fam. v. 4. The last is addressed to the Consul Metellus Nepos, begging for his aid, which Metellus heartily accorded, generously laying aside all recollection of the misunderstanding disclosed above in the letter from Metellus Celer to Cicero, Ep. xiv. (Fam. v. 1). Lentulus brought in a bill for Cicero's recall on January 1, which drew so favourable an expression of opinion from the Senate that Cicero (Att. iii. 26) speaks of an intention on his part to return on the strength of that *auctoritas senatus*, even though the actual bill for his recall was prevented from passing by Serranus, one of the unfriendly tribunes. Again, at the end of January, *a*<sup>?</sup> bill was brought before the popular assembly, but was foiled by the violence of Clodius. This is the occasion of the second letter of this year, Att. iii. 27. On August 4 the bill for Cicero's return passed the *comitia centuriata*. It would probably not have been allowed to pass but for the bravos of Milo, who perceived *manum manu, vim vi esse superandam* (post Red. in Sen. 19). Thus was Cicero at length restored mainly by the same unconstitutional means by which his exile was brought about, and might have been averted. For

a full discussion of the means whereby Cicero was restored, see Introd. i. § 1, *sub. fin.*

During his exile Cicero composed nothing. He appears to have shrunk even from his necessary correspondence (Fam. xiv. 2, 1, 4; Att. iii. 7, *fin.*); but the last months of 697 were signalized by the delivery of the orations *post Reditum in Senatu*, *post Reditum ad Quirites*, and *pro Domo sua*. These speeches, together with the speech *pro Sestio* (698) and *pro Plancio* (700), should be read with the letters from exile, as giving with them a complete and connected history of this interesting crisis in the life of Cicero.\*

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\* The authenticity of the first-mentioned speeches is of course doubtful; but, however this question may be decided, they are valuable sources of history.

## LXXXVII. TO ATTICUS (ATT. III. 26)

DYRRACHIUM, A. U. C. 697; B. C. 57; AET. CIC. 49.

Misso ad se a Q. fratre senatus consulto de se facto legum lationem vult expectare et Atticum ad se arcessit.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Litterae mihi a Quinto fratre cum senatus consulto, quod de me est factum, adlatae sunt. Mihi in animo est legum lationem expectare et, si obtrectabitur, utar auctoritate senatus et potius vita quam patria carebo. Tu, quaeso, festina ad nos venire.

## LXXXVIII. TO ATTICUS (ATT. III. 27).

DYRRACHIUM, A. U. C. 697; B. C. 57; AET. CIC. 49.

Acceptis ab Attico litteris de se desperat et suos Attico commendat.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Ex tuis litteris et ex re ipsa nos funditus perisse video. Te oro, ut, quibus in rebus tui mei indigebunt, nostris miseriis ne desis. Ego te, ut scribis, cito videbo.

*senatus consulto*] This is the senatus consultum of Jan. 1, 697 (b. c. 57), made on the proposal of Lentulus for the recall of Cicero. This *Scutum* was never vetoed. The unfriendly tribune who was suborned by Clodius to desert Cicero, Sex. Atilius Serranus Gavianus, *non ausus est, cum esset emptus, intercedere; noctem sibi ad deliberandum postulavit* (Sest. 74). The result of this was that no further definite step was taken in Cicero's favour until Jan. 25, when the attempt was foiled by the violence of Clodius (see next letter). Accordingly, this decree of the Senate, thus rendered abortive by the ruse of Serranus, was not strictly a *senatus auctoritas*, or 'decree of the Senate vetoed by a tribune;' it was only an expression of opinion on the part of the Senate. Cicero expects that the matter will be resumed in the Senate on the following day, and that a bill will be brought before the

people for his recall (for as yet there was no bill, but only expressions of opinion in the Senate that his banishment was illegal: see Sest. 74); if then Serranus vetoes this *Scutum* (*si obtrectabitur*), it will be a *senatus auctoritas*, and Cicero says he will return on the strength of it. *Senatus auctoritate* (Sest. 74) is used in a vaguer sense, 'an expression of opinion on the part of the Senate,' when Cotta votes *non restitui lege sed revocari senatus auctoritate oportere*.

*nos funditus perisse video*] This refers to the bill brought before the people on Jan. 25, which was defeated by the violence of Clodius. Sestius and Q. Cicero were severely hurt in the fray. No further attempt to restore Cicero was made till Aug. 4.

*tui mei indigebunt*] He seems to think of destroying himself.

LXXXIX. TO THE CONSUL, METELLUS <sup>1</sup>NEPOS, IN  
ROME (FAM. V. 4).

DYRRACHIUM, A. U. C. 697; B. C. 57; AET. CIC. 49.

M. Cicero Q. Metelli consulis opem implorat.

M. CICERO S. D. Q. METELLO COS.

1. Litterae Quinti fratris et T. Pomponii, necessarii mei, tantum spei dederant, ut in te non minus auxilii quam in tuo collega mihi constitutum fuerit. Itaque ad te litteras statim misi, per quas, ut fortuna postulabat, et gratias tibi egi et de reliquo tempore auxilium petii. Postea mihi non tam meorum litterae quam sermones eorum, qui hac iter faciebant, animum tuum immutatum significabant: quae res fecit ut tibi litteris obstrepere non aude-rem. 2. Nunc mihi Quintus frater meus mitissimam tuam orationem, quam in senatu habuisses, perscripsit, qua inductus ad te scribere sum conatus et abs te, quantum tua fert voluntas, peto quaeque, ut tuos mecum serves potius quam propter adrogantem crudelitatem tuorum me oppugnes. Tu tuas inimicitias ut rei publicae donares, te vicisti: alienas ut contra rem publicam confirmes, adducis? Quod si mihi tua clementia opem tuleris, omnibus in rebus me fore in tua potestate tibi confirmo: sin mihi neque magistratus neque senatum neque populum auxiliari prop-

1. *immutatum*] 'turned against me.'  
*obstrepere*] 'obtrude my letters on you.'

2. *orationem*] on the motion of Lentulus for Cicero's recall.

*quantum tua fert voluntas*] This is to be taken, not with *ut serves*, but with *peto*; it means, 'I beseech you as strenuously as I may without offending you.' Otherwise, *fert* must be changed to *ferat*, or *feret*, which Wes. reads.

*tuos mecum serves*] 'by aiding me (I

beg you) to do a service to your whole family,' referring to his promise below, *omnibus in rebus me fore in tua potestate*.

*tuorum*] Clodius, whose sister was the widow of the consul's late brother, Metellus Celer.

*Tu tuas inimicitias*] 'you have compelled yourself to resign a private (personal) grudge (see above, Fam. v. 1) for the sake of the State. Will you be persuaded to injure the State to satisfy the resentment of another?' (i. e. Clodius).

ter eam vim, quae me cum re publica vicit, licuerit, vide ne, cum velis revocare tempus omnium reservandorum, cum qui servetur non erit, non possis.

*eam vim*] referring especially to the violence with which Clodius foiled the attempt of Jan. 25 in favour of Cicero.

*vide ne*] 'take care lest afterwards, when you would gladly recall the opportunity you now have for restoring all your fellow-citizens to safety and happiness, you may find yourself unable to do so (as there may not then be one whom you can even save from utter ruin).' Such is the explanation of Orelli. The following are his words: *sanissima est ista sententia peracuta propter oppositionem verborum reservandi et servandi, sed varie corrupta a criticis. Hoc dicit: 'vide ne, cum frustra in eo labores, ut revoces nunc tempus illud, quo omnes in republica illaesi atque incolumes reservari etiam tunc poterant, id ipsum efficere non possis, cum nemo iam omnino erit, qui queat vel servari dumtaxat (id quod minus etiam est quam reservari).'* But this antithesis between *servari* and *reservari* seems to me to need defence; and, feeling this, most edd. give *servandorum* for *reservandorum*. Martyni-Laguna even reads *cum velis revocare ipsum omnium conservatorem* (Ciceronem). I cannot find a single passage in Cicero in which *reservare* is used merely as an intensive of *servare*. I believe that *reip.* (*reipublicae*) dropped out before *reservandorum*, and that the sentence means, 'when you wish to recall the opportunity you had of saving the State from the loss of all her best interests.' In this sense Cicero often uses *reservare*: cf. *pro Flac.* 106, *nomen clarissimum reipublicae reservate*, 'save the State from the loss of one so distinguished'; *Sest.* 50, *vitam suam ad reipublicae statum reservavit*. But *reservare* absolutely can only mean in Cicero, 'to hold over,' 'reserve.' We have in *Prov. Cons.* 47, *inimicitias in aliud tempus reservare*; but it would be too harsh to

construe here, 'when you may wish to recall your present opportunity of at least holding in abeyance all your feuds with me.' The passage from the *or. pro Flac.* just quoted suggests a conjecture which may appear to be rash, but seems to me to derive considerable confirmation from that passage. For *omnium reservandorum* read *NOMINUM reip. reservandorum*. Cicero says, 'when you may wish to recall the opportunity you now have of saving the State from the loss of a distinguished citizen,' he refers to *himself*, and he uses the plural so as to take away some of the arrogance from the words. The plural is often used by Cicero in his letters, though the reference be to a single person, when it is desirable to make the statement vague, either to avoid arrogance, as in this case, or to avoid offence, as in this letter (above), where he says, *propter adrogantem crudelitatem tuorum*, though referring to Clodius alone. On this theory, in the words *cum qui servetur non erit*, Cicero hints at his design to destroy himself if the attempts to restore him should fail. Draeger calls this plural the *pluralis modestiae* (*Historische Syntax*, I., p. 25), and gives as exx., *Moloni dedimus operam*, *Brut.* 312; *scripsimus . . . tenebamus*, *De div.* ii. 3; *vides . . . nos multa conari*, *Orat.* 105; *adolescentuli diximus*, *ib.* 107; *imperatores appellati sumus*, *Att.* v. 20, 3. Cp. *poscimus*, *Hor. Carm.* i. 32, 1. The singular and plural are often found together, as, *video . . . mea voce . . . nobis*, *Catil.* i. 22; *dissuasimus nos. Sed nihil de me*, *De Am.* 95; *viribus nostris . . . et possim et soleam*, *Fam.* ii. 11, 1; *ardeo . . . cupiditate ut nomen nostrum*, *Fam.* v. 12, 1. A good ex. in poetry is, *Et flecti et nostros vidisti flentis ocellos*, *Ov. Her.* v. 45. See *Adn. Crit.* for Madvig's conjecture on this passage.

127  
187  
—  
314

407  
127  
3280  
—  
93  
94  
187

## ADDENDA TO THE COMMENTARY.

### NOTE I.

#### COLONIES, ETC.

SINCE the passing of the Lex Julia, 664 (b. c. 90), *coloniae* and *municipia* had obtained Roman citizenship; and, as far as rights and privileges went, were on the same footing. The distinction that existed between them was partly a merely formal one, partly a historical one—formal, in so far as *coloniae* had as chief magistrates IIviri, and *municipia* IIIIviri; historical, in that *colonies* were offshoots of the State from within; *municipia*, engraftings on the State from without. See the interesting chapter in Gellius xvi. 13.

*Praefectura*, according to Festus (p. 233), was a generic title given to both colonies and *municipia*, as having *praefecti iure dicundo* generally nominated by the praetor—in some cases elected at his recommendation. It seems to me more probable that the *praefecturae* that are spoken of as a class co-ordinate with *coloniae* and *municipia* (e. g. Sest. 32, Pis. 51), were those villages and towns we read of in Siculus Flaccus\* (Grom. i. p. 159), lying outside the actual district of a colony or *municipium*, to which its own magistrates did not directly administer justice, but to which it sent *praefecti* for that purpose. We do not find *praefecturae* outside Italy.

*Pagi* in the country were communities of peasants having common religious rites. They used to elect a magister each year (Festus, p. 371), and they had the charge of the roads (Sicul. Flaccus, p. 146). As being thus to some extent organized, members were able to act together and be of some importance at the elections.

Cf. Mommsen on the *Liber Coloniarum* (Grom. ii. 155), and all his references.

\* *Siculus Flaccus* (Gromatici, i. p. 159). Illud praeterea comperimus, deficiente numero militum veteranorum agro qui territorio eius loci continetur in quo veterani milites deducebantur, sumptos agros ex vicinis territoriis divisisse et assignasse: horum etiam agrorum, qui ex vicinis populis sumpti sunt, proprias factas esse formas ('maps'), id est suis limitibus

quaeque regio divisa est et non ab uno puncto omnes limites acti sunt, sed, ut supra dictum est, suam quaeque regio formam habet: quae singulae praefecturae appellantur ideo quoniam singularum regionum divisiones aliis praefecerunt, vel ex eo quod in diversis regionibus magistratus coloniarum iuris dictionem mittere soliti sunt.



## NOTE II.

## LEX AELIA ET FUFIA.

The plebeian magistrates originally had not the auspices. By the Lex Publilia, 415 (b. c. 339), probably they obtained them. Lange says they were given them that the patricians might have a religious hold on the plebeians; and such they would have, as the augurs at this time were all patricians. It seems to me that it is more consistent with the religious character of the time and the exclusiveness of the patricians, in the matter of religious rites, to suppose that it was only under pressure that they gave the auspices to the tribunes; besides it is more than likely that we should hear a good deal about the auspices being used for political purposes, if that were the intention with which they had been bestowed. But, as a fact, we hear nothing. In 454 (b. c. 300), by the Lex Ogulnia the plebeians got admission to the College of Augurs. For the next one hundred and fifty years we do not hear of the auspices as having been used by either party against the other. If such had been attempted by the plebeians, the patrician magistrate would, by his edict, have required 'ne quis magistratus minor de caelo servasse velit' (Gell. 13, 15, 1); and, if attempted by the patrician, the tribune would have considered it as a violation of his 'ius cum populo agendi.' So Lange; but, I think, wrongly. The edict referred to above was only issued for the *comitia centuriata* (Gell. l. c.); there is no evidence that it could be applied to the *tributa*, though Lange assumes as much. The real reason surely why neither used the auspices for political purposes lay in the fact that the people as a mass were too religious to allow its being done. Though the learned might laugh, the multitude respected the auspices too much to suffer them to be profaned. At any rate, though both parties had the power of *obnuntiatio*, neither used it.

This slumbering authority, however, was roused into full activity by the Lex Aelia and the Lex Fufia (the latter confirmatory of the former), two plebiscita passed in the interest of the nobles, 601 (b. c. 153). Lange (ii. 315) says strongly that these laws legalized the *auspicia* as a simply political engine. They guaranteed *obnuntiatio* to both patrician magistrates and tribunes; but they were specially important to the former, to check the revolutionary measures of the tribunes (*subsidia certissima contra tribunicios furores*, Cic. Post Red. 11; cf. Vat. 17, Piso 9, and Asconius' note '*obnuntiatio qua perniciosus legibus resistebatur quam confirmaverat Aelia lex erat sublata*'). They possibly—Lange considers certainly, but his evidence (ii. 477) is very random—contained a clause that on days of election no *obnuntiatio* be permitted (Phil. 2, 81). But at any rate there seems no sufficient reason to doubt that they enacted that the *comitia* for the elections be finished before those for the passing of laws be allowed (cf. Schol. Bob. 319, Orelli: *leges dicit Aeliam et Fufiam quae non sinebant prius aliqua de re ad populum ferri quam comitia haberentur ad designandos magistratus*). I am quite aware that Mommsen (St. R. i. 108, note) speaks of this statement of the Scholiast as 'notoriously unsustainable;' but then he thinks we can get no more definite knowledge of these laws than what Asconius tells us in the passage quoted above, and he gives no earthly reason for questioning the statement of the Scholiast. To resume, Cicero (Sest. 56), expressly calls them '*leges de iure et tempore legum rogandarum*.' The irregularity of Lurco (Cic. Att. 1, 16, 13) was in proposing his law about bribery at the time of the *comitia* for elections. It is worthy of note that these laws were passed at the same

time as the arrangement for the entrance of the magistrates into office on Jan. 1, viz. in 601 (b. c. 153), and accordingly simultaneously with the general re-arrangement and settling of the times of the elections. Lange (ii. 478), from whom much of the material of this note is taken, adds a conjecture on how these laws may have differed from one another. He thinks the Lex Aelia guaranteed the right of *obnuntiatio* to both patrician magistrates and tribunes, with the clause forbidding it at elections; the Lex Fufia ratified the former, and added a clause forbidding, under a fixed penalty, laws being brought forward at the comitia for elections.

Clodius, in his tribunate, 696 (b. c. 58), brought forward an enactment that *de caelo servare* should not be allowed on any day set apart for comitia, whether these were for elections or for the passing of laws. The practical result of this enactment was, that it was allowable to bring motions before the people on *all* dies fasti, and so it annulled the Leges Aelia et Fufia. This law does not seem to have been acknowledged by the optimates. It was not very strictly observed during the anarchy towards the end of the Republic, and sometimes we find *obnuntiationes* in accordance with the Leges Aelia et Fufia, and again disregard of same (Sest. 78, 79, 83; Phil. 1, 25); and even *obnuntiationes* in violation of all law, as *e. g.* against tributa (Cic. Att. iv. 3, 3, 4), and centuriata (Q. Fr. iii. 3, 2), assemblies for elections. The summit of the confusion was reached by the conduct of Antonius in the election of Dolabella (Phil. 2, 83).

### NOTE III.

#### AGRARIAN MATTERS.

The confiscations of land by Sulla were of the most extensive nature; it was not individuals only they touched, but whole communities, *e. g.* Praenestines, Volaterrans, Arretines (Cic. Att. i. 19, 4). In fact, the confiscation was so very extensive that much of the land remained unoccupied even after he had made assignments to his soldiers (Cic. Agr. 3, 12). On these lands Sulla settled his soldiers in large masses, but he also located a considerable number in the municipal towns alongside of the inhabitants. His aim was *totam Italiam suis praesidiis obsidere atque occupare*, as Cicero (Agr. 2, 75) says was the design of Rullus (Marq. i. 111, note 2); and also to break up the larger estates and augment the number of small proprietors (Mommsen, R. H. 3, 357). This latter is proved by the stringent provision forbidding the sale of the *sortes assignatae*. But he failed completely.

This was in 673 (b. c. 81). In 688 (b. c. 66), when Cicero is arguing against the Agrarian Law of Rullus, he states that the *latifundia* were again numerous, that the Praenestine land, for example, was occupied by a few landholders (Agr. 2, 78). And such might have been expected. Soldiers who had no ties of family nor any inclination for agriculture would sell their lands notwithstanding the law; and the confiscated but unassigned land above alluded to, in the absence of a strong government, would be encroached upon by the nearest landholders.\* These two kinds of illegal proprietors,

\* Encroachment is one of the ways *latifundia* increased in Italy and increase in England. It may be traced even in

our own day: see De Laveleye, *Primitive Property*, chapter xviii. (English Trans.)

viz. those who bought from the soldiers, and those who encroached on unassigned land, are the *Sullani possessores*,\* or *Sullani homines* that we meet with in Cicero.

Such was the state of agrarian matters till after the restoration of the tribunate in 684 (b. c. 70). The first attempted legislation was the law of Rullus; for we need not do more than mention the mysterious *Lex Plotia*. The proletariat at Rome was swelled by the mass both of those proscribed by Sulla and also by the Sullan soldiers, who had flocked thither after selling their lands, and was becoming dangerous owing to its desperate and needy character. Rullus proposed (it appears in so many words) that this city population should be drained off (*exhauriendam*, Agr. 2. 70) in colonies to be founded in Italy on the Campanian land and on land purchased at State expense; for there was to be no confiscation, not even of the 'Sullan possessions.' The money was to be got by the sale of all Italian and extra-Italian domain land, and by the booty and revenues accruing from the new conquests of Pompeius. The provinces also were to be considerably taxed. Decemviri, with an enormous staff, were to be appointed for five years with special judicial powers and a special *imperium* to carry out the provisions of the law. The nobility opposed the measure with all their might. Cicero made three speeches against it; and it was eventually given up by Rullus. Whether it was a crude but honest attempt to remedy a crying evil,† as Mr. Froude (*Caesar*, p. 128) seems to think; or a mere blind for the purpose of the democrats, and Caesar in particular, getting a strong power to counterpoise that of Pompeius, as Mommsen (*R. H.* iv. 171) and Lange (iii. 238-9)—I think rightly—hold, is not to be discussed here. Suffice to say the law failed; and things went on in their old way.

When Pompeius returned from the East he wanted land for his soldiers. He found some difficulty in getting a measure on the point brought forward; but in 694 (b. c. 60) the tribune L. Flavius proposed a law which Cicero (*Att.* i. 18, 6) characterizes as '*sane levis eadem fere quae fuit Plotia.*'‡ It provided for the soldiers of Pompeius, but at the same time gave grants of land to a considerable number of the poor plebeians. This latter clause was probably inserted in order to get the law more easily carried. The illegal possessions of the 'Sullan men' were to be confiscated (probably without compensation), and the revenues won by Pompeius utilized for the purchase of other lands. The former proposal Cicero opposed; the latter he supported (*Cic. Att.* i. 19, 4). The Senate opposed the whole law most strenuously, fearing that some new power was being sought by Pompeius: there was the usual constitutional hubbub, the consul thrown into prison by the tribune, and so forth; and the law was dropped.

It was Caesar who provided for the soldiers of Pompeius. In his consulship, 695 (b. c. 59), he proposed a law which guaranteed all existing possessions, and enacted that the Campanian land should be divided among 20,000 soldiers and poor citizens, who

\* There is yet a third class, sometimes called *Sullani possessores*, viz. those who bought the goods of the proscribed. These had a strictly legal title to their property.

† Marquardt (*i.* 112) seems to hold this view. He says the law of Rullus was the last attempt on Gracchan principles, and by a radical measure, to check the over-population of the city, and to raise the class of peasant proprietors.

‡ Zumpt, placing the *Lex Plotia* in

70 b. c., sees the similarity in its being directed against the 'Sullan possessions.' Lange (iii. 115) placing it in 665 (b. c. 89), in providing land for soldiers of the allies. Nothing is really known about the *Lex Plotia*; but of the two theories, possibly Zumpt's is least likely to be wrong. '*Levis*' may mean 'worthless,' i. e. 'impracticable,' outside the range of practical politics, as assaults on the 'Sullan possessions' seemed to be. Caesar, in his law next year, did not touch them.

had each three or more children. If more land was wanted (and the Campanian land would hold only 5000 settlers if they got 10 *iugera* apiece, Cic. Att. ii. 16, 1), it was to be purchased with the money Pompeius brought home at the value rated in the last census. The colonists were forbidden to alienate their lands for twenty years. A commission of twenty was to be appointed, of which Caesar was *not* one, to carry the law into effect; and of this twenty there was a smaller section of five of predominant influence\* (Cic. Att. ii. 7, 4). Every senator was to swear to the law; and every candidate for the ensuing year, in his candidatorial speech (Cic. Att. ii. 18, 2), was to solemnly declare that he would make no proposal about the occupation of the Campanian land in opposition to Caesar's laws ('laws' in the plural; for though the general law settled the main principles of the colonization, yet each colony would have a law of its own, settling its special details). Such was the proposal of Caesar. It was rejected by the Senate, but carried by the people against violent opposition from the nobles; while both parties, in their usual riotous and unseemly manner, caricatured constitutional procedure.

A word in conclusion. There is one point touching such laws as this that readers ought not to forget—the callous heartlessness of the legislators and the people, who could dispossess, for mere party motives, a steady, industrious, rent-paying population like that which occupied the Campanian territory (Cic. Agr. ii. 84), and give their land to soldiers and a city rabble—classes which were eminently unfit for the dull, hard work of agriculture, and which had already often been tried thereat, and ever found wanting. The ancient Romans did indeed what they would with their own; and from the beginning of their history to the end, in their relations with their subjects, acted by no higher law than that of simple selfishness.

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## NOTE IV.

### PEDARIÏ.

(*Abridged mainly from Lange, ii. 401–415, § 114, Die Verhandlungen des Senats.*

GELLIUS gives a whole chapter to a discussion on the *pedariï*, iii. 18.)

The presiding magistrate used to begin the proceedings with reading out the subject for debate (*senatum consulere* or *referre ad senatum*). He then asked the opinions of the individual senators (*per exquisitas sententias*), unless the matter was so simple that it required no debate, and might be settled by a division straight off (*per discessionem*). The magistrate asked the first senator, *e. g.* 'Dic Sp. Postumi, de ea re quid censes?' Who that first senator should be was left to the discretion of the magistrate; but, according to usage, it was either the *princeps senatus* or one of the consuls elect; he then proceeded through the *consulares censorii prætorii*, &c., in due order (Att. xii. 21). The senator first asked rose and spoke to his opinion (*sententiam dicere*). The next was asked. He also could speak to his opinion; or merely say, 'Spurio Postumio assentior.' This was *verbo assentiri*. These alternatives were open to all the senators in regular order. All had the right to be asked as well as to vote: but the debate was

\* A similar sub-section of five promulgated in 710 (b. c. 44) the celebrated *Lex Mamilia Roscia Peducaea Alliena Fabia*,

which is now (Mommsen, *Eph. Epig.* ii. 119) conclusively proved to belong to the time of Julius Caesar.

generally exhausted long before all were run through. When the debate seemed carried on for a sufficiently long time, the magistrate put the question once more; and the division (*discessio*) took place. This seems the only meaning of *discessio* in procedure in the Senate. All the senators were said *pedibus ire in sententiam* of so and so.

After such preliminary observations, we may be able to understand who the *pedarii* were, and why they were so called. They were *not* so called because they went on foot to the senate-house, while the curule magistrates went in chariots (*currus*); but because, as a rule, they contented themselves *pedibus in alienam sententiam eundo*, and with that only; whereas the curule magistrates were asked and expressed their opinions previous to the division, but none the less also *pedibus ierunt in sententiam* (Gell. iii. 18, 2; Liv. xxvii. 34, 7). Still, at times, a *pedarius* did give his vote *dicendo* (Tac. An. iii. 63): so the fact that the *quaestorii* both could give their opinion *dicendo* and were also *pedarii* (Gell. iii. 18) is not a contradiction. [A man may be a 'silent member' in our House of Commons, and yet occasionally speak.] It was only as a rule that the *pedarii* did not speak: (1) as the subject would be well nigh threshed out before it came to them; (2) they would probably not wish to obstruct; (3) they gave an indication of their opinion previous to division by clustering round one of the main supporters of that opinion (Cic. Q. Fr. ii. 1, 3; Vopisc. Aurel. 20; Pliny, Epp. ii. 11, 21, 22). In short, the distinction of the speaking senators and the *pedarii* was one of fact and custom, not a legal one.

Hofmann holds that from the time of the Lex Ovinia (about 388, b. c. 366), the non-curule magistrates were a legal class called *pedarii*; and that from the time of Sulla that class embraced all who had not been quaestors. They could neither *sententiam dicere* nor *verbo assentiri*; the presiding magistrate could not ask their opinion; they could only vote. Lange (ii. 375) opposes this view. It mainly rests, he says, on the passage of Gellius (iii. 18), which is confused enough. He argues: (1) We know from Dionysius (vi. 69; vii. 47; xi. 21, 58) that all the senators could vote. (2) In Cic. Att. i. 19, 9, we find a *Scutum* carried by the *pedarii* against the consulars (? higher magistrates): to make their number sufficient, we must suppose they included the *quaestorii*. [This matter, however, was not an important one: no doubt many of the higher magistrates were not present; the exact numbers present not being known, it is too vague to be taken as the support of a theory.] (3) It would be against the idea of a senator that he could not express his opinion: suppose no one had set forth the opinion he entertained? (4) If there was a class which the magistrate could not order to speak, the magistrate's *potestas* would be thereby infringed; and he who had the power to *force* the consulars to speak must, of necessity, have had the same power over the inferior members. [3° and 4° are rather too *a priori* to carry much weight.]

To one point in Lange's statement I wish to take exception. He says the *pedarii* used to give evidence of their opinion by clustering around the main supporter of one of the points at issue. The passages he adduces do not, I think, prove that. Q. Fr. ii. 1, 3, only proves that there was a feeling in the senate that the vote would go one way till Clodius stood up. Vopisc. Aurel. xx. only gives us a picture of a vote being arrived at in a confused manner, some applauding, some dividing, some stretching out their hands. Pliny Epp. ii. 11, 21-2, seems fairly capable of being regarded as support to his view; but it really refers, I think, to the clustering together that takes place in every assembly *immediately prior* to the actually going to different sides, while the question is being finally put.

## NOTE V.

## LEX CAECILIA DIDIA.

The Lex Caecilia Didia was a consular law of 656 (b. c. 98). It enjoined that three market days' notice should be given of all proposals for both legislative and elective comitia. It appears to have been a law passed to maintain a custom, which existed previously, and which the tribunes were beginning to evade (Lange, ii. 470-1). It also forbade *leges saturae*. The law itself was not a *lex satūra*, as the object of both clauses was the same, viz. to prevent the people being compelled to pass laws they had not fully approved of.

The Lex Junia Licinia was a consular law of 692 (b. c. 62). It served to protect the people from passing laws the import of which they did not understand, by enacting 'ne clam aerario legem inferri (mss ferre) liceret' (Schol. Bob. p. 310), that is, that a copy of the proposal must be deposited at the *aerarium* before it is brought forward. It enjoined a punishment not only for transgression of this decree, but also for violation of the Lex Caecilia Didia (Lange, ii. 659), though Lange thinks that possibly it may have been another special Lex Junia Licinia that confirmed the Caecilia Didia (iii. 266).

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ADNOTATIO CRITICA.

## LECTORI S.

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HISTORIAM Epistolarum Criticam tractavi supra in Introd. iii.; assentior Orellio longe optimam esse auctoritatem codicis Medicei declaranti. Cuius tam luculentae de hac re dissertationi quod nuper (*Emendationes Alterae* MDCCCLXXXIII) refragatus sit D. Albertus Sadolinus Wesenberg, huic praesenti quasi restiti qui, argumentandi viam ab ipso indicatam secutus, codices Antonianum et Faërninum Mediceo posthabendos esse docuerim.

Codices Bosianos quibus Orellius aliquatenus subnixus est fictos esse demonstravit Hauptius. Quid igitur restat in ceteris codicibus auctoritatis? Huic interrogationi nuper duo viri docti praeclarum responsum dederunt. Fr. Rühl (Rhein. Mus. xxx., 1875) duos codices Harleianos, C. Thuretus (*Bibliothèque de l'école des hautes études, fascic. 17<sup>me</sup>, 1874*) codicem Turonensem nuper in lucem protulerunt; qui libri, ut qui a Mediceo fonte sine dubio non fluxerint, in epistolis recensendis non parvi momenti futuri sunt. Thureti collationem Turonensis et Purseri mei Harleianorum codicum collationem in Introd. et Praef. strictim attigi; in Introd. ad Vol. II. κατὰ λεπτόν describam.

De Epistolis ipsis, et de rebus et hominibus quibus has singulares antiquitatis reliquias debemus, in Introd. ii. § 1, breviter disserui; et eum quo M. Tullius usus est in Epistolis sermonem in Introd. ii. § 2, paullo fusius illustravi.

Sequitur hic Epistolarum Apparatus Criticus, in quo comparando hoc potissimum egi, ut eum ex Baiteri collatione Mediceas et Cratandrinas (paucas has quidem) lectiones prompsissem, his probatissimam quamque eorum qui post Baiterum scripserunt criticorum correctionem adicerem, et codices Turonensem et Harleianos textui opitulatum adsciscerem. Quibus instructa spero fore ut haec saltem mei operis pars in virorum doctorum manus non ingrata veniat. Dublini D. Kal. Dec. MDCCCLXXXIII.



# ADNOTATIO CRITICA.

## EP. I. (ATT. I. 5).

1. ornatissimum tuique] marg.; *ornatissimumque* M.

fuerit] *fuerat* MR.

Quinti] *que* M<sup>1</sup>, ut saepe; Q. M<sup>2</sup>.

placarem ut fratrem] M<sup>2</sup>; *placaremus fratrem* M<sup>1</sup>.

3. missione] M; *intermissione* Bem-  
bus, *perperam*, vid. Comm.; *Bembum*  
sequitur Btr.

qui in] *quin* M<sup>1</sup>.

profisceretur] *profiscerentur* M.  
(*littera n punctis notata*).

4. ut contentione] *ut ex contentione* M.  
nihil] M; *nonnihil* Pluygers.

qui in] *quin* M<sup>1</sup>, et sic saepe.

duxi] M; *duxissem* Mal.

5. in te esset offensior a me] M<sup>2</sup>; *in-  
teresset ora me* M<sup>1</sup>.

cuius animus] M; *Luceius animo* Boot.  
oportere, teneo] *teneo* supplevit Or.

neglexi] *neglexit* C.

quid] M; *quoad* Sch., male.

contendendum] CM; *contemnendum*  
alii, frustra.

voluntate] M; *voluntatem* Zl.; *volun-  
tate me* Lamb.

6. quoniam] M; *quomodo* C.

usucapi posse] marg.; *usucepisse* M.

7. convenire] *conveniri* M.

et laboribus] *sed et lab.* M<sup>1</sup>.

conquiescimus] *conquiescemus* M<sup>1</sup>.

8. Q.] Lamb.; *quo* M.

Terentia] *Terrentia* M, et sic sae-  
pissime.

ascribit] M<sup>1</sup>; *scribit* M<sup>2</sup>.

## EP. II. (ATT. I. 6).

2. Arpinatibus praediis] CM; *Arpi-  
nati praedio* alii.

χρηστωμαθῇ] *chresiomathe* M.

D] *d* M<sup>1</sup>; *cl.* M<sup>2</sup>.

nobis decessit] M; *discessit* Madv.; *a  
nobis disc.* Wes. Btr. Vid. Comm.

γυμνασιῶδῃ reperire] *gymnasio derepe-  
rire* M.

## EP. III. (ATT. I. 7).

curae] *cura* M.

L] *cl.* M.

emisse te et] Btr.; *emisse et* M.

habemus] M; *habeamus* marg.

## EP. IV. (ATT. I. 9).

1. adferuntur] *afferruntur* M.

itaque] marg.; *idque* M<sup>1</sup>, et sic sae-  
pissime.

2. dubitaris] CM; 'vel dubites' marg.

voluptatis] *voluntatis* M.

γυμνασιῶδῃ] *gymnasiode* M.

maxime sunt] *maxime sunt* M; *max-  
ime desunt* R.

naves] *navis* M<sup>2</sup>; *avis* M<sup>1</sup>.

Thyllus] Btr.; *chiyllus* M; *thyullus*  
marg.

## EP. V. (ATT. I. 8).

1. recusarit] Mal.; *recusarat* MRI.

satisdare] Corrad.; *satisdari* MRI.

decidis] *decepisses* M<sup>1</sup>; *decipisses*  
M<sup>2</sup>.

aestimes] *extimes* M<sup>1</sup>.

2. Pentelici cum] M<sup>2</sup>; *Pentelicum* M<sup>1</sup>.

quo tibi pl.] M<sup>2</sup>; *quod* M<sup>1</sup>.

mihi] *mi* M. et sic plerumque.

## EP. VI. (ATT. I. 10).

1. Roma] *romam* M.

iturum] Z; *missurum* M; *missuram*  
Vict.

tam pauca] *iam pauca* M.

cogerer scribere] *rescribere* marg.

2. voluntatem] *voluptatem* MR.

3. οἰκεῖον] OIHEION M<sup>1</sup>; *ὠνεῖον ve-  
nale* marg.

typos] *lypos* M.

4. quamvis acrem] marg.; *quam in sacrum* M.

6. tibi me perm.] om. *me* M.

non modo . . . prohiberi] C; *non modo non arcesam sed prohibebo* M; quod obtinent Hofm. et Kays. verbo *intellegam* in *intellego* mutato.

agendum est] Man.; *esset* MRI.

me autem] marg.; *sin autem* M; qui saepissime pro *in* exhibet *in*.

sponsorem me] Kl.; *sponsorem appellat* M<sup>1</sup>; *spons. non app.* M<sup>2</sup>.

#### EP. VII. (ATT. I. 11).

1. iactat] M<sup>1</sup>; *iactet* M<sup>2</sup>.

suum] MRI; *tuum* Hervag. Wes.

adlegatio] *legatio* M; corr. Mal.

putaris, id quod] ego; *putaris id, quod* vulg.

significarim] *significarem* MRI; corr. Matth.

affirmatio] Asc.; *affirmatio* MRI.

idem] *eidem* M.

2. me iam] M; *te iam me* Lamb.

iniquitatibus] *in equitatibus* M.

3. me eorum] marg.; *meorum* M<sup>1</sup>.

#### EP. VIII. (ATT. I. 3).

1. L. Saufeium] *l. fauseium* M.

2. non vidimus] M; *nondum* Pluygersium secutus Btr. qui frustra confert Att. i. 4, 3.

3. audisse te] M<sup>2</sup>; *audisset* M<sup>1</sup>.

solebat. At in se] *solebat in se* MRI; corr. Bosius.

nec sibi nec tibi] *meum studium nec tibi defuisse* M; *nec tibi nec sibi* Graev.; corr. Klotz.

#### EX. IX. (ATT. I. 4).

1. nunc] marg.; *tunc* M.

sentio] M; *censeo* Lamb.; sed lect. Med. bene vindicat Klotz.

Acutilianam] *ac opilianam* M<sup>1</sup>; *ac upilianam* M<sup>2</sup>.

utile] M<sup>2</sup>; *talem* M<sup>1</sup>.

eam rem] *iam* M; corr. Hervag.

3. est ornam.] *gratum est et ornamen-* tum M; corr. Wes.

insigne] om. M; habent I et (teste quem nosti Bosio) Z.

Caietam] M; *Caietanum* Pluygers, et

C. F. W. Müll.; sed vid. Comm.

eos me meos] Lamb.; *eos meos* M.

#### EP. X. (ATT. I. 1).

1. opinio est] *opinio se* M; 'arche-typon habuisse videtur *opiniost*' Btr.

praepropere] *propere* M<sup>1</sup>; *perpropere* M<sup>2</sup>.

cogitaramus] M; *cogitabamus* Wes.

videantur] M; *videbantur* R; quem sequuntur Boot et Wes.

ut frontem ferias, sunt] *ingemuisse ut frontem ferias. Sunt* M; corr. Erasmus.

putent Aquilium] *potentia qui illum* M; *putant, qui illum* I.

arbitramur] *arbitrabamur* MR Wes., fortasse recte.

qui denegat] RI; *qui denegant* M; *qui denegans iuravit* Boot.

iuravit] *curavit* M.

regnum] marg.; *reginum* M.

Aufidio] M et edd. vet.; *A. filio* Goveanus, quem sequuntur edd. reccl. plerique. Ego obtinui librorum auctoritatem. Vid. Comm.

2. qui sic inopes et ab amicis] haec verba om. M<sup>1</sup>; supplet M<sup>2</sup>.

et existimatione] M Kl.; *et ab exist.* Lamb., quem sequuntur edd. reccl. plerique.

ἀδύνατον] ἀδύνατοι marg.; ΛΑΥΝΑΤΟΝ M.

Curium] *curum* M<sup>1</sup>; *Turium* marg.; quem sequitur Boot, fortasse recte.

praeter mihi nemini] M<sup>2</sup>; *praeter mei ne minime* M<sup>1</sup>.

† quae cum . . . acciderim] M; vid. Comm.

Gallia] M; *Galba* RI.

3. cum magna pec.] *ecino* M<sup>1</sup>; cum marg.

fratre] M<sup>2</sup>; *eras re* M<sup>1</sup>.

nunc cognosce rem] *nunc cognoscere* M; corr. Madv; *verum . . . cognoscere* uncinis inclusit Sch.

ventitet] marg.; *veniret* M<sup>1</sup>.

4. nunc in causa] marg.; *vinci* M<sup>1</sup>. perhiberet] Fort. malit quis *prae-*beret.

amici] *animum* M; *aniciis* marg.; *unius* I.

eius tempore] *ei vis* M<sup>1</sup>; *cius* marg. quo in cursu simus] M; *sumus* RI.

5. † eliu anaθμα †] M (teste Or.); *eiut anaθma* (superscr. *hermathena*) M (teste Btr.); *eliu onaoθma* C; *ήλιου ανάθημα*, Cratander; *illius ανάθημα* Casaub.; *eius ανάθημα* Kl. sch.; *Ηλείον ανάθημα* Peerlkamp; *ήλιου αναμμα* conieci ego; vid. Comm.

## EP. XI. (ATT. I. 2).

1. te tam diu] *te etiam diu MRI te iam diu Boot.*

meis ad te rationibus] *meis detractio-  
nibus M (teste Btr.); meis detractationibus  
M (teste Or.); a te rationibus marg.; meis  
detractatoribus R.*

## EP. XII.

(Q. CICERONIS Commentariolum Petitio-  
nis; vulgo *De Petitione Consulatus*).

1. addisceres] *Lamb.; addiscerem EH;  
adicerem Ern.*

quamquam . . . vincere] *haec verba  
post facere videre (§ 42) Puteano trans-  
ponenda videbantur.*

2. descendenti] *H; descendendi E.  
meditandum est] meditandum sit libri;  
meditatum sit Palermus; corr. Btr. coll.  
§ 54.*

omni ingenio tuo] *tuo inseruit Wes.*

3. deinde ut] *deinde vide ut Euss.*

quae non multi homines novi hab.]  
*non multi homines supplevit Btr. coll.  
Fam. v. 18, 1; quae novi vix Euss., qui  
de hac ep. optime meritis est; vid. §§ 8,  
9, 19, 22, 23, 26, 31, 36, 43, 46, 50.*

totum fere] *H; totum fore E.*

praeterea] *propria EH; corr. Kl.*

4. commonendo] *commendando EH;  
corr. Koch.; cf. § 19.*

6. studiosos] *E; studiosios H; fort.  
studiosus.*

7. illis] *H; illius E.*

petere cons. putet] *putet oportere Kays.  
perperam; vid. Comm.*

8. Catilina et Antonius] *E; Antonius  
et Catilina H; huic verborum ordini  
patrocinatus est Ern.; sed ubi Cic. alter  
. . . alter usurpat, non raro alter prior est  
hic, alter posterior ille; vid. Fam. i. 7, 1;  
vii. 26, 1; etiam Ov. Amor. iii. 9, 32;  
Art. Am. i. 324.*

homini] *H; homines E.*

navo] *novo libri; corr. Puteanus.*

optandi competitores] *libri; optandi  
hi competitores Or.*

optima verorum cens.] *Baehr.; optima  
vero censorum libri; optima vero accensorum  
(‘quales fuerunt Sabidius et Panthera’)  
Or.; optimorum censorum Euss.*

quod] *Cod. Oxon.; quam libri.*

alios] *ins. Wes.*

habebat] *haberet libri.*

caupones] *caupadoes E; cappodoces (cum  
caupones superscr.) H; Cappodoces Büch.  
legationem] libri; adlegationem Or.;  
perperam; vid. Comm.*

9. eadem? Non] *non inseruit Euss.  
Mirum hic offendimus glossema apud E*

et H nobilitate eadem qua Catilina. Sed  
*alter hic sine dubio Catilina est.*

maiore re] *re inseruit Wes.*

quod ille umbram] *quod inanius um-  
bram E; Manius H; quod Antonius um-  
bram Corradus et plerique add. recec.;  
‘malim equidem ille ut ex hoc et gloss.  
Antonius ortum sit monstrum illud libro-  
rum inanius’ Or.; ille manias Palerm.;  
et sane manias esse turpes deformesque  
personas auctor est Festus.*

Nanniorum] *H; mannorum E; Nan-  
neiorum coniecerat Man.*

demetebant] *coni. apud Gesner.; de-  
mebant libri.*

hominem unum opt.] *Cratand.; unum  
om. vulg.*

10. vitibus] *H; virgis B.*

vivo spiranti] *vivo stanti EH; in uno  
instanti cod. Turnebi; corr. Puteanus,  
cuius emendationem quasi clavo trabali  
fixi ego, oratione in tog. cand. opitulatum  
vocata; vid. Comm. Cf. praeterea locos  
Tullianos a Wes. citatos, Mil. 90, 91;  
Quinct. 50; Sest. 59; et Tac. Agr. 12,  
viva ac spirantia.*

etiamsi alia] *aliis libri; ‘fort. alius  
(gen. neutr.)’ Or.; ex aliis Kays.; scele-  
ris culpa, coll. culpa neglegentiae § 28,  
Koch; sed iterum subventum venit or.  
in tog. cand.; vid. Comm.*

atriis] *H; atris E.*

legito] *libri; legisti Koch. fort. recte.*

quieris . . . commoveris] *quierit . . .  
commoverit libri; optimam Örelli emenda-  
tionem accepi, quam ille (quod mireris)  
in textum recipere reformidavit, et vitio-  
sam librorum lectionem sine obelo exhibet.*

12. vitii nobiles] *libri; vitii viles,  
Baehr.*

18. ad ius obt.] *MH; ad decus obt.  
Baehr.*

aut . . . sperent] *cod. Turn.; aut ut  
habeant sperent E; ut habeant aut ut  
habeant sperent H; hanc lectionem, ut in  
aut correcto, ex coniectura iam posuerat  
Ern.*

prorsus] *H; rursus E.*

opera elaborarunt] *cod. Turnebi; quem  
in Comm. vindicavi; opere H.E.*

19. sicuti parta] *parta Euss.; parata  
vulg.*

20. discriptum] *Büch.; descriptum  
vulg.*

suum] *H; tuum E.*

21. homines] *H; om. E.; studia ad-  
ducuntur Lamb.*

22. propositum] *promptum Euss.*

suorum] *om. EH.*

23. studiorum vol.] *H; stud. secludit  
Büch.; studiosum voluntariumque Euss.*

et quemadmodum] H; et om. E.  
adducenda am. in spem] *adducendo in*  
*spem* Baehr.

24. hominum] H; omnium E.

25. comparantur] H; comparentur E.  
alio] H; aliquo E.

ut te utantur] om. libri.

26. ex animo agere] *ex animo gratias*  
*agere* Euss.

28. quid incipiat] *qui* (i. e. *quomodo*)  
Gesner.

homo nequam, iners] *hominem quam*  
libri; corr. Gulielmius.

cum infamia] libri; *summa inf.*  
Sch.

29. ordinum] Lamb.; *hominum* libri.  
quod poteris] verbo *quod* inserto locum  
sanavi, quem misere sollicitavit Ernestius  
qui legit *poteris sumere: cura ut.* Cf.  
§ 18.

31. eosque] *idoneosque* Euss; *eos* EH.

32. possunt] Palerm.; *possint* libri.  
vicinitatis] Turnebus; *civitatis* libri.

33. cognoscito . . . appetito] *cognosci*  
. . . *appeti* libri; *cognoscendi* . . . *appetendi*  
(vel *adipiscendi*) vulg.; corr. Or. coll.

§§ 29, 35, &c.

habes] *habeto* Euss.

adhibebitur] H; *adhibetur* E.

34. utare frequentia] *frequentia* sup-  
plevit Koch. coll. §§ 3, 36, 50.  
cum domum veniunt] verba suspecta  
Orellio.

35. esse se] Schwarzzius; *esse* libri;  
*se esse* Facc. Or.; male.

36. quod] cum libris et Büch. ego;  
*quoad* Lamb.; vid. Comm.

37. exigito] *exigitur* EH; *exige* libri  
ceteri; *exigitor* Or.

38. honestatem] Lamb.; *honorem* E  
Kl.; lect. emendatam habet etiam H.

40. tuam] om. libri.  
inservito ratione] *inservi ratione* H;

*inservi ratione* E; corr. Turnebus.

42. melius] H; *eius* E.  
facere videre] hic inserenda videbat  
Puteanus verba supra (§ 1) uncinis in-  
clusa.

etenim] Lamb.; *te enim* libri.

adsentando] *adsectando* (cum -tatio  
super -tando scripto) H.; *assectatio sec-*  
*tando* E.

43. sed tamen . . . adsudivitatis] haec  
verba post *dil. rogatum* transposuit Euss.  
quoad eius] cod. Pal.; *quod eius* HE;  
hoc debui in textu ponere.

se abs te non esse rogatum] *si abs te*  
*non sit rogatum* libri; *consequi posse, si abs*  
*te non sit rogatum tantum, sed valde* Or.;  
*te consequi potuisse, si abs te non rogatum*  
*tantum esset, sed valde* Kays.; *meam cor-*

rectionem, ut leniorem et multo probabili-  
orem, in contextum recipere ausus sum;  
occupavit hanc emend. (quod dudum cog-  
novi) Euss.

44. ab amicis si] *si* inserendum esse  
vidit Koch.

diurni nocturnique] H; *diurna noc-*  
*turnaque* E.

quod de candidato] *quod equandum*  
*dato* libri; corr. Kl.

45. facturus] Btr.; *acturus* libri.  
ut id aut . . . iucunde neges] Kl.;

sine lacuna libri; legendum videtur *ut id*  
*aut iucunde promittas aut iucunde neges*;  
egregium ἀβλεψας exemplum.

sine detrim.] H; non sine E.

exsarturum] Lamb.; *exacturum* libri;  
*exhausturum* Gron.

46. eius] ins. Manutius.

verum . . . consulam] Haec verba post  
*malint quam negare* transponenda mihi vi-  
dentur.

amiciorum] Euss.; *amicorum* vulg.  
47. casu fieri] *causa fieri* libri, fort.

recte.

48. id, si promittas] Büch.; vulg. *id*  
*si promittas* omissa interpunctionis nota.

sin autem neges] *sin autem id neges*  
vulg.; omisit *id* Büch.

in foro] libri; *foris* Euss.

ea causa] cod. Oxon.; *ea ex causa*, EH;  
*iusta causa* Turnebus; 'fort. *videas causa*'

Or. Librorum auctoritatem in Comm. vin-  
dicavi; si tamen quis maluerit *ita casu*,  
non refragabor; *causa* exhibent libri pro  
*casu* (fort. tamen recte) supra, § 47.

50. se] post nosse inserui; *homines te*  
*se nosse* Baehr.

satis fiat fronte et oratione] *satis fiat*  
*fronte et oratione* coll. § 46 Euss.; *satis*  
*fiat oratione* vulg. et libri.

ab iis omnibus] *ab iis hominibus* Lamb.

51. splendorum] Or. et H correctus;  
*splendorum* E; *splendorem hominum volun-*  
*tatesque* ceteri.

52. si qua possit] Palermus; *si quae*  
*possit* E; *si quae possit* H.

nova competitoribus] Büch.; *ne comp.*  
libri; *in comp.* vulg.

53. res publica] uncinis inclusi auc-  
tore Baehr.; constr. *capessenda spes et*  
*opinio*.

Romani] Y. HE.

54. commentationibus] Palermus;  
*commotionibus* EH; *commotionibus* C.

quod meditandum] *quas meditandum*  
Baehr., fort. recte.

55. institutisti] Gruter.; *instituitisti* libri.  
homines] H; om. E.

56. atque haec ita volo te illis propo-  
nere, non ut videre] vulg.; om. *non*

EH; *atqui haec ita nolo te illis proponere, ut videare*, Büch., ita ut e negativo verbo in priore enuntiationis membro redundet in posterius adfirmatio; sic scribit Cicero Nat. Deor. i. 17 *nolo existimes me adiutorem huic venisse, sed auditorem*.

57. *gratiosis studiosisque*] Man.; *studiiis gratiosisque* EH; *gratiosisque* secludit Büch.

sit] Büch.; *fit* E; *fat* vulg.; *fit* (cum at superser., alia manu, ut videtur) H.

## EP. XIII. (FAM. V. 7).

1. Cn.] Gn. M. Gneo H.  
F.] *Furius* H, et sic fere semper.  
quantam] *quam* MTH.  
litteris his] *his* inseruit Kl.; *tuis litt.* Martyni-Laguna; *illis litt.* Or.; *litteris* secludit Kays.

2. conciliatura] H; *conciliatur* MT.

3. quod vererere] *verere* M; *verebare* TH.

maiori] H<sup>c</sup>; *maiore* M; *multo* . . . *tamen* om. H. *maiori* . . . *multo* om. T. *iam me*] Kl.; *ame* MB; *tamen* kTH; *me* Crat. H<sup>c</sup>.

minorem] *minore* MTH; *minore me* k.

## EP. XIV. (FAM. V. 1).

1. bene est] *benest*, et sic apud Med. scribitur *est* saepissime.

absentem] *absente* MT; *absentem* H; *absentem me* Or.; *absentem me a te* Wes.

laesum] MHB; *lusum* T.

a quibus] MH; *a quo quidem* T.

sublevare] M; *sublevari* TH.

2. nostrorum] *nrm* M.

paenitebit, te tam mobili] *paenitebit et ammobili* M; *nobili* T; *pen. et tam mobili* H; *etiam mobili* BH<sup>c</sup>.

## EP. XV. (FAM. V. 2).

1. in senatu] H; *in senatum* M<sup>1</sup>.

ea] H; *eas* M.

tecum] H; *etcum* M<sup>1</sup>.

a domesticis . . . Italiam et ab] om. H.

ab intestino] M<sup>2</sup>; *abtestino* M<sup>1</sup>.

labefactatam] H; *lare facta tam* M.

timuissent] H; *timuisset* M.

ne quae] Viet.; *neque* MH; *nequa* TH<sup>c</sup>.

2. cum a me] bis M.

est risus] H; *et risus* M.

errorem meum] H; *metum* M.

cupisse] M; *cupissem* TH.

3. levior] *lenior* MH.

coepisse] MH; *coepissem* T.

etiam in] M; *etiam non* TH.

4. praescriptione] HM; *perscriptione* Btr.

tum ipse] Lamb.; *tu ipse* MH.

5. gratia nostra] Btr.; *gratia* om. MH; *nostra gratia* Kl.

6. restiterim] *restituere* MH.

7. atque] MH; *atqui* Fleckeisen.

certo scio] H; *scio* inseruit ex coniectura Kl.; *credo* pro certo kH<sup>c</sup>B.

in minimo] Lamb; *in animo* M, H; *in aliquo*, TH<sup>c</sup>B, quod in textu fortasse exhibere debui.

idem] MHH<sup>c</sup>B; recte; vid. Comm.; *item* vulg.; *id est* T; *identidem* L. Purser, quod valde adridet.

iurasse iuravit] *iurasse asseveravit* Kley; sed vid. Comm.

8. qui in alios] H; *quin alios* M.

dicendi] *adiciendi* MTH; *addicendi* H<sup>c</sup> B.

egregium] H; *acgrum* M.

quidquam deliberatus] *quisquam deliberatus* M; *quicquam deliberarius* T; *quisquam deliberaturus* H.

quacunq[ue] quicunq[ue] MH.

9. si intellegis] H; *si intellegit* M.

non me] HM; *nomine* T.

appellanda est] *appellandast* M; *appellanda sit* TH.

acerbissima] *acervissima* M.

remissio animi] T; *animo* M; *remisso animo* H.

sed tamen . . . adiuvi] *parenthesin* indicavi, ut constructio expeditior evaderet.

pro mea parte] H; *pro me parte* M.

10. fratri . . . sed] om. H.

tui] H; *tu* M.

utendum] H; *tuendum* H<sup>c</sup>; *ut est dum* M.

## EP. XVI. (FAM. V. 6.)

1. librarius] MH; *libertus tuus* Martyni-Laguna T.

quamquam] MH; *tanquam* T.

hominis prudentis] *homini prudenti* libri; secludit Ern.; *h. praedicanti* Or.; *proudenti* Boot (quod iam respuerit Or.); *h. perhibenti* Plug; *hominis prudentis* ego; vid. Comm.; *tuam* transposui.

cum Q. Corn.] *cumque cornelio* M.

ut Q. Fufium] *utque Fufium* M, qui saepissime *que* pro Q. exhibet.

obtinebatur] *obtinere* Plug. male.

2. bene evenire] *bene venire* M; *bene* om. H.

HS] om. libri omnes; nota haec apud iurisprudentes ellipsis; cf. Robei Intro. ad Digesta, p. 220.

post tuam] H; postuam M.  
et aperte] H; ea aperte M.  
coniur.] M; curationis T.  
omnino semissibus] *exemerit. Omni semissibus M; exemerit omni. Semissibus Crat. corr. Vict.; omnis sem. T; omnis, omisso semissibus, H.*

EP. XVII. (ATT. I. 2).

1. ad Terentiam] Vict.; ad te rem M. postea] C; post eam M.  
minoris] minore vulg.; corr. Wes. ex Sen. Ep. 118, qui hunc locum adferens minoris habet.

nummum] M; nummi marg.; nonne igitur corrector minoris legit?  
lentius] Vict.; lentulus M.  
σκήψεϊς] *scep̄sis atque anabole M.*  
ταυτόματον ἡμῶν] TATOMATON M, qui ἡμῶν omittit, et, γ praetermisso, Δ pro A (bis) exhibet.

prodromi] I, Kl.; prudromi M; πρόδρομοι Or.

acturum] M<sup>1</sup>; actutum marg.  
praetor] preter M.  
per popularem] per om. M<sup>1</sup>.  
maximum sit] M; est marg.  
mando] mandat MZl.

2. Plancium] C; Plaucium M.

3. cum pro populo fieret] cum sacrificium pro populo fieret M; cum pro populi fieret Zl; corr. Vict.

servulae] scruple M<sup>1</sup>; servilie M<sup>2</sup>; Serviliae coni. apud Corrad.; corr. RI.  
mehercule] M<sup>2</sup>; in hercule M<sup>1</sup>, qui saepissime pro m exhibet in; cf. Ep. xxv. § 2, in alam pro malam.

EP. XVIII. (FAM. V. 5).

1. ad te] TH; ate TM.  
valere] valerem T.  
Pomponius] Pompeius T.  
2. quod abs te aiunt falso] libri; quod abs te aiunt salse Martyni-Laguna quem sequitur Btr.; quo abs te aiunt falsa Kays.  
gratus] gratis MH.  
3. meum] TH; mecum M.  
desiderant] TH; desiderant M.  
sentiam] sententiam M; sentenciam TH.

ipsi insanire] TH; ipse insanire M; ego in ed. priore conieci ipsi, sed ipse dedi in textu, addito in adn. crit. 'malim ipsi'; ipsi nunc in textu restitui, codicum

Turonensis et Harleiani auctoritati innixus.

Pomponio] pompeio H.

Pomponii] pomponi M.

EP. XIX. (ATT. I. 13).

1. ora soluta] anchora soluta CM; ancora sublata Lamb.; ancoris solutis alii; corr. Peerlk.; vid. Comm.

ut rhetorum pueri loquuntur] quae fuerunt omnes rhetorum. Pure loquuntur M, vulg.; corr. Madv.; maluit ῥητόρων παῖδες ten Brink.; ut omisso ante rhetorum codici artius haerebis; cf. aiunt pro ut aiunt apud Comicos.

sparsae] sparse M; qui saepe e pro ae habet.

pellectione] Mal.; pellectionem M.  
non est . . . ut] Excidit sine dubio aliquid, sed non notum, quod sensui haud satisfacit. Non est notum ut I; non perinde est ut Or.; lacunae notas posuit Btr. Fort. non est usui ut quisque.

caesis] M<sup>2</sup>; cesis M<sup>1</sup>.

victimis] M<sup>2</sup>; victim eis M<sup>1</sup>.

Sicyonem] marg.; scyronem M.

2. retinendam contra] om. M<sup>1</sup>.

paene] om. M<sup>1</sup>.

non nimis] nominis M.

tantum] tamen M.

cum rep.] M<sup>1</sup>; in rep. M<sup>2</sup>.

nihil speres mali] MR; metuas I; secluserunt Or. Wes. Sed sperare ponitur pro opinari futurum (id etiam quod nolumus); cf. Cic. Rose. Am. 10, sin a vobis (id quod non spero) deserar; et Metellus supra (Fam. v. 1) hoc sensu scripsit, Te iam mobili in me meosque esse animo non sperabam. Notandum est hunc verbi sperare usum loquendi genus esse Comicum; quae res praecipue in his epistolis non parvi momenti est. Vid. Intro. ii. § 2.

non audet] marg.; non videt M<sup>1</sup>.

qui nunc] CM<sup>2</sup>; quinymo (h. e. quin immo) M<sup>1</sup>.

inter se dissident] marg.; intersedissent M<sup>1</sup>.

3. [virgines atque ad]] secluserit Kl.; ad X viros atque ad pont. Muret.

relatam] M; delatam Ern.

et fert] et fecit M; et effert I.

Lycurgei] licurgei M<sup>2</sup>; liturgei M<sup>1</sup>.

neglecta] I; iniecta MR.

sit] MRIZI; sint Or. male.

nihil ἐν τοῖς πολ. honestum nihil illustre] Verba illustre et honestum transposita reperiuntur in MZl, quos sequitur Wes. forte recte.

ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς] Z; ENTOICHPONITIKOIC M.

5. includam] M; fort. *incudam*.  
mihi] *mi* M; ut saepe.

in illam] marg.; *nullam* M.

φιλορήτορα] *philorhetora* M.

6. Novi] *non* M<sup>1</sup>.

HS †cxxxiv†] cxxxiii M; ccccxvii  
I, vulg.; xxxvii Casaub; xxxiv ego; vid.  
Comm.

ad dignitatem] *ad facultatem dignita-*  
*tatem* M<sup>1</sup>.

EP. XX. (ATT. I. 14).

1. sed ita tamen] *ita* om. M; *tamen*  
*ita* Asc. I; *ita tamen* Or.

frigebat] *erigebat* M.

levissimus] supplet M<sup>2</sup>.

placeretne ei] marg.; *placeret nec* M.

idem praetor uteretur] *idem p. r. ute-*  
*retur* M<sup>1</sup>; *idem pr. uteretur* M<sup>2</sup>.

2. μάλ' ἀριστ.] in ΑΔΑΡΙCΤΟΚΑΤΡΙ-  
ΚΩC M; vid. Epp. xvii. § 3; xxv. § 2.  
maximi] I; *maxime* M; *maximam* R.  
γενικῶς] TENIKΩC M.

de istis] MRI; *demptis* (qu. *de meis*?)  
C; *de nostris* Man.; *de mei ipsius* Tun-  
stall.; *de istius* pseudo-Codd. Bosiani.

3. proximus Pompeio] M; *proxime*  
*Pompeium* Zl.

utrum] marg.; *verum* M<sup>1</sup>.

meis orationibus omnibus litteris] ego;  
*in eis omnibus litteris* M<sup>1</sup>; *meis omnibus*  
*litteris* vulg.; *perperam*; *meis orationibus*,  
*omnibus litteris* R recte; vid. Comm.

4. aperte tecte] M; vid. Comm.

ἐνεπερπευσάμην] Mal.; ΕΝΕΠΕΡΠΕ-  
ΡΕΙC CAMHN M.

καμπα] Bosius; *καρποι* M, Zl.

si umquam . . . κατασκευαί, suppedita-  
verunt illo tempore] *si umquam . . .*  
*κατασκευαί suppeditaverunt*, illo tempore  
vulg.; corr. Kl. Sed nescio an legendum  
sit *si umquam suppeditaverunt*, *suppedita-*  
*verunt illo tempore*.

de intermortuis] Lamb.; *de immortuis*  
M; *dein mortuis* marg.

vilitate] *utilitate* M.

istinc] MRI; *istim* Bosius.

5. idem] *eidem* M, ut saepe.  
convicium] *convitium* marg.; *commul-*  
*ticium* et mox *commultium* M.

Favoni] M<sup>2</sup>; *avoni* M.

acta res] M; *facta* res Kays.

tribunus tum] *tertium* MR; *circum-*  
*cessit* I; *tr. tum* (i. e. *tribunus tum*) Man.;  
*territus* Graevius; *Fufius tum concessit*  
H. A. J. Munro.

6. alter] *aliter* M<sup>1</sup>; *autem* M<sup>2</sup>.

coeperit] *ceperat* M.

7. Argiletani aed.] *arguit e lanie disci*  
M.

venditat] *vendicat* M<sup>1</sup>; *vindicat* M<sup>2</sup>.  
petiturire] *petitur ire* M; corr. Tur-  
nebus.

EP. XXI. (ATR. I. 15).

1. curaque et effice] I; *curaque effice*  
M.

2. in ea ep.] *mea* M<sup>1</sup> (ut saepissime).  
aveo] M; *habeo* Zl; fort. *haveo*.

EP. XXII. (ATT. I. 16).

2. Fufius] *fusus*, ut saepe M.

pugnavitque] *pugnativique* M<sup>1</sup>.

notum] *novum* M<sup>1</sup>.

in infamia relinqui ac sordibus quam  
infirmit] CM<sup>2</sup>; *infamia relinqui a sordi-*  
*bibus quam firmo* M<sup>1</sup>.

3. a me tamen] M; *a me iam* Madv.;  
*a me autem* Lamb.

homines nequissimos] marg.; *homines*  
*quis summos* M.

clemens] *demens* R.

tribuni † non tam aerati quam ut ap-  
pellantur aerarii †] M; *tribuni non tam*  
*aerarii, ut appellantur, quam aerati* ego  
praeunte (quod dudum comperi) Mureto;  
quam post aerati om. M<sup>1</sup>, et pro aerarii et  
hic et ad § 11 aerari exhibet; quae scrip-  
turae varietas manifeste a me facit.

fugare] *effugare* M, corruptio ex ditto-  
graphia orta.

potuerat] *poterat* M<sup>1</sup>.

maerentes] *merentes* M.

4. impetrabat] Lamb.; *impetrarat* M.  
ex acclam.] M; *de acclam.* Nipper-  
dey.

advocatorum] *advocatorem* M.

iurare] *iurarent* M.

5. et una] *e cuna* M<sup>1</sup>

praesidio] *prescio* M.

ἔσπετε] ECITE M.

ῥῶν] HYN M.

πρώτον πῦρ ἔμπεσε] ΠΡΑΤΟΝ ΠΕΠΤ-  
ΠΕCΕ M.

† Calvum ex Nanneianis illum †] se-  
clusi ego. Bootius vulgareni lectionem  
sibi non probari fassus, *Calvum ἐξαπι-*  
*ναῖον illum laudatorem meum* non sane  
confidenter coniecit; Turnebus ex *Naevi-*  
*anis illum laudatorem meum* coll. Fam.  
xv. 6. 1. Fort. *nosti callidum illum*,  
*illum laudatorem meum*; cf. Att. i. 14, 3;  
Fin. ii. 57.

introductiones] M; *productiones* auctore  
Malaspina, Lamb.; sed M firmat Sen.

Ep. 97, 4.

nonnullis] *nonnullas* M<sup>1</sup>.

commoverit] *commoverat* R; *commove-*  
*ret* Ern.; "malim *commovit*" Btr.  
praesidium a nobis] Sen. Ep. 97. 6;  
*pres. nobis* M<sup>2</sup>; *pres. vobis* M<sup>1</sup>R.  
postulabatis] *petebatis* Sen. *ibid.*  
[timebatis] seclusi auctore Cobeto  
(Var. Lect. 475); sine *timebatis* hunc locum  
*accessivit ad se . . . cumulo fuerunt* affert  
Sen. Ep. 97. 4.

6. delere et quod] M<sup>2</sup>; *deleteret quod*  
M<sup>1</sup>.

7. plane] *plena* M<sup>1</sup>.  
inusserat] *innusserat* M<sup>2</sup>; *innupserat*  
M<sup>1</sup>; *inuserat* C.

8. in ea] *mea* M.  
aliis legi] *ab aliis* Madv., sed eodem  
ponitur sensu quo *aliis recitari*.  
idem] *eidem* M, ut saepe.

9. aut metuendo st.] e codd. Mem-  
mianis supplevit Lamb.; ego cum  
Orellio transpositis clausulis locum exhi-  
bui; duae clausulae *ab aut* incipiunt;  
alteram per ἀβλεψίαν omisit librarius.

10. falsum] *salsum* Man.; fort. recte.  
Cf. Ep. xviii. 2.

quid huic] MRI; *quid hoc* C, Or.,  
Wes., Boot.

narra, inquam, quid patrono tuo] ego;  
*narra inquam patrono tuo* M; vid.  
Comm.

marinas] MIZ; *Marianas* R, fort.  
recte.

feremus] *ferremus* M, ut saepe.  
"putes" inquam] *putes quam* M;  
*putas inquam* I; *non potes inquam* Sch.  
mihi vero inquam xxv iudices credide-  
runt] om. M<sup>1</sup>.

11. nunc, quam reliquisti] *numquam*  
*rel.* M<sup>1</sup>; *quam cum rel.* Büch., Btr.

hirudo] *trudo* M.  
aerarii] *aerari* M; vid. ad § 3.  
sumus] *simus* M<sup>1</sup>.

usque eo ut nostri isti] M<sup>2</sup>; *iisque*  
*isti nostri* M<sup>1</sup>.

comissatores] *comissatores* M.  
iuvenes] *tuens* M<sup>1</sup>; *tuentes* I.  
et ludis et gl.] *alterum et om.* M<sup>2</sup>; *et*  
*ludet si glad.* M<sup>1</sup>.

12. expectatio ingens] *expectatio in*  
*comitiorum* M; *exp. com.* R, Kl.; corr.  
Goveanus.

quae omnibus] *qua omnibus* M.  
in quae . . . ascendere] del. Cobet;  
uncinis inclusi.

deterioris] MRI; *Doterionis* Bosius  
qui ex pseudo-cod. Y *deterionis* profert;  
δευτερεύοντος Seyffert.

cuius domi] Man.; *cuius modi* MRI;  
"fort. *cuiusmodi*" Or.

habitarent] M; *cuiusmodi haberent*  
Ald., Or.

13. insimulatum lege Aelia] H. A. J.  
Munro; *insimul cum lege alia* M; *insimu-*  
*latus lege alia* Hofm.; *infamatum lege*  
*Aelia* coniecit L. Purser meus, quae  
lectio, quamvis audax, sensum longe  
optimum praebet. Vid. Comm.

ut] *aut* M<sup>1</sup>.  
in a. d. vi Kal.] *in ad. vi Kal.* M<sup>2</sup>;  
*madii Kal.*, M<sup>1</sup>; corr. Wes.

in tribus] *in tribu* M.  
pronuntiare] marg.; *pro una re* M.

† fabam mimum] Zl; *fabam minimum*  
I; eandem lect. habet (expuncta syll.  
ni) M<sup>2</sup>; *fabam nummum* R; *fabam imum*  
(= *imorum*) Bos.; *Fabam mimum* Or.;  
*fabae hilum* Hofm.; *fabulam mimum*  
Landsberg; *mimum* omisso *fabulam* Wes.  
et Vir Doctus in *Athenaeo*. *Fabulam* omisso  
*mimum* (ita ut *mimum* glossema esset) mihi  
olim adriserat; nunc adducor ut credam  
*fabae midam* scripsisse Tullium, quo sensu  
in Commentario docui. Madv. (Adv. cr. iii.  
166) *fabae ποῦον* coniecit.

non flocci facteon] C, Zl; *none loci*  
*facteon* M.

15. quae] *qui* M<sup>1</sup>.  
Thyllus] *chyllius* M; *thyllius* marg.

et Archias . . . scripserit] om. M<sup>1</sup>.  
Lucullis] Bosius; *Lucullus* M.

poëma] *poetam* M<sup>1</sup>.

16. Mallio] M; *Manlio* Or.  
idoneum] del. Boot.

quo] *quoi* M; *quid* RI; corr. Ursinus.  
valde te venditavi] *vale* M; corr.

Ald. Haec verba *valde te venditavi* post  
*dedi* collocat Schützius, ne ab *Antonio*  
sententia interposita divellantur; sed sen-  
tentia plane *παρεπαικὼς* ponitur, neque  
obstat quominus verba *valde te venditavi*  
cum Antonii mentione coniungantur. Fort.  
*te ei venditavi* scribendum. *Valerio* te  
*venditavi* Boot; qui tamen fatetur nescire  
se quem dicat Cicero. *Valde te vindicavi*  
IE. Hanc lect. probant nonnulli, sed  
nullus hic iocandi locus est, neque dixerit  
Tullius se longa epistola raritatem episto-  
larum Attici *vindicavisse*. Sane haec fa-  
tuus ed. Iensonianae hariolationibus est  
annumeranda.

17. uno] *una* M<sup>1</sup>.  
in loco] *into* M.

expecta: ast] *expectato* Muret. *Exspec-*  
*ta, sed* Madv. Adv. Cr. (iii. 166).

#### EP. XXIII. (ATT. I. 17).

1. iam ante] *tam ante* M.  
incommodae] *incommodi* M<sup>1</sup>.  
sauciumque . . . insedis] *esse* om.  
M<sup>1</sup>; *sauciumque eius animum insedis*  
Ern.; fort. recte.



cum cuperem] *concuperem* M<sup>1</sup>.  
 declarabant] Kl.; *declararant* M.;  
*declarant* RI, Btr.

2. ac disp.] M<sup>2</sup>; *ad disp.* M<sup>1</sup>.  
 aut officium] *ut officium* et mox *ut*  
*amor* M<sup>1</sup>.

3. defendam] *defendo* Lamb.

4. ecquid] *et quid* M; corr. Man.

bonitatis] Ald.; *bonitati* M.

5. provincialium] *provinciarum* M.

ingenuitas] marg. CZI; *integritas*  
 M<sup>1</sup>.

amore] *more* M<sup>1</sup>; del. Ern.; secludit  
 Btr.

discessi] *discessu* M<sup>1</sup>.

6. quin] *qui* M.

publica] M; *publicane* Or., codd. Bosi-  
 anis male credulus.

in] om. M.

non publicae] om. M.

7. aliquando] M; *aliquanto ante* C.

discidio] M<sup>2</sup>; *dissidio* M<sup>1</sup>.

8. ob iudicandum acceperant] MRZ;

*ob rem iudicandam pecuniam acceperant*  
 I, Cobet., Kl., temere; vid. Comm.

visus sum] M<sup>2</sup>; *visum* M<sup>1</sup>.

9. Asiam] A, quem sequuntur Kl.,  
 Boot., Btr., Wes.; *Asiani* M, Or.

libertissimo] M; *liberalissimo* C.

cum erat] *qui erat* M; *quin erat* Bos.;  
 corr. Kl.

10. tam infirma] Pius; *tamen firma*  
 MR; *tam firma* I.

11. consulatum] del. Cobet.

sed in aliud . . . velis] *sed in aliud tem-*  
*pus expectare velis* M; Manutii aliqua-  
 tenus vestigiis insistens correxii.

modeste] MRCAF; et sic Boot., Kl.,  
 Wes.; *molestie* I; quem sequuntur Man.,  
 Lamb., Or., Btr.

#### EP. XXIV. (ATT. I. 18).

1. hominem eum] *hominem meum* M<sup>1</sup>.  
 [una] secludit Wes.; coni. uno Boot.  
 quicum ego ita loquar ut] Kl.; *quicum*  
*ego etiam loquar* M; *quicum (ego) collo-*  
*quar* RI; *quicum ego ita colloquar ut*  
 Ern.; *quicum ego cum loquar* Or.; *qui-*  
*cum ego ex animo loquar* Koch. et Wes.;  
 Peerlk. qui 'disiecti membra poetarum' hic  
 etiam agnoscit legendum censet — *qui*  
*me amet qui sapiat quicum ego ut mecum*  
*loquar*; sed displicet ego; fort. — *qui*  
*me amet qui sapiat quicum etiam loquar*.  
 Sed fatendum est Peerlkampium paullo  
 sagacius flores poetico odorari.

et amantissimus. Metellus non homo  
 sed litus . . . mera] Sic libri, quorum

auctoritatem ego in Commentario vindica-  
 vi, nisi quod cum Peerlkampio et aliis  
*litus . . . mera* ex poeta aliquo desumpta  
 censeo, quamquam libri prosa oratione  
 exhibeant. Varie locum vexarunt edd.;  
*amantissimus mei*: non homo sed Mal.;  
*amantissimus. Me tellus!* non homo sed,  
 de la Boissière de Chamford, cui adsentitur  
 Wes.; *en tellus!* (latinitatem pessum  
 dans; vid. Comm.) Matth.; *amantissimus*  
*mei, et illius nunc domus est litus* Sch.;  
*amantissimus mei. Ellum!* non homo sed  
 Firnhaber. Madv., qui respuit infelices  
 quorundum conatus *telluris* umbram am-  
 plectentium (Adv. Cr. iii. 166) *mei Tullius*  
 valde diffidenter proponit, 'ut intelligatur  
 Marcus is qui Att. viii, 11 B extr. ne-  
 cessarius Ciceronis appellatur.'

*mera*] *mea* MC.

et angorem] *ut* M<sup>1</sup>.

conscijs] *consors* coni Boot.

omnium meorum] *eorum* M<sup>1</sup>.

ad forum] *eorum* ZI.

reperire] Ab hoc verbo usque ad epis-  
 tolae xxv. verba paene extrema *reperire*  
 . . . *visus est et talis* deficit M.

2. neque ego huic] libri; *neque eos*  
*huic Ursinus*, fort. recte.

atqui hi] *atque hi* libri; corr. Btr.

† tamen . . . efficit †] codd. Mal.;  
*ipsa medicina efficit* libri ceteri; *ipsa me*  
*deficit* Vict.; *tamen voluntas iam atque*  
*etiam ipsa me medicina deficit* Madv.  
 (Adv. Crit. ii. 234); *quamquam animus*  
*tuus est praesens, tamen voluntas etiam*  
*atque etiam ipsa me deficit* Wes.; *ipsa*  
*medicinam effugit* auctore Bosio E; *effudit*  
 coniecerim ego, coll. Att. ii. 9, 1. Madv.  
 nunc (Adv. Cr. iii. 167) scribit, *tamen*  
*volutantes etiam atque etiam ipsa medicina*  
*deficit*, hoc addito, '*volutare* hoc signi-  
 ficatu non reperitur apud Cic. nisi de Rep.  
 i. 28.' Immo, ne ibi quidem reperitur  
*volutare*, sed *volitare*, respiciturque (ut  
 docet Bootius Obs. Crit. 43) ad Ennii  
 dictum *volito vivus per ora virum*. Ego  
 pace principis eriticorum dicam verbum  
*volutantes* pro *meditantes* vel *cogitantes*  
 absolute positum mihi minime satisfacere.  
 Bootius nunc (Obs. Cr. 43) *tamen voluntas*  
*civium atque etiam ipsa medicina deficit*  
 proxime ad veram scriptoris manum acce-  
 dere arbitrat.

causam] libri recte; *scenam* Or.; *ca-*  
*ream* Koch.

vehemens flavi] *fui* cum libris vulg.;  
 flavi ex cod. Crat. restituit Kl.

sed spe non corrigendae . . . civitatis]  
 RIC.: *spe reipublicae corrigendae et san-*  
*andae civitatis* vulg., quae lectio a sola Bo-  
 sianorum codicum auctoritate pendet, et

mirum quam friget; *spe corrigendae et sanandae civitatis* Lamb., Btr.

3. suspirio] RI; *suspiritu* Zl; *suspiritu* Or., Wes.; *suspiratu* Bosius.

posset] RI; *possit* F.

hic nunc ille] libri; *ille* om. Sch.; *hic nunc item annus* Kl.; *librorum lectionem bene vindicat* Boot.

Iuventatis] Lamb.; *inventutis* libri. initiavit] C; *vitiavit* alii.

5. habet dicis causa] Lamb.; *habet dicis causam* Zl; *habet dicit causam promulgatam* I; *habere dicit causam promulgatam* R; *habere dicit causam promulgatum illud idem auctore* Tunstallo Sch.

idem] fort. secludendum.

Auli autem filius] *autumat filius* C; *avet filius* I; *Antii filius* R; fort. *A. autem filius*.

6. togulam] C; *tegulam* I.

8. scripsimus tanta, etiam] *scripsimus, tanta etiam, vulg.; cuncta etiam* Or.; corr. Wes.

pervenire] libri; *perfrui 'ex libris antiquis'* Bosius.

#### EP. XXV. (ATT. I. 19).

Hanc Epistolam ad fidem codicis Poggiani recensuit Theodorus Mommsen, cuius collationem (ut apud Baiterum) exhibui.

1. vellem] Ern.; *velim* libri.

quam tu soles, facile] Man.; *quod tu soles facere* Pogg. haud scio an recte.

scribendo] Mur.; *scripto* libri.

quod nullam a me ep. ad te sino absque arg. pervenire] *quod nullam a me solo ep. ad te sine arg. evenire* cod. Pogg. a pr. manu; pro solo coni. volo Btr.; *sino absque argumento* Pogg. a sec. manu, Kl.; *sino sine* Oudendorp., Or.

pervenire] C; *evenire* Pogg., R; *venire* I.

2. Gallici versantur metus] Pogg.; *Gallici belli versatur metus* coni. Crat.

pugnam nuper malam] Boot, Alan;

† pueri in aliam pugnarunt Pogg.; *puer malam* Zl; *Sequanum male pugnarunt et Helvetii sine* coni. Crat.; *permale pugnarunt* Bos.; *Helvetii palam pugnarunt et sine* Th. Mommsen; *Arverni autem iam* Kl.; *facilem Bootii emendationem* (quam nuper pro puer restituto perpolivit Henricus Alanus noster) in textu exhibui. Certum est *Sequanorum* mentionem praeposere huic loco obtrudi. *Pugnam permalam pugnarunt* Madv. (Adv. Cr. iii. 167), qui desiderat nomen alterius populi Gallici (e.g. *Carnutes*), qui contrarius ponatur Haeduis Romanorum amicis.

Helvetii] Lamb.; om. libri; et infra om. I.

dilectus] Lamb.; *delectus* Pogg.

coniungerent] C; *iungerent* Pogg. I.

Clodiani] Sigonius; *Clodiae* libri.

3. aliorum] libri; *alienorum* Mal.; *Gallorum* Sch.

domui nascantur] *domi innascentur* libri, Bait., Hofm.; *domi nascantur* Or.; *domui* (pleniore forma pro *domi*) *nascantur* Kl.

4. liberabam] *liberarem* Pogg.; *liberam* RI.

et Pompeio] et om. Pogg.; *Pompeioque* I.

exauriri] *exauri* Pogg., R.

nihili ita] Wes.; *nil ita* C; *nihil ita* I; *ita nihil* Pogg.; *ita nihil* Gruterus.

quid emerit] C; *quid erit* RI; *quidem erit* Pogg. a pr. manu; *quid est erit* Pogg. a man. sec.

6. iunctam invidia] *invidiae* Asc.; *iuncta invidia* I.

7. huius] Man.;  *suis* libri.

8. nihil iam denique] *nihil enim denique* Pogg.

malevolorum] Pogg., C; *malorum* I.

ita tamen his] Lamb.; *ita tamen si eis* Zl; *ita tametsi eis* (eius I) Pogg. R; *ita, tamen etsi eis* Hofm., fort. recte.

τῶν] CR Pogg.; τῶν Dio Chrysostomus.

9. ad scribendum] *ascribendum* C.

sine cause] 'an s. c. (senatus consulto)?' Or.; *in eam causam additum et infartum* Madv. (Adv. Cr. iii. 168) splendide sed audacius.

Tu si tuis] *si* om. libri.

10. σόλοικα] *soloeca* R; *soleta* Pogg.; *obsoleta* I.

dispersisse] Pogg. Zl; *aspersisse* alii.

homines] *hominem* I.

quod potius [sit.] ego; *quod potius sit* vulg.; *quod potius si* libri; vid. Comm.

alia] *aliena* Bentivolius; recte, ut mihi videtur.

11. nobis] *vobis* C.

visus est et talis] huc usque deficit M; nunc de integro adeundus.

nuntiant] *nunciantur* M<sup>1</sup>; *nunciantur* M<sup>2</sup>; *enuntiantur* I.

#### EP. XXVI. (ATT. I. 20).

1. quae mihi asperius a nobis atque nostris] *a nobis atque a nostris* I; *nobis atque* del. Sch.; *a vobis atque a nostris* Boot.; ego vellem insertum tibi, vel potius deletum mihi; vid. Comm.

mediocris et] *mediocris sed* (set) M.

officiose, humaniter] I; officiose et hum. M; lect. Iens. de Madvigii sententia secutus sum.

2. civium improborum] C; cum improb. M; tum improb. I; cum reprimerem alii.

aestimasset] Kl.; existimasset M.

3. σπάρταν] M<sup>2</sup>; ΣΠΑΤΑΝ (superscr. spartam, i. e. provinciam) M<sup>1</sup>; σπάρταν marg.

optimatem] oculi mortem M<sup>1</sup>; optima-tum M<sup>2</sup>; vel optimatem marg.; optima-tum Ern.

Rhinton] phinton M<sup>1</sup>; phynthon M<sup>2</sup>.

εἶσι, τοῖς] Lamb.; εἰσι ois M.

4. Sicyoniis] Sicyonis M.

iam qui] idem qui M.

malevolentia] malevolentiam M<sup>1</sup>.

5. e Gallia] e om. M.

6. de meis] idem iis M<sup>1</sup>.

7. licere] liceret M<sup>1</sup>.

iis libris] R, Btr.; his libris M.

iis studiis] M; his studiis RI.

iis rebus] R; his rebus MI.

agit] M<sup>1</sup>; aget M<sup>2</sup>.

#### EP. XXVII. (ATT. II. 1).

1. me] om. M.

Isocrati myrothecium] marg.; socra-tinrothecium M<sup>1</sup>; ysocratis mirrothecium M<sup>2</sup>.

2. se nostrum illud ἵπ. cum legeret] legere sine cum M<sup>1</sup>; se postquam nos-trum . . . legisset M<sup>2</sup>.

perterritum] deterterritum Lamb.

3. oratiunculas . . . offerebam] Totum hunc locum spurium esse censet Or.; νοθεῖας fines melius statuit Boot; vid. Comm.

in eis] meis M.

quae] om. M<sup>1</sup>.

πολιτικώτερος] ΠΟΛΕΙΤΙΚΜΤΕΡΟΣ M. involgarunt] Bos.; invocarunt M; in-dicarunt Man.

ἀποσπασμάτια] ΑΠΟΣΠΑΜΑΤΙΑ M.

4. quo te arcessam] MRI; quod te arcessam codd. Mal.

describere] Büch. ZI; scribere CM; distribuere marg.

istim] M<sup>1</sup>; istine M<sup>2</sup>.

excitarem] exercitarem M.

5. qua de re] quare CM.

tribunatum pl.] tr. p. l. M.

in Sicilia Herae aedilitatem] in Si-cilia aedilitatem sepe (se petere Corrad) dictitasset M<sup>2</sup>; in Sicilia hereditatem sepe hereditasset M<sup>1</sup>; hinc in Sicilia Herae (Himeræ Graevius) aedilitatem se petere

dictitasset Bosius; in Sic. aedilitatem saepe dictitasset I; cum in Sic. heri aed. se petere dictitasset Iunius. Vid. Comm.

neque] M<sup>1</sup>; sed neque M<sup>2</sup>; sed im-probat litterarum ductus, ut ex dictitasset per dittographiam ortum.

tribus horis] a tribus M; ac tribus R; at tribus Lamb.

item ante] R; idem M, I.

cum iri] quo miri M<sup>1</sup>; quom iri M<sup>2</sup>.

deduceremus, quacrit] deducerem is (vel us) querit M.

novus patronus] novos patronos, cui lectioni patrocinantur Mal. et Bos., qui hac forma usum illudere Ciceronem Clodio Sicilissitanti suspicantur.

ea . . . gerit] typis inclinatiss scripsi, ut significarem verba esse ex poëta aliquo desumpta, quod indicant forma metrica et ea poetice iterata.

in hoc esse] Vict.; esse in hoc esse M<sup>1</sup>; nichil mihi esse M<sup>2</sup>; mihi esse amicos I; eos in otio esse Kl.; lect. Med. bene vindicat Boot. Madv. (Adn. Cr. iii. 168) M<sup>1</sup> secutus hoc efficit, quod eos esse innocentes moleste fert. Sed vid. Comm.

6. provisum] M<sup>2</sup>; praevisum M<sup>1</sup>.

optima illa] optimati illa Lamb., fort. recte.

prosit] 'profuit (vel fortasse prosint) M, Btr.

num tantum] M<sup>2</sup>; non tantum M<sup>1</sup>; num tandem Sch., Kl.

7. cum equitatus] M<sup>2</sup>; quin M<sup>1</sup>.

nulli] multi (syllaba ti est in rasura) M. sint] sunt M.

alia] Mal.; alii M.

8. faece] face MI.

Romuli] hoc verbum mihi suspectum est; vid. Comm.

senatus. Equites curiae] Lamb.; se-natus equiti. Curiae M.

ἄλις σπουδῆς] marg.; ΑΛΙΣΠΟΤΑΗΣ M.

inhoneste ac modeste tamen] libri; honeste Rinkes.; moleste Mal. Librorum auctoritatem (interpunctione paullum emendata) sequuntur Kl. Madv. Wes. dixit ita ut] C; dixit aut M<sup>1</sup>; dixit ut M<sup>2</sup>.

10. Quod Sic. te laedunt] marg.; quod sic roma te laedunt M<sup>1</sup>.

sed st. Ita placuit] Boot; sed si ita placuit libri; sed sc. (i. e. senatuscon-sultum) ita placuit egregie L. Purser.

ne] ins. L. Purser.

discessionibus] Man.; dissensionibus M.

11. vindicem] om. M<sup>1</sup>.

otium] M<sup>2</sup>; cum M<sup>1</sup>.

cum] quin. M<sup>1</sup>.

censu] marg.; accensu M<sup>1</sup>; accessu M<sup>2</sup>.

conserventur] *con-* om. M.  
ad me perferantur] om. M<sup>1</sup>.  
12. *tocullionibus*] ZI; *toculonibus* M<sup>1</sup>;  
*toculionibus* vel *tocullonibus* M<sup>2</sup>.

EP. XXVIII. (ATT. II. 2).

1. ei nos *συννοσεῖν*] *cinos* ΘΕΙΟΙ M<sup>1</sup>;  
CINOCΘΕΙΟΙ M<sup>2</sup>; *ei nos θεῖοι* RI Ern.;  
*cui nos συννοσεῖν* Muret. (*ei nos* Sch.);  
a codice Sirleti pendet egregia haec  
Mureti emendatio; ibi se legisse dicit  
CINOC CYNOCIN = *ei nos συνοσιν* = *cui nos συννοσεῖν*.

2. *πελληναίων*] marg.; ΠΕΜΗΝΕΩΝΙΝ  
*manibus* M.

et unde] C; et eo M<sup>1</sup>; et eodem M<sup>2</sup>.

plura] M<sup>2</sup>; plurima M<sup>1</sup>.

mibi crede, si leges haec dices, "mir.  
vir est" Boot; *mibi credes leges haec*  
*doceo mirabilis vir est* Z; *mibi hredes*  
(= *heredes*) *lege hec doceo* M; *lege sis haec*  
*otio* Sch.; *mi credes si leges, hic mir.* Wes.;  
*mibi crede leges, haec doceo* Or.; Bootii  
coni. accepi, sed dubitanter; vid. Comm.  
eum] M<sup>2</sup>; tum M<sup>1</sup>.

qui me] M<sup>2</sup>; quin (ut saepe) M.

3. vino] MRI; *Vino* Pius. Ern.

ecquid] *hec quid* M.

huc non venis] *adhuc* (ut respondeat  
verbis *utique pridie Kal.*) Wes.

ut valeas] M<sup>1</sup>; ut videas valeas M<sup>2</sup>;  
fort. ut videas ut valeas; potuit Tullius,  
quo importunus Atticum arcesseret, con-  
sulto paene absurdum locutionem adhibere.  
Raro, perraro veram lectionem habet M<sup>1</sup>,  
et pravam M<sup>2</sup>.

EP. XXIX. ATT. II. 3).

1. *εὐαγγέλια*] ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΑ M.

Auli filio] Mal.; *Afilio* F; *Hatilio* M;  
*Katilio* ZI; C. *Attilio* Lamb.

condonatum] *condemnatum* M<sup>1</sup>.

Epiceratam] *Iphieratem* malim; vid.  
Comm.

suspicio] *suspicio* M<sup>1</sup>.

caligae] libri; *Gallicae* (coll. Gell. xiii.  
22, 1, 6) Mal.

et fasciae] Or.; ut fasciae M.

2. viridarium] Or., vulg.; *aiebatur*  
*idiorum* M; *agebatur viridiorum* RI; *aie-*  
*bat vi radiorum* Tunstall., quem sequitur,  
minus quam solet in hac re perspicax,  
Boot.

latis] *lateis* M, unde, absurdo errore,  
*lacteis* I.

ἡ ἄ] C; ἄ alii.

ἡ ἄ, τὸ δέ] (confusis inter se Δ et Α,  
Ω et Ο, Δ et Α), ΗΔΤΩΑΕ M<sup>1</sup>.

ἀκτῖνες δὲ δ̄ καὶ ε̄] AKTEINECΛΕΛΙΤΑ  
(fort. = ἀκτῖνες δὲ αἱ γ̄ δ̄ confusis inter se  
Δ et Δ, Δ et Α, Γ et Τ, Α et Δ) M<sup>1</sup>;  
ἀκτῖνες δὲ αἱ Γα (errore orto inter Α et Δ)  
marg.; fort. igitur legendum τὸ δὲ ὀρόμε-  
νον β γ̄ ἀκτῖνες δὲ αἱ γ̄ δ̄, ut Tullius per  
incuriam bis littera γ̄ utatur; nec sane  
ab hoc loco ioculatorio abhorret talis incur-  
ria.

3. ac πολ.] ΑCΠΟΛΕΙΤΕΙΑΝ M.

Σωκρ. εἰς ἐκ.] *socraticos* ΕΙCΕΚΑΤΡ-  
PON M.

aut quiescendum] M<sup>2</sup>; ad quiescendum  
M<sup>1</sup>

ire] nec M.

etiam cum] et tam cum M.

κατακλεις] Turneb.; *κατακρεσις* M;  
*κατάκρησις* R; *κατάκρησις et καλλιόπης*  
marg.; *κατάτασις* Bos.; *κατάκλῃσις* Boot.  
animoque] *inmoque* M<sup>1</sup>.

in eo] meo M.

ἀριστοκρατικῶς] ΑΡΙCΤΟΚΑΡΑΤΙΚΟC  
M.

φιλοτιμία] C; *φιλοτειας* M; quatuor  
hariolationes *φιλονεκίας, φιλολογίας, φι-*  
*λαντίας, φιλοθείας* exhibet marg.; *φιλο-*  
*μαθίας* R.

EP. XXX. (Q. FR. I. 1).

1. fama denique] ante haec verba la-  
cunam esse statuit Ern.; sed vid. Comm.

2. oportet. Et quoniam] et inseruit  
Man.

impudentiae] *imprudentie* (expuncta  
littera r) M; *imprudentiae* I.

expeto] *expedito* M<sup>1</sup>; *expeto cum c* su-  
perscripto M<sup>2</sup>.

3. et perficere] *est perficere* M<sup>1</sup>.

ad excellentis] Ern.; et de excellentem  
M<sup>1</sup>; ad excellentem M<sup>2</sup>.

incitaris] in ceteris M<sup>1</sup>.

immo vero] M<sup>1</sup>; *gloriam vero* marg.  
quod probat Boot.

5. tenet] M; *teneat* Lamb.

ea dormientem] libri; eadem Müller.

7. consilii me] M<sup>2</sup>; mei M<sup>1</sup>.

excolere] Crat.; *attollere* I; *accolere*  
R; *'attollere vel accolere* M, Btr.

possit] 'necessario scribendum est  
*possit* Madv. (Adv. Cr. iii. 193).

voluptati] *voluptatis* Wes.

8. te facere] libri; *te et facere* Kahnt.

9. proteri] optime Ursinus; *perterrer*  
vulg.

10. satis esse] *satis est* M.

has te] 'haec vel haste M,' Btr.  
dignitatis suae] libri; *tuae* Or.

Allienus] *alienus* M; corr. Vict.  
noster est] et M; corr. Man.

propter amorem . . . de nostra] C;  
propterea amorem . . . demonstrare MRI.

11. lenitatem] M, K1; levitatem C, I,  
Btr.; vid. Comm.

inter hos eos quos] M<sup>2</sup>; inter nos eos  
quos M<sup>1</sup>; interest hoc: eos quos Madv.  
(Adv. Cr. iii. 193).

12. convictionibus] coniunctionibus M;  
convictoribus I; corr. Vict.

apparitionibus] apparationibus M; ap-  
paritoribus R; corr. Vict.

13. ficta et simulata insusurrentur]  
Boot; *ficta et simulata insusurrentur* vulg.  
accensus] accessus MI.

Sit lictor non suae sed tuae len. app.]  
non suae saevitiae sed tuae len. app., Ursi-  
nus; fort. non suae sector sed tuae leni-  
tatis apparitor. Vid. Comm.; non saevi-  
tiae sed lenitatis apparitor Boot.

15. qui potes] potest I.  
hominum] mihi suspectum est; vid.  
Comm.

si quem forte] si quidem forte MI.  
ad tuum numerum] tuorum Sch.; sed  
vid. Comm.

16. in Graecis] Boot.; e Graecis vulg.  
intimae] ins. Wes.

amicitiaque] amicitieque M; amicitia-  
aeque I.

et invident non] et non invident non  
M; corr. Crat.; Graecus, ut dicit Iuvena-  
lis, nunquam partitur amicum.

17. iam qui] malim iamque; vid.  
Comm.

19. inhonestissimam] honestissimam M.  
20. sustinuerimus] Or., Wes.; susti-  
neremus libri.

21. disputando] libri; disceptando Man.  
primum] sic Malaspina; primus lictor

libri; proximus Or.; vid. Comm.

quievit] Pantagatho auctore Ern.;  
qui fuit libri.

accensus] accessus M<sup>1</sup>; accessu M<sup>2</sup>.  
eodem iure] M libri; eidem iuri Boot.

22. denique . . . vis] supplet marg. alia  
manu.

contionis] om. M; populi supplevit  
Ern.; concionis Wes.

cum permagni] libri; del. cum Sch.,  
fort. recte; nam requiro exempla huius  
formulae cum . . . cum . . . tum. Ha-  
bemus tamen cum . . . tum . . . tum;  
cf. e. g. Fam. xv. 71, nam cum te semper  
amavi dilexique tum mei amantissimum  
cognovi . . . tum . . . debeo. Pro cum per-  
magni conicit semper magni Boot., qui  
laudat Seyfferti correctionem oratio ut  
semper gravis pro oratio et pergravis Sest.  
107.

23. ea que] libri; que auctore Kaysero  
seclusi.

24. tibi et esse ant.] Man.; tibi esset  
tantiquissimum M<sup>1</sup>; tibi esse et ant. M<sup>2</sup>.

25. oppidorum et fanorum [furta et]  
latr.] K1; oppidorum et furtorum latro-  
cinia M; opp. et fanorum latr. Vict.; opp.  
et furta et latr. RI; opp. et fanorum furta  
et latr. Lamb.

solitudinem] M<sup>2</sup>; sollicitudinem M<sup>1</sup>.

26. aedilicio, cum magnis] aediliciorum  
magnis libri; corr. Lünemann.

et esse quam beat.] Face.; ut esse quam  
beat. libri.

ipso] Reizius; ipsa libri.

30. et quoniam] et inseruit Koch.;  
quoniamque Mal.

32. atque] atqui Btr.

diungemus] M<sup>2</sup>; diu ingem M<sup>1</sup>.

consulere debemus] consulemus M.

se] Face.; te M.

33. acerbissimum est] acerbissimum et  
M.

ipsi ita fuerunt] ipsi item fuerunt  
Kays.

omnesque ex] Ern., omnes qui ex MR.

34. et illud] libri; etiam illud Btr.

35. coniungas et ab iis] coniungas sed  
et ab his M.

36. parte] perte M; fort. magna ex  
parte per te ut verba per te verbis sine cu-  
iusquam praeceptis opponantur.

37. laudari] laudare M.

38. interdum non] K1; non interdum M.

39. sunt.] sint M; sunt Ammianus  
Marcellinus, apud quem (xxviii. i. 40)  
hic locus nam si . . . anteponenda est re-  
peritur.

40. avaritiae] avaritie M; avaritia  
Man., Koch. (Pfortner Programm. 1868).

multo lenior] multo leviores (sermo-  
nem habuit) Madv. Adv. Cr. iii. 193.

42. theatrum [totius Asiae] es sortitus]  
Asiae es sort. om. libri; eius modi thea-  
trum es sortitus Or.; eiusmodi est theatrum  
totius Asiae RI, Ern. es sortitus Wagner;  
sortitus es Btr. vol. ix. p. lxxvii, sed vol. x.  
p. cxxiii, in Supplemento Adn. Crit. in Ep.  
ad Q. Fratr. hanc probat ex margine ed.  
Crat. desumptam lectionem theatrum [to-  
tius Asiae] virtutibus tuis est datum; quae  
lectio interpolatorem sententiam ex Tusc.  
ii. 64, male sarcientem mihi quidem redo-  
lere videtur. Neque vero praevalida est  
auctoritas apud Epp. ad Q. Fratrem codi-  
cis huius (C), qui supra (§ 38) lenitudinis  
pro lenitudinis fatuo errore exhibet.

43. dedit si] Mal.; dedit et si M.

et illud] etiam illud Btr.  
putem] om. M.

44. in qua] M; K1; in quo Face.  
non solum] om. M; seclusi ego; vid.  
Comm.

45. quamquam illud] marg.; *quam M.*  
et qui cum] et *quia cum M.*  
46. actus] om. MR.; *extremus actus*  
Peerlk., quem sequitur Boot. (*Obs. Cr. 30.*)  
vale] om. M<sup>1</sup>, I.

(Ep. xxxi. Att. II. 4).

1. partem] om. M<sup>1</sup>.  
Titinio] C; *ticinio M.*  
quod] M<sup>1</sup>; quos M<sup>2</sup>.  
reddantur] libri; *addantur Man.* et  
vulg.; sed vid. Comm.

2. Velim + Syripie + condicione] M;  
*Siripiae C; conditioes M<sup>1</sup>; vel in Cy-*  
*prum; opimae conditiones; sed facile pa-*  
*tior Boot; Zopyri condicione Wes.; optime*  
*velim Seepsii condicione Gron.; vid.*  
Comm.

Bonae Deae] M<sup>2</sup>; *bene de te M<sup>1</sup>.*  
futurus sit scierimus] Or.; *futurus*  
*scius sit M<sup>1</sup>; futurus scidus sit M<sup>2</sup>; futu-*  
*rus sit sciemus Ern.; fort. pro cuius modi*  
*futurus scius sit legendum cuius domini*  
*futurus socius sit et scierimus cum Orellio*  
*inserendum; modi et domi inter se con-*  
*fusa reperiuntur (Ep. xxii. 12); quidni*  
*igitur modi et domini?*

a me] an M<sup>1</sup>.  
desciverim] *desiverim M<sup>1</sup>.*  
3. aliquod] om. M; secludit (coll.  
Att. ii. 6, 1) Btr.  
tu censeo] Crat.; *ut censeo MRI.*

Ep. xxxii. (Att. II. 5).

ἐλεγχέην] EAEAEΓXEIHN M; totum  
versum om. R.

praedicarint] *praedicarant M<sup>1</sup>.*  
deferetur] M<sup>1</sup>; 'vel deferetur' M<sup>2</sup>.  
etiam] et iam MRI.

2. et qui] MRI; legi Baitero auctore  
narret, et quo; alioquin equi pro et qui  
hic substituendum esset.

vides caritatem] *videte civitatem M;*  
*videte vitam ZI; vide levitatem Mur.;*  
*vides lev. Wes. (quam lect. nunc probat*  
*Boot.); vide securitatem Bos.; curiosita-*  
*tem Kahnt; vilitatem Meuntz.; caeci-*  
*tatem Gron.; ego vides a Wesenbergio,*  
*caritatem a Klotzio, mutuatus sum.*

in animo est. Vellem] *in animo sic vel-*  
*lem M; in animo; ac vellem Kahnt.; corr.*  
Vict.

3. Curtio] *Cutio M<sup>1</sup>; Tutio M<sup>2</sup>;* sed  
hic Curtius quis sit plane ignoratur; fort.  
*de cursu tuo; vid. Comm.*  
nunc] M; num vulg.  
quid de P. Clodio [fiat] et omnia] vulg.

(nisi quod fiat seclusi ego); *quid de P.*  
*Clodio fratre omnia M; vid. Comm., ubi*  
*clausulis transpositis lectionem Mediceam*  
*explanavi.*

Ep. xxxiii. (Att. II. 6).

1. lacertas captandas] M<sup>2</sup>; *litteras cap-*  
*tandas (cum litteras in rasura, et lacertas*  
*in margine substituto) M<sup>1</sup>; lacertos Man.*  
*tam possunt] 'tam cum arcu i.e. ta-*  
*men M, Btr.*

qui etiam] Man., R; *quin etiam M.*  
duumvirum] *diu nimirum MRI; corr.*  
Bosius.

me] om. M; supplet Y.

2. civitas] M<sup>2</sup>; *civitates M<sup>1</sup>.*  
vivum et salvum] *vivum est saegium*  
*velit M<sup>1</sup>; vivum esse velit M<sup>2</sup> (in marg.);*  
*unum esse salvum velit I; corr. Vict.*

πολιτευτέον] ΠΟΛΕΙΤΕΤΕΟΝ M, qui  
saepe EI pro I et I pro EI exhibet.

Theopompio] *theopomponio M; Theo-*  
*pompino I; corr. Goveanus.*

scribendi] 'fort. videndi' Or.  
ecquae] Man.; et *que M.*  
quid? etiam] *quid etiam M<sup>1</sup>; quin*  
*etiam M<sup>2</sup>.*

Ep. xxxiv (Att. II. 7).

1. deliberabimus] *delibabimus M<sup>1</sup>.*  
autem a me] Crat.; *autem me M.*  
quia + absideram] *qui absiram M;*  
*qui absideram Ern. I; quia abieceram*  
*Boot; fort. quia a me descieram, cf. Ep.*  
*xxxi. § 2; quia absideram vulg.; quia*  
*abieci iram H. A. J. Munro; quia obscura*  
*erat Madv. (Adv. Cr. iii. 168).*  
tibi] te M.

2. hominem ire] Man.; *in hominem*  
*ire MRI; sane hominem ire Kays.; ire*  
*hominem cupiebam Kahnt.; istim homi-*  
*nem ire cup. Graev.; fort. ire hominem*  
*nire cupiebam.*

eo] om. M.  
resalutare] C; *salutare M.*  
curiatae] *curitates M.*

3. domi] C; *in domo M.*  
opima] *optima M.*  
an epuloni] *a neptiloni M<sup>1</sup>; nebuloni*  
*et nepoloni marg.; corr. Bos.*  
ieiuna tabellarii leg.] C; *ieiunata*  
*bella relegatio M; ei una tabellaris leg.*  
marg.

reservatur] *reservantur M<sup>1</sup>*  
quoad potest] Zb; *quod pot. M.*  
accedat] *accedit M<sup>1</sup>.*

4. iam] tam M.  
quinque viris] M; *viginti viris Man.;*  
*vid. Comm.*

putaram] M; putarem C.  
 ereptis] marg.; receptis M.  
 5. Quintus] *que* M.  
 cccxxo ixxo] codd. Mal.  
 nunc ad] *non ad* M; corr. Malaspina,  
 qui et alteram profert coni. *non ut ad*,  
 quam forte praetuleris.

EP. XXXV (ATT. II. 8).

1. Roma] *Romam* M<sup>1</sup>.  
 ecquid] *et quid* M.  
 ais] M<sup>2</sup>; *agis* M<sup>1</sup>.  
 in ea] M<sup>2</sup>; *mea* M<sup>1</sup>.  
 historia] *ιστορία* (= *digna quae sci-*  
*rem*) Ern. haud scio an recte.  
 bene habemus nos] *bene habemus; nos*,  
*si in his spes est, opinor, aliud agamus*  
 Boot; *bene habet* Corrad.; cf. or. pro  
 Mur. 14.  
 2. delicatum] Zl; *delegatum* M<sup>1</sup>; *de-*  
*ligatum* M<sup>2</sup>.  
 a iv] fort. *ab. a. d. iv. ad pr. Non.*  
*Mai.*

EP. XXXVI (ATT. II. 9).

1. Subito cum] libri; S. V. B. E.  
 (= *si vales bene est*) Muretus, qui Bosio  
 credidit suae ex fictis codd. promenti.  
 Vid. Comm.  
 elicerem] om. M.  
 abdis] marg. *addis* M<sup>1</sup>.  
 pacta] *pacti* Ern.  
 bonam meis] *bonam in meis* M<sup>1</sup>.  
 in invidia] Crat.; in om. M.  
 orbis reipublicae] optime Bootius, qui  
 confert Att. ii. 21, 2, Planc. 93; *orbis in*  
*rep.* M.  
 potuit] *potuit id* M; *oportuit* Ern.,  
 sed vid. Comm.; *id ut ex dittographia*  
*ortum delevi.*  
 rursus] libri recte; *prorsus* Or. Kl;  
*conversus* Vahlen.  
 Caeciliam] Man.; *aeliam* M<sup>1</sup>; *caeliam*  
 M<sup>2</sup>.  
 qui regna quasi praedia] Kl; *qui*  
*regna qui praedia* M; *qui regna qui p. r.*  
 (= *populi Romani*) *praedia* Ern.  
 2. nisi videris] *si videris* M<sup>1</sup>; *si . . .*  
*non videris* M<sup>2</sup>.  
 redacta] M; *tralata* C.  
 quid iam] *quid etiam* M<sup>1</sup>; *quidnam*  
 M<sup>2</sup> C.  
 peccavit] *paccavit* (superse. *al. pec-*  
*cavit*) M.  
 3. Publium] secludit Boot.  
 cogit tum] Or.; *cogitat tantum* M;  
*cogit πάντα* (sc. *σπῆναι*) *tum* Bos.; *cogit*  
*ἀντάρ tum* Kays.; *cogit, ad tamen* Kl.  
 malo] *malle* M<sup>1</sup>; *male* M<sup>2</sup>.

4. nunc audi ad id] *ad id* om. libri  
 omnes praeter F. cuius lect. vindicat  
 Wes. coll. Att. iii. 8, 3; v. 4, 4; ix. 10, 8;  
 xiv. 20, 1 (*Em. Att.* p. 90).

καὶ κικέρων] ΚΑΙΚΕΡΩΝ M; corr.  
 Wes.

τὸν 'Αθ.] τὸν om. M; sed facile po-  
 tuit post Τίτον excidere.

ἀσπάζεται] ΔΠΑΖΕΤΑΙ M.

EP. XXXVII (ATT. II. 12).

1. Negent] M; *negant* (sc. *ut scribis*)  
 Wes.; vid. Comm.  
 plebeium] Bos.; *tr. plebium* M.  
 factum esse] 'fort. *factum a sese*  
*esse*' Or.; malim *factum a sese* (sine  
*esse*).  
 est et ferri] Bos.; *esse ferre* M.  
 potest] I, Bos.; *potes* MR.  
 emittat] *mittat* Boot. Obs. Cr. 44.  
 2. commodum] Goveanus; *commode* M.  
 Antiati] CM<sup>2</sup>; *antio* M.  
 ζώσης φωνῆς] CM<sup>2</sup>; ζώσης φωνῆς  
 μελίζω ἐνέργειαν εἶναι c.  
 convivii istius] C; *conviviis tuis* M.  
 ἀσελγούς] ACEATOTC M; ἀστρά-  
 γους marg.  
 3. κατ' ὁπώρην τρύβ] Bos.; κατ' ὁπώρην  
 τραχύς MC.  
 desederit] Man., et cod. Helmstadi-  
 ensis; *decesserit* libri.  
 iam liquata] Kays; *liquata* Or.; *iudi-*  
*cata* M; fort. *indicata*.  
 4. civis] *quis* M<sup>1</sup>.  
 delectata est] *adfectata est et tuis*  
*litteris* M; corr. Vict.; 'fort. *lactitia*  
*adfecta est ex tuis litteris*' Btr.  
 tibi] om. M<sup>1</sup>.

EP. XXXVIII (ATT. II. 10).

cum] *quo cum arcu* (i. e. *quom*) M  
 (teste Btr.).  
 visuri simus] *visuri sumus* M.  
 ante a Tribus] *antea tribus* M; *ante*  
*Tribus* Or.

EP. XXXIX (ATT. II. 11).

1. quam] *cum* M<sup>1</sup>; *quom* M<sup>2</sup>.  
 nisi si quid] M<sup>1</sup>; om. *si* M<sup>2</sup>.  
 diem] *die* M.  
 2. usque] M<sup>2</sup>; *iusque* M<sup>1</sup>.  
 eo] M; *ego* C.  
 ἔγωγε] C; ΕΓΩΤΗΓΕ M.  
 haec igitur, et cura] M; *haec igitur*;  
*cura* Kl.; Med. lect. in Comm. vindi-

cavi. At vide ne scripserit Tullius (ut Ingramio nostro videtur), *haec igitur cura, et ut valeas* (sc. *cura ut valeas*), quae nota est in epistolis Tullianis *κατακλείς*.

EP. XL. (ATT. II. 13).

1. at scito] *marg.*; *adscito* M.  
 2. sileri] *silotibo* M; *siletur* *marg.*  
 me iam] M<sup>1</sup>; *nec etiam* M<sup>2</sup>.  
 qui] om. M<sup>1</sup>.  
 fremitus] *infremitus* M.  
 Magnus] *Magnus* et infra *Divitis* uncinis includit Boot; recte ut mihi videtur.

EP. XLI. (ATT. II. 14).

1. Quantum] *quantum etiam* M.  
 de sermone Bibuli] M; *de sermone Publī* Boot.  
 ita fac venias ut ad] *ita fac venias ad* M; *ita fac; venies ad* Ern.; corr. Udalbinus.  
 cum se] *quem se* M.  
 ἐντυραννίσθαι] EHTIPANHEICΘAI M.  
 2. at quam partem . . . Aemiliam] C;  
*ad quam partem* M; *at quam parem* Bos.; *atque imparem basilicam tribui Aemiliae* audacius Boot.; *at comparem basilicae tribum Aemiliam* Man.; fort., *at aequiparem basilicae tribum Aemiliam*!  
 'Sed omitto . . . sunt'] haec ita interpunxi ut verba essent Attici iocose a Tullio rescripta. Pro omitto fort. mitto legendum; cf. Att. ii. 19. 1.  
 Ecce tibi] *tibi* inserui ego; vid. Comm. ad Ep. xxxv. 1.  
 vides] M<sup>2</sup>; *vide* M<sup>1</sup>; quem sequitur Boot.  
 O occasionem mir.] *O* om. libri; inse-ruit Müll.; quem sequitur Btr.

EP. XLII. (ATT. 15).

1. enim videor] 'malim enim mi videor' Or.  
 invenire] *inveniri* Asc.  
 2. ut illo tu careas] *malim ut illa* (sc. *Epiro tu non careas*, vel *ut illo loco tu non careas*.  
*sive ruet sive eriget]* *siveru et get remp.* C.; *sive ruet . . . remp.* M<sup>1</sup>; *servet remp.* M<sup>2</sup> (in marg.); corr. Corradus.  
 3. potuero] *potuero ero* Boot.  
 usque ad a. d.] Btr.; *usque ad* M; *usque a. d.* Or.  
 4. publicanis] *publicanos* CM.

EP. XLIII. (ATT. II. 16).

1. primo] M<sup>1</sup> C; *primum* M<sup>2</sup>; sed *primum* non nisi in enumerando ponitur apud Tullium. Paulo post igitur *primum* ex eo recte se habet.  
 familiari te] *familiaritate* M.  
 egomet] C; *ego* M.  
 hominum quinque millia] *marg.*; *homines quinque millia* M<sup>1</sup>.  
 vectigal] *vectigali* M<sup>2</sup>.  
 2. φορβείας] Koch.; vulg. *φορβέας*.  
 adduci] *addici* M.  
 haec ἐσοφ.] *hec* M; *hoc* k.  
 se leges] *si leges* M, ZI; om. *probare* C; corr. Lamb.  
 potuerit intercedi] *intercedit* M.  
 servasset necne sibi] *nec ignes sibi* M<sup>1</sup>.  
 se] inseruit Büch.  
 quid] Man.; *quicquid* M.  
 si] *sibi* M.  
 te nobis] *se nobis* M.  
 3. videatur] *videbatur* M<sup>1</sup>R.  
 4. illud tamen quod scribis] M; *scribit* Cratander; sed vid. Comm.  
 consilii] *marg.*; *consulis* M.  
 perscripseram] M<sup>2</sup>; *rescr.* M<sup>1</sup>.  
 discedere] *discutere* Or.; *disceptare* Wes.; *si quid possum dispicere* Boot.; *decidere* (hoc est quasi *cum utraque parte pacisci* 'to make a compromise') Madv. Adv. Cr. (iii., 168), qui ne pro ut non (*ohne dass* 'without') dici posse negat; fort. recte.  
 nobis opus esse] *bonis* Boot., temere;  
*nobis enim* (sc. *optimatibus*) plane eodem sensu usurpatur quo *bonis*.  
 ne illud quidem] Corrad.; *illud ne quidem* M.

EP. XLIV. (ATT. II. 17).

1. Turbat] Pius; *turbatur* M.  
 τυραννίδα] ΤΥΡΑΝΝΙΑΣ et deinde ΣΤΥΝΤΑΖΕΤΑΙ M.  
 di immortales] haec verba post *tranquillo animo* habet M; transposuit Hervagius.  
 conferemus] *conferamus* M.  
 2. consolatur] *consolantur* MRI.  
 nosse] om. M<sup>1</sup>.  
 vacuum est] Vict.; *vacuus est* M;  
*vacuus sum* C. Vid. Comm.  
 iacet enim] C; *haec etenim* M; *consumi est* *marg.*  
 πῶσις] Bos.; *phocis* libri; *φωκάτς* Curiana (quo sensu viderit Oedipus), Boot.  
 videatur] M<sup>2</sup>; *videretur* M<sup>1</sup>; *videtur* Boot.



3. ex Th.] M<sup>2</sup>; et M<sup>1</sup>.  
expiscere] Vict.; *expiscere* C; *respicere*  
(prima syllaba in rasura) M.  
adferes] C; *adferre* M.

## EP. XLV. (ATT. II. 18).

1. averes] marg.; *haberes* (qu. *haveres*) M<sup>1</sup>.

hic est status] Boot; *hic status* M; *hic status est* Ern.

gemitur, neque verbo] lacunam post *gemitur* statuunt edd. plerique; sed verbo est supra inserto stat sententia; *gemitur, neque opera neque verbo* Kl.

σκοπός] CKOTOS M.

2. κατὰ λεπτὸν] *catalepton*.

de sing. rebus] ut glossema cum Ben-  
tivolio seclusi.

hac tamen in op.] ac tamen M<sup>1</sup>; at  
tamen M<sup>2</sup>; corr. Bos.

contione] (inter n et t littera erasa est)  
M; *coitione* Vict.; *exsecrationem insolent-*  
*tiorem cand.* Boot; *exsecr. candidatorum,*  
*in contione si* Sch.

quo aliter] marg.; *qualiter* M<sup>1</sup>.

laute] CM<sup>2</sup>I; *recte* M<sup>1</sup>.

3. Displiceo . . . dolore] Hic versicu-  
lum ex poeta aliquo sumptum sagacius  
odoratur Orellius. O correptum in scribō  
a temporum Tullianorum usu plane ab-  
horret.

apud pudorem] MZI; *apud furorem*  
Pius; *a pudore* Müller.

hanc ego teneo] *hanc ergo teneo* Or., Wes.  
Neque tamen scit quisquam] *neque*  
*tamen quid futurum sit scit quisquam*  
Wes.; *tamen sit scit quisquam* (sed verbo  
sit deletio) M.

4. vellem ego vel cuperem] Müller;  
*egove* M; *ego ac* I.

## EP. XLVI. (ATT. II. 19).

1. cetera in magnis rebus; minae] M;  
*ceterum in magnis rebus minae* Kays.;  
*cetera ἐν αἰνυγμοῖς.* Minae Or.; verba  
vulgo suspecta sunt.

quae mihi prop.] quae om. M.  
tangunt] *angunt* Wes.

saluti] *salutis* M.

2. peraeque] C; *peraequi* ZI; *de reque*  
M<sup>1</sup>; *denique* M<sup>2</sup>.

putaram] *putarem* M.

amores] C; *amore* M.

tenent vol.] *tenent voluntate an metu*  
M; corr. Kl.

utor via] libri; vid. comm.

3. tragoedus] *tragoediis* M.

nostra . . . Magnus] Hunc versum  
affert *βυθμικώτερον* Val. Max. vi. 2, 9,  
*miseria nostra Magnus es; fort.*

- - - - - nostra miseria tu Magnus es,  
ut tres hi versus unum metrum (troch.  
septenarium) sequantur.

eandem virt.] *eandem om.* Val. Max.

gemes] *gemas* Val. Max.; quem sequi  
malit Wes.

et eiusmodi] et secludunt Or. Btr.  
Wes. Man.

si neque leges neque mores cogunt]  
*ἀμέτῳ* libri; si neque leges te neque mores  
Ribbeck; si leges neque mores cogunt malim  
ego.

mortuo plausu] 'an intermortuo' Or.  
transiri] Man.; *transire* M.

4. [inimicus est] cum Ern. seclusi,  
ut ex Ep. xlviii. § 6, interpolata; *inimi-*  
*cus et Munro.*

id erat vocari] fort. id erat vere vocari.

5. vult] Vict.; *volet* M.

non repudio] M; nunc Faber; hoc non  
refugio Wes.

certi sumus] *certissimus* M; *certisimus* I.  
hic] *hoc* M.

## EP. XLVII. (ATT. II. 20).

1. par est] M<sup>2</sup>; *parum* M<sup>1</sup>; *par sum*  
alii; *possum* RI, quae coniectura minime  
necessaria qua ratione vulgo editoribus  
placeat plane ignoro.

vulgo] Büch.; volo M; nos Kl.; quia  
a dolo Or.

πραγματικοί] Or.; *pragmatici* M; vid.  
Comm.

historiis] Lamb.; *historicis* (-is in ra-  
sura) M.

2. simul et] M; simul ac R; simul ut  
Lamb.; simul atque Btr.; vindicavi in  
Comm. lect. Med.; sed fort. simul sciam  
et quid erit certi.

3. ἀλληγορίας] ΗΓΡΟΙΑΙC M.  
et iam] *etiam* M.

exitium] M<sup>2</sup>; *exitum* M<sup>1</sup>.

5. me te Furium] Kl.; et Furio M;  
ut Furio Or.; me ut Furio Boot; te Furium  
(omisso me) RI.

6. centiens] M; centum Mal., Gron.  
cum] del. Boot.

libros] *Alexandri* inserit Wes., coll.

Ep. xlix. § 7.

nec tamen scit nihil et est] et tamen  
scit nihil sed est M; corr. Man.; et tamen  
scit nonnihil Wes. qui suspicatur post in-  
eptus excidisse est 'sine quo Cicero dix-  
isset, ut Att. ii. 22, 7, accepi, poetae inepti  
sed tamen qui sciati nonnihil et sit non inu-  
tilis,' Em. Alt. p. 93.

## EP. XLVIII. (ATT. II. 21).

1. quam reliquisti] *quam cum reliquisti* coll. Att. i. 16, 11, Boot; sed neque in illo loco inserendum est *cum*.

eruptura sit] *sint* Bos., quem sequitur Boot coll. Ep. xlix. § 6.

3. a. d. viii.] Or.; ante viii. M. populi] *publi* M<sup>1</sup>.

4. spectaculum] *speculum* M<sup>1</sup>. item] *idem* M.

Prot. si Ialysum] Btr.; si Prot. si Ial.

M<sup>1</sup>; si Prot. Ialysum M<sup>2</sup> Kl.

Archilochia] *Archilodia* M<sup>1</sup>.

nequeamus] (sed -mus in rasura) M<sup>2</sup>; nequeam M<sup>1</sup>, vulg.; nequeant Vict.

dilexi, nimis] C marg.; dileximus M. ferro] CM; foro alii.

5. qui cum] M; quin quum Mal.

se] M<sup>2</sup>; sed M<sup>1</sup>.

ullius] *ullus* M; nullius marg.

6. res ad tempus] *res ac tempus* Ern.

aut cum . . . discessuros] Kl.; aut certe cum summa gloria aut etiam sine molestia discessuros M; aut sine molestia certe aut etiam cum summa gloria disc. Kays.; nos aut certaturos cum summa gloria aut etiam sine molestia discessuros Wes.; sed Hofm. Med. lect. tuetur, fort. recte. Vid. Comm.

## EP. XLIX. (ATT. II. 22).

1. Mansisses] Inseruit mansisses alterum Bos.; mansisses profecto M; quam vellem Romae. Mansisses profecto si Mal.; mansisses! Profecto k.

denuntiat] *multa den. vel vim multis den.* Boot, qui verbum denuntiat hac significatione a Tullio absolute poni negat.

opes eorum et exercitus] *opes eorum et vim exercitus* FAC; *opes et vim exercitus* M; corr. Or.

in bonos] Wes.; in nos vulg. tum vin] I; cum M.

2. referebat] *deferebat* Wes. et ut] *ut et* M.

fidem] Lamb.; sed fidem M.

3. Attingimus] *attingemus* M.

[opera] secluserit Btr.

4. cum ego] *cum* M<sup>2</sup>; tum M<sup>1</sup>.

5. totum] *tantum* M.

Pompeium Crasso urgente] *Pompeio Crassum urgente* Sch.; malim *Pompeium a Crasso urgeri, at si*; vid. Comm.

quid tempus] om. M<sup>1</sup>.

6. sentias] *sentencias* M.

Pompeium vehementerque poen.] *Pom-*

*peiumque vehementer penitet* M; fort. recte ut ipsum ad Clodium referatur.

7. prudentem] M; *prudenter* Faernus, quem sine causa sequuntur Or. et Wes.

## EP. L. (ATT. II. 23).

2. in eum] M<sup>2</sup>; *neum* M<sup>1</sup>.

posse invenire nullam puto] *possem invenire nullam* M; unde possum invenire nullam Graevius; sed posse inveniri nullam post Zl; posse inveniri nullam puto Wes. cui nunc adsentitur Boot.; corr. Lamb.

3. in multa] om in M<sup>1</sup>.

βοῶπιδος] *boopidis* M.

nostrae] Vict.; *noster* M.

si ingrederis] *si non ingrederis* M<sup>1</sup>; si vero ingrederis M<sup>2</sup>; fort. recte.

quodque maximum] RKl.; *quod maximum* vulgo; et quod max. Kays.

## EP. LI. (ATT. II. 24).

1. celeritatem] M; κέλευσιν Bos., k. quam sit . . . anxius] *omnis* om. M<sup>1</sup>; sed supplet margo; corrector ille Mediceus mecum versiculum, ut opinor, agnovit.

aditu] Vict.; *auditu* MZl; bene sane Klotzius *'aditu* obtinui cum non viderem quae oppositionis ratio inter exitum atque *auditu* hoc loco intercederet. Recitissime vero exitus rei et *aditus* ut inter se contraria ponuntur' (proem. ed. alt. p. lx.).

2. Vettius ille, ille noster] *ille alterum* del. Wes., et eadem ratione supra Att. i. 16, 5, *illum* alterum delendum censet.

index] M; *iudex* RI.

insinuatus in familiaritatem] *in sinu* aut in familiaritate M; *insinuavit in fam.*

Or.; se insinuavit Wes.

congressus] *congressus est* M<sup>1</sup>.

constitisse] C; *restitisse* M; *constitu-* isse Or.

reclamatum est] *haud recl. est* Bos.

Q. Caepio] Corrad.; *Cn. Caepio* M.

Mai.] *diei* M.

3. [cum]] del. Man.

qui emisisset, eum contra] *qui cum em.* contra M<sup>1</sup>; *qui cum em. eum contra* M<sup>2</sup>; corr. Btr.

hic ille omnia quae voluit] *cum libris* Kl.; *hic* (Vettius) *omnia ille* (Caesar) *quae voluit* Or.; cui lectioni primas defero, modo *hic* sit in hoc loco.

dixit, et qui . . . venisset, primum] M, Kl.; *dixit, ut qui . . . venisset. Primum* Vict. Wes.

L. Lucullum] L. inseruit Wes.  
4. indicium] M; *iudicium* RI.  
iudicia] *indicia* M.  
soleremus] KI; *solemus* M; *soleamus*

Wes. Or.

non . . . sed] inseruit Wes.  
sed prorsus vitae taedet; ita sunt] *sed*  
*prosus vita et aedita sunt* M<sup>1</sup>.  
quam oratio] *que oratio* M; *quam* RI;  
*quem metum oratio* Madv. Adv. Cr. iii.  
169.

Q. Considii] *que cum si* M<sup>1</sup>; Q. Consi  
M<sup>2</sup>.

ea quam] vulg.; *ea inquam* M<sup>1</sup>; *eam*  
*quam* M<sup>2</sup>; *ea vis quam* Wes.; fort. *ea, ea*  
*inquam quam cotidie*; cf. *crux, crux in-*  
*quam* Verr. v. 161; *excidit in* M<sup>1</sup> alterum  
*ea et alteram quam*; in verbis *ea inquam*  
M<sup>2</sup> pro *ea in-* prave scripsit *eam*, qui error  
saepissime supra obversatus est.

infortunatius, nihil] ingeniose supple-  
vit Lamb.

est Catulo] Bos.; *et Cat. M.*

tum hoc tempore] libri; *tum mortis*  
*tempore* Lamb.: *tum occasus tempore* me-  
lius Sch.; *tum quod tempore* Or., quod  
commendat litterarum ductus, sed durior  
est ellipsis; fort., *tum quod tempore* PE-  
RIIT.

honestissimeque . . . et dign.] KI;  
sine lacuna M; *quietem* supplet Kahnt.,  
cui adsentitur Klotzius coll. Att. ii. 16, 3;  
*honestatemeque et dign.* coll. Att. vii. 11, 1  
Boot., quod probat Wes.

EP. LII. (ATT. II. 25).

1. volam] om. M<sup>1</sup>.  
mihi] M<sup>2</sup>; *nichil* M<sup>1</sup>; *nihil* CRI.  
non quo faceret] del. M; supplet C.  
Hortalus] ZI; *hortatus* M.  
quam plena] (superscr. 'al. quasi') M.  
2. nostra fert] *nostra transfert* I, qui  
error ex *dittographia* sine dubio ortus est.

EP. LIII. (Q. F. I. 2).

1. a. d.] *ad* M, ut saepissime.  
direptum iri te] M<sup>2</sup>; *erit* M<sup>1</sup>; *esse* I.  
sui] Sch.; *tui* M.  
3. prudentia] Or.; *prudentic* M; *aeta-*  
*tis, imperii, prudentiae* KI.  
ἀφελῶς] ἀσφαλῶς M, quem mire se-  
quitur Btr.; ἀφελῶς, Or. qui hanc esse  
Med. lectionem, ut videtur, credit; ἀφε-  
λῶς, ut certissimam correctionem, reposui  
ego.

protulisse] I, Btr.; *potuisse* M; *posu-*  
*isse* Wes. KI.

enim] *tamen* M<sup>1</sup>.

vellent] Ern.; *velint* M.

severitati] *veritati* M.

4. cui quoniam] *qui quoniam* M.

Blandeno] ego; *blainde* M; *Planindeno*  
C; vid. infra § 5 adn. in verba *† nobiliorem*  
*† prope quam civitatem suam.*

Zeuxide] *teuxide* M<sup>1</sup>.

commendari] *comodari* M<sup>1</sup>.

Dionysopolitas] Ursin.; *Dionysitas* CM.

inimicissimi] *in. mei* M; mei del. Man.

Apameensem] KI.; *Apamensem* M.

Hephaestum] Man.; *ephesium* M.

hominem] M; *hominum* marg.

Nymphonem] Kays.; *nymphontem*  
libri.

5. Zeuxim] marg.; *teuxim* M.

is de M. Casc.] *isdem cascelli* M.

Mysos] *smiros* M; *'mysos* cui de-  
leto substitutum est *smirneos* marg.'

(Btr.)

simile] *si mille* M<sup>1</sup>.

elicere] M<sup>2</sup>; *eligere* M<sup>1</sup>.

voluisse, quem] *vol. ultra quem* M  
(sed voc. *ultra* deleto).

† nobiliorem] verbum mihi suspectum;  
fort. *mobilior*em, vel *mollior*em ut *lulus*  
sit in nomine Blandeno (supr. § 4); vid.  
Comm.

6. censu] *incessu* M.

certo enim scio] *certo scio te enim* M;  
corr. Crat.

fumo] libri; *furno* Ursin.; *in furno*  
Wes.

renuntiari] *renuntiare* M.

ae] Btr.; *hee* M. *Hae* KI.

7. mearum] *mecum* M; 'fort. *mecum*  
*mearum*' Or.

magnum facis] (superscr. 'al. magni-  
ficis') M.

8. ut] om. M.

exorabilem] Man.; *inexorabilem* M.

scriptas ad te] *a te* M<sup>1</sup>.

ab se legi] *ad se* M<sup>1</sup>; *a se* M<sup>2</sup>.

9. tam esse audio] libri; *tam . . . esse*  
*audio* Kays.; sed vid. Comm.

10. tenerem] *texerem* con. Boot. coll.  
Fam. ix. 21, 2.

via iuris] M; quem bene tuetur KI.;  
vid. Comm.; *vis* Müller, Wes.

incommodaturum] C, KI., Madv. (De  
Fin. v. 21); *incommoda laturum* M; *in-*  
*commoda adlaturum* Gron. Btr.

11. id vehementer] MKI.; *et vehem-*  
*enter* Ern.; *itaque vehementer* Wes.

praescribas] KI.; *prescribas* M; *per-*  
*scribas* Crat., Btr., male; vid. Comm.

sed id te oro] KI.; *sed et te oro* M;  
*sed te oro* F.

hoc te] (superse. 'al. hocce') M.  
 13. τὰν] την M.  
 θανεῖν] marg.; θανεῖ M.  
 [erunt] auctore Wesenbergio dubitan-  
 ter seclusi; *erant* malit Boot.  
 † quae sunt nonnulla, sed tamen] M;  
*quaerunt nonnulla, sed tamen* ego legendum  
 censeo; *questus sum nonnulla sed tamen*  
 Wes.; vid. Comm.  
 aliqua mon.] M; *aliqua cum mon.*  
 Or.

14. Hypaepenus] Or.; *hypphemenus* M.  
 Publici] Sch.; *Publiceni* M.  
 tragoedi] seclussit Or.  
 Licinus] Boot.; *Licinius* vulg.  
 venisset, cum] *venisset et cum* M.  
 an in] R; *vel in* M.  
 quoquo modo potest] ego; *quoquo*  
*modo est* M; *potes* Bent.; vid. Comm.;  
*quoquo modo* vulg.

vel tecum deducas] ante haec verba  
 excidisse statuit *vel Romam mittas* 'simi-  
 leve aliquid quod a *vel* inciperet.' Wes.  
 Em. Alt. p. 62.

qui tam nihil sit] Or.; *qui iam nihil sit*  
 M; *qui iam nihili est (nihilist)* Wes.

15. privatum] R; *privatus* M.

Cato] C. Cato Wes.

16. equidem . . . pertimescam] Kl.;  
*equidem cum spe summa maxima tum*  
*maiore etiam anima sperent superiores fore*  
*nos confidunt animo ut in hac rep. ne casum*  
*quidem ullum pertimescant* M. Dedi in  
 textu correctionem Klotzianam; sed haud  
 scio an melius locum constituerit Madvi-  
 gius, qui legit:—*Equidem cum spe sum*  
*maxima, tum maiore etiam animo; spe, su-*  
*periores fore nos; animo ut in hac rep. ne*  
*casum quidem ullum pertimescam.* Bootius  
 (Obs. Cr. 31) locum ita restituit:—*equi-*  
*dem cum spe sum maxima tum maiore*  
*etiam animo ut sperem superiores fore nos,*  
*confidam tantum ut in hac re ne casum*  
*quidem ullum pertimescam.*

ardet studio] *ardet et studio* M.

aut languidiores] *et l.* M.

se optime ostendunt] *se optimos ost.*  
 Wes.

acerrimos] *acerbissimos* M<sup>1</sup>.

alios, hos singulares] Or.; *alios sing.*  
 M; *alios, sed hos* vulg.

#### EP. LIV. (FAM. XIII. 42).

1. CULLEOLO] Index MH; *Luceio* MH.  
 Bullidense] e codd. Regg. Lalleman-  
 dus; *Bulliones* MH et vulg.  
 satisfacturos] H; *satisfacturus* M.

#### EP. LV. (FAM. XIII. 41).

1. commodasse] H; *commendasse* M.  
 2. quin] H; *qui* M.  
 sis in eadem] *sis sin eadem* MH.

#### EP. LVI. (ATT. III. 3).

equidem] M<sup>1</sup>RI; *quidem* M<sup>2</sup>; *equidem*  
 reponenti Hofmanno assentior.  
 de] om. M<sup>1</sup>.  
 sed eo] *scilicet eo* Wes.; *sed* secludit  
 Kays.  
 ac] om. M<sup>1</sup>.

#### EP. LVII. (ATT. III. 2).

quam in fundo Sicae] *quam in fundum*  
 M; *quam fundum* C; corr. auctore Lam-  
 bino Hofm. qui confert Att. xiii. 26, 2,  
 ego . . . locum habeo nullum ubi *facilius*  
*esse possim quam Asturae.*

si te haberem] C; *si recte haberem* M<sup>2</sup>  
 in rasura; *si iter haberem* I.

tota] M; *tanta* Wes.

Naris Luc.] Kl.; *Naris Luc.* libri;  
 [ad] *Naris Luc.* Boot.; *in oris Luc.* (Luca-  
 niae) Bos.

#### EP. LVIII. (ATT. III. 4).

correctum] C; *confectum* M.  
 ultra] M; *intra* M<sup>2</sup>.

Illo . . . liceret] *illoc pervenire non*  
*licere* M<sup>1</sup>; *illo cum mari pervenire non*  
*liceret* (coll. Planc. 96) Boot.; fort. (coll.  
 eodem loco) *illo cum per ventum ire non*  
*liceret*, vel potius *mihi non liceret*; inse-  
 rendum est *mihi*; latet enim ut videtur  
*mihi sub pervenire.* Bootius nunc ita  
 verba epistolae ponit—*ut mihi ultra quin-*  
*genta milia liceret esse, illo pervenire non*  
*liceret.* Statim (Obs. Cr. 45).

et quod] om. M<sup>1</sup>; fort. delenda haec  
 verba.

#### EP. LIX. (ATT. III. 1).

interesse] *interesset* M<sup>1</sup>.  
 consequerere] Wes.; *consequere* vulg.  
 quod eo facilius] Wes.; vulg. om.  
 quod eo; sed habent edd. Crat. Lamb.  
 Bos.; et codd. Regg. *quod facilius* suppe-  
 ditant; unde colligit Wes. *quod eo habu-*  
*isse* Z et C.

## EP. LX. (ATT. III. 5).

amasti, ut eodem] M; om. *ut* vulg.;  
tu eodem Wes.; sed recte se habet M;  
vid. Comm.

data VIII. Id.] M; iv. Corrad.; iix.  
Ern.

Thurii] *thuri* M; *Thuriis* Kl; sed  
vid. Comm.

## EP. LXI. (ATT. III. 6).

pertinuit in eis] M<sup>2</sup>; *pertinuit meis*  
M<sup>1</sup>; *pertinuisset, ut in marg.*; *pertinuisset, in eis* Boot.

et ut] M; *ut et* Man.; sed vid. Comm.

## EP. LXII. (FAM. XIV. 4).

1. cupidi fuissemus] H; *fuisse* M.  
si haec] MH; *sin haec* B.

3. profecti sumus] *profectissimus* MH.  
a. d. ii. Kal.] *ad v K.* MH; *pridie*  
Kal. audacius Sch.; corr. Rutilius, quem  
sequitur Wes.

quid enim . . . confectam] optime  
Wes.; *quid nunc rogem te, ut venias, mulierem . . . confectam* vulg.

rem adiuves] MH; *re adiuves* Lamb.,  
Btr.; *Romae adiuves* Koch.

deest] H; est M.

iste vero sit . . . complexu meo] fort.  
*tuo pro meo, vel est pro sit*; lect. vulg., ut  
quae neminem adhuc offenderit, in textu  
exhibui; sed haereo in *meo*; num hoc  
sibi velle putandus est Tullius: *iste* (Cicero  
puer) *semper sit hoc amore dignus quo eum*  
*nunc foveo?* (Nam errant quibus filium  
exsili sui socium optare Cicero videtur).  
Sed hic sensus in his verbis vix reperien-  
dus est. At si *tuo pro meo* legeris, puerum  
Terentiae commendat; si *est pro sit*,  
quanto amore absentem foveat testatur;  
et aptissima evadit utrobique sententia.

4. liberata] MH; *liberanda* Or. Wes.  
nemo] *Mnemo* coni. Sch.

abisset] Lamb.; *abesset* MH.

pertineret] Gron.; *pertinerent* MH.

5. ut potes honestissime. Viximus]  
Madv.; *ut potes. Honestissime viximus*  
Btr. Wes. \* *non pro ut H.*  
quamquam ferenda non] H; non om. M;  
*quando ferenda sunt* Man.

atqui] Wes.; *atque* vulg.

6. vincit] Ern.; *vincet* MH.

quod potes] MH; *quoad potes* vulg.;  
sed vid. Comm.

## EP. LXIII. (ATT. III. 7).

xiv] om. M<sup>1</sup>.

diei] M; *die* C.

esset consilium] Bent.; *sed (set?) cons.*  
M; *et cons.* Hofm.

sed itineris] M<sup>2</sup>; *sit itineris* M<sup>1</sup>; *sic*  
*itineris* codd. Helmstad. et Oxon.; fort.  
hic *at sic* et supra pro *esset consilium* le-  
gendum *et consilium*, sive *sed ut consilium*  
. . . *sic itineris*.

nam castellum] C; *natura castellum*  
M<sup>1</sup> R; *nam ad marg.*

petere] Ursin.; *peterem* M.

Athenas] *Achaia* Sch.

2. non tam ad med. quam] M; *non*  
*iam ad med. sed* Bosius.

3. nec ubi visurus nec quo modo dimis-  
surus sim] ego; *nec modo visurus nec ubi*  
*dim.* M<sup>1</sup> RI; *nec ubi modo visurus, &c.*,  
M<sup>2</sup>; unde ego (*quomodo et ubi transposi-*  
*tis*) legendum censeo *nec ubi visurus nec*  
*quomodo dimissurus sim*; huiusmodi  
sensum captantes coniecerant pro *ubi*  
*dimissurus* Or. uti, Sch. qui, Wes. quo.

Brundisii] *Brundisi* M; *Brundisio* Kl;  
et simili audacia supra *Thuriis* pro *Thuri*  
scribit, et infra sexies *Thessalonica* pro  
*Medicee Thessalonicae*. Apud omnes hos  
locos codicis auctoritatem obtineo, cuius  
rei apud singulos locos mentionem facere  
supersedebam.

## EP. LXIV. (ATT. III. 8).

1. proficiscens scripseram] Apud Med.  
haec sunt verba superioris epistolae extre-  
ma; corr. Bos.; *Brundisii* cum M om.  
Btr.

esset] *est et* M.

itinere] *itineris* M.

2. tu altera epistola] marg.; *tua li-*  
*tera epistolam* M<sup>1</sup>; *tua epistola* M<sup>2</sup>.

audire te] Lamb.; *audire* M; *audiri*  
Bos.

postularetur] Bos.; *postularet* M.  
conturbor] *conturber* M, fort. recte.  
Phaëtho libertus eum] *phetolibeum* M<sup>1</sup>;  
*pheton libertus eum* marg.

ab Ilío] Madv., et F (teste Wes.);  
vulg. *ab illo*.

3. nunc ad ea] *nunc audi ad ea* Wes.  
sed ubi? Nondum] Boot.; *sed ubi*  
*nondum* vulg.

4. inconstantia] M<sup>2</sup>; *constantia* M<sup>1</sup>.  
motum . . . commotus] *qui, etsi . . .*  
*adfectus, sum tamen non tam ex miseria . . .*  
*commotus* Btr., fort. recte; sed vid. Comm.  
ad. Ep. lxiii. fin.

simus] M<sup>2</sup>; *sumus* M<sup>1</sup>.  
maerori] *errori* Madv. Adv. Cr. iii., 169.

eventi] *eventum* Wes. fort. recte.  
memoria] M<sup>2</sup>; *memor* M<sup>1</sup>.  
misi tibi] M<sup>2</sup>; *misit tibi* M<sup>1</sup>.  
Iunias] M<sup>2</sup>; *Maías* M<sup>1</sup>

EP. LXV. (ATT. III. 9).

1. Idibus] *idus Maías* M.  
potui] *potuit* M.  
luctu afflictas] fort. *luctu afflicti* cf. *tuum pectus hominis simplicis* Phil. II. 111, et vid. sup. Ep. XVI. 1.  
lectores] M<sup>2</sup>; *lectores* M<sup>1</sup>; *letiores* marg. R.  
2. quae] *et quae* M; *et quae* R.  
nos non] *nos om.* M<sup>1</sup>.  
ista] Sch.; *ita* M; *ista ita* Wes.  
infirma] I; *firma* M.  
tempore] R; *genere* CM.  
3. mihi etiam unum] 'fort. iam' Or.

EP. LXVI. (Q. FR. I. 3).

1. ceciderunt] *acciderunt*, coll. Att i., 5, 1, Madv. Adv. Cr. iii., 193.  
noluerim] M<sup>2</sup>; *voluerim* M<sup>1</sup>.  
utinam te . . . reliquissem] *verba vitae et dignitatis transponenda esse censet Ern.*; sed etiam post transpositionem laborat sententia. Fort. scripsit Tullius *utinam te non dignitatis sed vitae superstitem reliquissem*; vid. Comm.  
2. qua in re] C; *quare* M, vulg.  
defenderet] *deffenderet* M.  
iracundiam causam] Lamb.; *iracundiae causa* M.  
3. certo] Crat.; *certe* M.  
suavitate fratrem prope aequalem] Ern.: *suavitate prope fratrem prope aequalem* MR; *suavitate prope aequalem* Petrarcha, Kl.; *suavitate aequalem* malim; vid. Comm.  
effigiem oris] *effigie moris* M.  
quod filium] Wes.; *quid filium* M;  
*quid quod fil.* alii.  
dimisi] *diuisi* M.  
miser iam] marg.; *miseriam* M.  
quod vero] *quid* M; corr. Wes.  
quod imag.] *quid ymag.* M; corr. ego.  
quem] Man.; *quam* M.  
et iam] M superse.; *etiam* M (in textu).

4. praesidio] *in praesidio* Madv. Adv. Cr. iii., 194, comparatis quae leguntur ad Att. iii., 9, 1.

miseriusve videtur] Büch.; *ve om.* M; *ac miserius* vulg.

5. agi] *agere* (superscr. 'al. agi') M.

6. genere ipso pecuniae] *genero ipso, pecunia* Man.; sed *refragatur verborum ordo, et friget pecunia post copiis.*

7. quid ad me] *quod ad me* M.

tu de visceribus] *tu inseruit* Wes. quem secutus sum. Fort. tamen legendum *sento quid sceleris admiserim, quon, cum de visceribus tuis et filii tui satis facturus sis quibus debes, ego . . . dissiparim.* Excidere potuit *quod ante cum.* et M. Ant.] M<sup>2</sup>; *et inde Ant.* M<sup>1</sup>; *tamen inde et Ant.* Wes.

tantumdem] *tantidem* M.

8. Q.] Wes.; *quoque* M.

destitutus] *destitutis* M<sup>1</sup>; *quorum ego consiliis promissis deceptus destitutus* Boot. coll. *decepit destituit* Rosc. Am. 117.

9. utinam ne experiare] Btr.; *utinam exp.* M; *utinam non exp.* vulg.

in quibus] Ern.; *in quibus non modo* M; *in quibus omnibus* Kl.

10. adferet] *afferret* M.

sis fortis] *ac sis fortis* Btr.

patiat] M; *patietur* Kl.

EP. LXVII. (ATT. III. 10).

1. usque ad a. d.] Btr.; *usque ad* M; *usque a. d.* Or. Kl.

opperiar] *operiar* M.

sin, ut tu scribis] *ut tu scribis: sin* Sch. *perperam*; vid. Comm.

2. equod . . . equis] *et quod . . . et quis ut saepissime* M.

tam ex amplo statu] *ex tam amplo statu* I; *tam extemplo a statu* (in rasura) M.

tam in bona] *tam om.* M.

vivus [non] amitterem] *virus amitterem* C; *non seclusi ego*; vid. Comm.; *non aut retinerem . . . aut certe vivus non amitterem* Madv. Adv. Crit. II. 235.

3. eoque] M<sup>2</sup>; *et quae* M<sup>1</sup>.

quod et maerore impediatur et quod expectem] *durior est ellipsis particulae coniunctivae quod ante quod expectem*; fort. legendum *quod et maerore impediatur et quod expecto istinc magis quam habeo quod ipse scribam*; cf. Ep. Ixix. fin.

## EP. LXVIII. (ATT. III. 11).

tenebant] M<sup>2</sup> RI vulg.; tenebat M<sup>1</sup>  
Wes.  
te certiozem] om. M<sup>1</sup>.

## EP. LXIX. (ATT. III. 12).

1. proponi scribis] proponis. Scribis  
M.  
siletur] sileri Mal.  
2. puto posse] marg.; puto esse M.  
3. ut scribis] 'fort. scis' Or.; haec  
verba post intellego transponit Sch.; sine  
causa uterque; vid. Comm.  
significarim] Vict.; significarem M.  
† si donatam ut] M; sidona tamen te  
I; sidona tamen ut A; venires Dodona,  
tamen intellego Mal.; venires in Macedo-  
niam tamen Popma; venires: idem tamen  
intellego Man.; venires dudum tamen intel-  
lego Koch; ut venires, res si idonea tamen,  
nunc intellego H. A. J. Munro; scilicet tibi,  
ut scribis, significaram ut ad me venires;  
id omittamus; intelligo te Madv. Adv. Cr.  
iii. 170.  
te istic] M; te re istic Bos. cum cod.  
Oxon.

## EP. LXX. (ATT. III. 14).

et scio] MRI; etsi Bos., Mal., vulg.;  
sed vid. Comm. ubi Med. lect. a Bosio  
asserui.  
me iis] meis M, ut saepissime.  
meas spes] mea spes M.  
remorari] remorare M.  
correxerit] Lamb.; correxerint M.  
2. ii] M; ivi RI; veni Bos. Lamb.  
subito]. Bos.; subiti M.  
si aliquid] M; nisi aliquid Man.

## EP. LXXI. (ATT. III. 13).

1. neque me temporis] Ern.; neque  
temporis Bos. Mal.; neque temporis MRI.  
ductum me esse] Btr. me om. M.; fort.  
meque temporis non longinqui spe ductum  
esse non moleste feram.  
2. nec audieris] nec audieris magis  
Wes.  
tam] tum Kays.  
exitium] marg.; exitum M.  
perferentur] I; perferuntur M.

## EP. LXXII. (Q. FR. I. 4).

1. ne si] M<sup>2</sup> nisi si CM<sup>1</sup>  
fato] RI, Btr.; facto M, Wes.  
miseriaeque] Lamb.; misericordiae-  
que MRI.  
putaram] Crat.; putarem M; putabam  
Ern. quem sequitur Boot.  
amicorum . . . cautum fuit] Lacunam  
statuit Kl, cui videtur defuit excidisse;  
ita mihi nihil misero praeter fidem amico-  
rum, cautum meum consilium defuit optime  
Mal.; vid. Comm. Bootius (Obs. Cr. 32)  
om. nihil.  
3. Curius] Pighius; curtius M.  
Fabricius] Man.; gratidius M.  
4. arma] arma Clodii vel arma inimi-  
corum Büch.; coniecisset melius inimico-  
rum arma; sed nil mutandum.  
in ea] mea M, ut saepissime.  
Phaethonte] phetonti M.  
quantum] in quantum Sch.; sed vid.  
Comm.  
si levare potest] Vict.; potes I; a se  
levare potest RM.  
misericordia] misericordie M.  
5. quoad] quo aut M.  
velle] marg. (sed deletum); vel M.  
quamquam . . . difficiliora] quamquam  
sed non sunt facta verbis difficiliora M;  
verba sed non vulgo omittuntur quae in  
M quidem deleta in margine addantur;  
sed vid. Comm.  
quid opus] quod opus M.  
videbis. Omnino si] Sch.; videbis om-  
nino. Si vulg.  
nemo despexerit] qu. nemo non despex-  
erit; vel nemo respexerit; vid. Comm.  
tecum] R; mecum MI; ut mecum  
Sch.; gladiis tecum ut mecum sed L.  
Purser; vid. Comm.  
agetur] ageretur M.  
rebus] inseruit Or. coll. Ep. lxvi. 10.  
aut potius consilii] auctore Gulielmo  
Wes.; potius aut consilii vulg.

## EP. LXXIII. ATT. III. 15).

2. tam firma] tam infirma M<sup>1</sup>.  
ecquo] Mal.; et quo M; quo vulg.;  
sed creberrimus est inter t et c error, et  
praecipue in verbis equis, ecquod.  
scindam] rescindam Graev. Wes.  
simulationem aliorum] malorum M<sup>1</sup>  
corr. CM<sup>2</sup>.  
ceteros quod] Zl; ceteros quos M.  
purgati] MR, codices Oxonienses et  
Helmstadiensis; probati marg. (sed dele-  
tum est); probati I, Bos., Lamb.; sed  
vid. Comm.

3. Axis] C; *anxius* M (litt. n erasa).  
4. luxerunt] *elux*. Wes.  
profecto si] si om. M<sup>1</sup>; fort. ante  
*tantum* potius inserendum est si; post  
*amasri* excidere potuit.

*tantum* amare deberes ac deb.] *tantum*  
*amorem re exhibuisses* (adhibuisses Kays.)  
Pius; perperam, vid. Comm.; Boot. nunc  
(Obs. Cr. 46) mihi adsentitur Pii coniec-  
turam probanti et explicanti; Madv. omitti  
iubet *amare* (Adv. Cr. iii. 170.)

perferri] CM<sup>2</sup>; *proferri* M<sup>1</sup>.

tamquam ipse ego] *tamquam esses ipse*  
ego Or., ingeniose sed sine iusta causa.

potuit] libri: quam lectionem ab Orel-  
lio (cuius coniecturam oportuit edd. omnes  
amplectuntur) in Comm. asserui.

cogitares] *cogitare* M.

aut occubuissem honeste] om. M<sup>1</sup> Zl.  
quaero] *que* M.

5. te cum Culleone] scribendum est  
omnino *tecum Culleonem*; vid. Comm.

quid est firmitus] C; *sic est firmitus* M;  
*Sc. est firmitus* (hoc est, *senatus consulto*,  
quo id quod a Clodio latum esset privile-  
gium iudicaretur irritumque esse iubere-  
tur, *est firmitus* legem abrogari) Madv.  
Adv. Cr. iii. 171. O praeclaram correc-  
tionem! et praeclaram quae sequitur ad-  
monitionem! 'pusilli erroris correctio  
simul admonitionem habet, quam insis-  
tendum sit codicis Medicei vestigiis.'

idem] *eidem*, ut saepe, M.

opus est abrogari] Sch.; *opus est quam*  
*abr.* M.

defuit sed etiam] ante haec verba la-  
cunam statuit Kl.; supplet *non solum*  
Or.; sed recte se habet sententia; vid.  
Comm.

agetur] Lamb.; *ageretur* M.

6. aliquid! In quo ipso multa] Mal.;  
*aliquid, quo ipsa. Multa* M (sed verba *quo*  
*ipsa* deleta sunt, et in M<sup>2</sup> desunt); in  
*quo ipsa* A, F, *quo ipsa* R; in *quod ipsa* I.

Multa occultant] *Multa* inserui ego;  
*a'iquid! Multa occultant* Kl.; *aliquid!*  
*In quo ipso multa occultant* Wes.; *ali-*  
*quid! In quo ipso multa. Multa occultant*  
ego; vid. Comm.

iis quos] marg.; *is quo* M.

vocas. Sin] *vocassem* M<sup>1</sup>.

id quod] Kl.; *idque* M. Wes.

7. quoniamque] Asc., *quoniam quem*  
M<sup>1</sup>; *quoniam quom* M<sup>2</sup>.

[in me] seclisut Ern.; *iam* substituit  
Or.; *summe vel acerrime* Kays.

me meosque meis] marg.; *me meis*  
M; *me meos* meis Bos.; *me meos tradidi*  
Boot.

communiter] '*coiter* (cum arcu super  
litteris oi, i.e. *communiter*) M,' Btr.; *com-*

*muniter* R, I, Wes.; *comiter* Lamb., et cod.  
Balliolensis (teste Wes.), et vulg.; orta  
est lectio *comiter* ex verbo perperam lecto  
in Med.; Orellius, qui sensit male inter se  
cohaerere verba lectionis vulgatae, cum  
aut oburgare *comiter* aut consolari *desine*  
coniecisset, non sensit se contra codicem  
accinctum esse.

*tantum amari*] M; *tantum me amari* Or.  
*exitium*] marg.; *exitum* M.

#### EP. LXXIV. (ATT. III. 16).

alind aliquid] Wes.; *aliud quid* M.

quae cum] Kl.; *que cum* M<sup>2</sup>; *quam*  
*cum* M<sup>1</sup>; *quod cum* Z.

lectae] M; *laetae* Z; vid. Comm.

itaque] M<sup>2</sup>; *idque* M<sup>1</sup>.

scies] Wes.; *scis* vulgo.

ut putabis] inseruit Kl.

Kal.] *Kal Apriles* M; *Kal. Sept.* Kl.;  
corr. Btr.

#### EP. LXXV. (ATT. III. 17).

1. nec varii] M<sup>2</sup>; *nervarii* M<sup>1</sup>.

Non. Iun. usque] M<sup>2</sup>; *nonum usque*  
M<sup>1</sup>.

Livineius] Vict.; *Livinus* C; *ei ve-*  
*niens* (sed *ei* deletum est) M.

libertus] per compendium l. CM.

isque] *tristisque* Kays.

mihi a Q. fratre] Kl.; *mihi* (ut saepe)  
*qm frater* M; obelum appono, ut cui dis-  
pliceat Klotzii coniectura; nam si M.  
Cicero fratris litteras accepisset, cur nunc  
de tota re dubitaret?

Appii quaestio] M<sup>2</sup>; *appispectio* M<sup>1</sup>.

3. hortor] *hortor* M<sup>1</sup>.

vereare] Wes., Btr.; *vereri* Zl; om.  
M.

#### EP. LXXVI. (ATT. III. 18).

1. actorem] Zl; *autorem* M.

2. fac me] Btr.; *me fac.* vulg.

#### EP. LXXVII. (ATT. III. 19).

1. Quoad] Vict.; *quod* M.

ire nolui] M<sup>2</sup>; *revolui* M<sup>1</sup>.

interesset quae esset] Müll.; *qualis*  
*esset* Wes. coll. *qualis esset natura montis*,  
Caes. B. G. I, 21; *non quo mea interesset*  
*loci natura* vulg., vix Latine; *loci natura*  
*frui* Kays.; sed Mülleri coniecturam com-  
mendat ductus litterarum.



sed et ad salutem] Bos.; *sed et salutem* M<sup>1</sup>; *sed ut saltem* M<sup>2</sup>.  
ero] om. M.

2. quantum] *in quantam* Ern., sed vid. Comm. in Ep. lxxii. § 4.

ac tamen] Wes.; *attamen* vulg.; et levissima est mutatio.

agi, quoquo] *ago quoquo* M<sup>1</sup>; *ego quoquo* M<sup>2</sup>; corr. Sch.

[Terentiae] hoc verbum et mulieris infra secluit Boot.

3. me coactum] M<sup>1</sup>; *mecum actum*.

ut ipse] M<sup>2</sup>; *si ipse* M<sup>1</sup>.

et pueros] fort. et secludendum; secluit et in fine ep. sequentis Wes.; sed hic etiam magis offendit et, quod cum verbis affectus et perturbationis plenis nudum et frigidum de pueris mandatum copulat.

#### Ep. LXXVIII. (ATT. III. 20).

1. amoenissimis] om. M<sup>1</sup>.

maxima] Corrad.; *maxime* M.

Epiro] *epyro* M<sup>2</sup>; *eperio* M<sup>1</sup>.

2. si ea modo] M<sup>2</sup>; *sic amodo* M<sup>1</sup>.

3. scribas tuosque omnes] C; *scribas que omnis* M<sup>1</sup>; *scribas omnisque* M<sup>2</sup>.

ferri] Crat.; *ferre* M.

scribi, et id] et secluit Wes.

#### Ep. LXXIX. (FAM. XIV. 2).

1. plura scripsit, cui puto] *malim scripsit, plura cui puto rescribi oportere*.

quid] MH; quod B, Crat., Btr., vulg.

2. casum eiusmodi] *casum esse eiusmodi* Ern., quod malim.

subleventur] H; *sublevantur* MB.

mea culpa] H; *me culpa* M.

3. partem te miseram] H; te om. M, qui parte miseram habet.

conficietur] Wes.; *conficitur* vulg.

sin . . . proicies] om. H.

miseram] *miseram* MB.

attinet, sine] H; *attinet et sine* M.

4. aut ad eos] *aut [ad eos]* Wes.

quoniam] *quam* M; *quando* H.

#### Ep. LXXXI. (ATT. III. 21).

casum] Pius; *causam* M.

planissime] CM<sup>1</sup>; *plenissime* marg.

#### Ep. LXXXI. (ATT. III. 22).

1. simus] M<sup>2</sup>; *scimus* M<sup>1</sup>.

2. affert] marg.; *asserit* M.  
sperasset] Wes.; *speraret* M; *sperarit* soloecus Ern.

profectum] M, Wes.; vulg. *perfectum*.

3. luctu desiderio] *luctu, desiderio* vulg.; sed vid. Comm.

desiderio omnium meorum] *cum omnium* (sed voc. *cum* deleto) rerum M; *omnium meorum* qui Stuerenburgius: 'fort. *desiderio cum omnium rerum tum meorum qui*' Btr.

fuerunt] *fuerant* M.

4. et quod mei] et quod et mei M.

cuicumodi] Vict.; *cuicumodo* M.

#### Ep. LXXXII. (FAM. XIV. 1).

3. Hispo] N, quod probo; *hypso* H (quod valde mihi commendat hunc codicem); *ipso* MH; *ipse* Benedictus; *Piso* Man. Wes.; vid. Comm.

4. de Q. fratre] *deque fratre* MH.

volui esse] *voluisse* MH; *voluissem* H<sup>3</sup>.  
Vide ne temere hanc lectionem repudies.

5. vendituram] HH<sup>3</sup>; *venditurum* M.

premet] *perimet* Madv. Adv. Crit. iii. p. 164.

deerit] *derit* M; *perit* H; fort. recte; dicere potuit Tullius pecunia non perit, hoc est, *pecunia tibi salva est*.

per fortunas] *per te fortunas* Or.

perditum perdamus] *perditum eamus* Andr. Schottus.

7. conferam; ad te scribam] *conferam: quo ad te scribam* coni. Wes.

#### Ep. LXXXIII. (ATT. III. 23).

1. Decembr.] *septembr.* M.

quid putes utilitatis] *quid potest* CM.

attulisse scribis] M; *perscribis* A, F, Lamb.

a novis mag.] Man.; *a nostris mag.* MRI.

2. illud ipsum abrogatur] *abrogaretur* M.

quo minus] Kl.; *quo non* Mal.; *quo modo* M, cui lectioni patrocinatur Btr.; sed vid. Comm.

3. hoc quod re vera ita est] Büch.; *quod re vera ita sit* M.

plebisve scita] *pl. ve sc.* M.

QUODVE EI QUI] Ant. Augustinus; *quod vel qui* M; *quodve qui . . . ob eam rem poena ei multare siet* Th. Mommsen.

MULTAEVE SIT] *multae ut sit* CM.

E. H. L. N. R.] Man.; *eh mr* vel *eh inr* M; EH INR. C.

4. quo maior est] M<sup>2</sup>; *com auo res est* M<sup>1</sup>.

praescriptum] *perscriptum* M; *proscr.* R.

quod si] M; *quo si* Madv., quem sequuntur edd. recc. prope omnes; sed vid. Comm.

uterentur] Asc.; om. M.

Ut Ninnium] *ut* Mal., *Ninnium* Vict.; *aut nimum* M: *aut Numium* R; ingeniose sane sed audacius Hofm. *quo si opus esset omnes in abrogando uti mirum ut ceteros fugerit.*

attulerit] *addiderit* vel *adiiecit* Gron.

scilicet quod] *Lallemandus*; *sive quod* M; lacunam intercedere statuit Kl.

iidem] *et idem* M<sup>2</sup>; *eidem* M<sup>1</sup>, Zl.

fuerint] Bos; *fuerunt* M.

modo res conficiatur] *modo reconficiatur* M<sup>1</sup>.

scripsit Visellius] *scripsit T. Visellius* M per dittographiam.

5. perfringatur] M; *perfringantur* I; *perfungatur* codex Helmstadiensis; *perfungamur* Graev.

quid eum] *quidem* M.

cui] M<sup>2</sup>; *quo* M<sup>1</sup>.

tueare] Man.; *tuere* M.

aerumnosissimam] *erumpnosissimam* M.

#### EP. LXXXIV. (FAM. XIV. 3).

1. nec me meae] Crat.; *nec me* M; *nec meae* ne H.

2. conficior] H; *confitiar* M.

vester et] *verteret* MH.

3. ut tuto] M; *ut in tuto* Wes.; vid. Comm.

in his tantis] *instantis* M; *in tantis* H.

Dexippo] *desippo* MH.

tribunis pl.] *t. r. p. l.* MH.

4. posses scribere] *posset scribere* H; *posse scribere* M.

huc ut] Kl.; *ut ut* M; *ut huc* Or.; *ut sine huc* H.

5. te istie] *et istie* MH.

exspectare] *spectare* MH.

#### EP. LXXXV. (ATT. III. 24).

1. cum] marg.; *quam* M.  
videretur] Lamb.; *videtur* M.  
ac videntur iure] M<sup>2</sup>; *ea cui dentur vires* M<sup>1</sup>.

ei qui] Or.; *et qui* M.

vestra] Corrad. et Gron.; *nostra* M.

praesertim cum ita] *praesertim ea ita* M<sup>1</sup>; *praesertim cum ea ita* M<sup>2</sup>; *praesertim cum ei ita* Kays.

sin velint] Ern.; *sin vellent* M.

nihil posse se invitis] M; *nihil posse eis invitis* I, quod proba; vid. Comm.

ni] M<sup>2</sup>; *ne* M<sup>1</sup>.

idem] M<sup>2</sup>; *eidem* M<sup>1</sup>.

2. Qua erat] Or.; *que* (i. e. quae) erat M.

mirum est] Lamb.; *mirum si* M.

deponeret] *deposuerat* Boot.; male, vid. Comm.

hos cum tamen tenere] *hos tamen tenere* M: *hos cum tenere* I; corr. Ern.

amiserimus] *miserimus* M.

#### EP. LXXXVI. (ATT. III. 25).

† a me † discessum] M; *a meis discessum* Kahnt.; fort. *ad me discessum*; vid. Comm.

perspicio] Vict.; *prospicio* M.

accipies] M<sup>2</sup>; *acciperes* M<sup>1</sup>.

salutis] Vict.; *saluti* M.

aut ne omnia] M<sup>2</sup>; *aut omnia* M<sup>1</sup>.

Kal.] *halleri* M.

#### EP. LXXXVII. (ATT. III. 26).

senatus consulto] *s. c.* M.

et, si] *et* om. I, secludit Wes.

#### EP. LXXXVIII. (ATT. III. 27).

Haec ep. in Med. deleta.

tui mei indigebunt] Btr.; *tui meis indulgebant* M; *indulgebunt* R; *tui mei indulgeant* I.

#### EP. LXXXIX. (FAM. V. 4).

1. Litterae Quinti Fratris] H; *litteraeq. fratris*, et infra (§ 2) *mihique frater* (ut saepe) M; sed H (§ 2) *Quintus* habet.

mei] H; *met* M.

obstrepere] H; *obsterpere* M.

ad te litteras] *te* om. T.

2. in senatu] H; *in senatum* M.

fert] *feret* coni. Wes.; sed vid. Comm.

mecum serves] MH; *me conserves*  
 T. donares] MH Kl; *condonares* Martyni-  
 Laguna, et edd. recc. plerique.  
 contra] H; *contram* M.  
 sin] *si* cum libris Wes.  
 magistratus] Martyni-Laguna; *magis-*  
*tratum* MH.  
 reservandorum] MH; *servandorum* Lal-  
 lemandus; *conservandorum* Man.; *cum*  
*velis reservare ipsum omnium conservatorem*

(i. e. Ciceronem) audacius Martyni-La-  
 guna; fort. *omnium reip.* (i. e. reipubli-  
 cae) *reservandorum* vel paullo audacius  
*nominum reip. reservandorum*; cf. or. pro  
 Flac. 106, *nomen clarissimuz reipublicae*  
*reservate*; vid. Comm. Madv. (Adv. Crit.  
 iii. p. 157), prave pro *si volueris dici cum*  
*velis* declarans, locum sic scribit:—*vide ne*  
*tum velis revocare tempus omnium servan-*  
*dorum cum, quia qui servetur non erit, non*  
*possis.*

# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

## USED IN *ADNOTATIO CRITICA*.

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*The Editors mentioned very rarely are referred to in the Adn. Crit. by their full names.]*

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- Corr. = *correx*it; corr. Vict. means Victorius suggested the emended reading which appears in the text.  
 fort. = *fortasse* (i. e. perhaps the right reading is "so and so"); qu. indicates a less degree of probability.  
 om. = *omisit*.  
 coni. = *coniec*it or *coniectura* (in all its cases).  
 lect. = *lectio* (in all its cases).  
 Comm. = *Commentarium* (in all its cases), that is, the English foot-notes.  
 Adn. Crit. = *Adnotatio Critica* (in all its cases).  
 del. = *delevit*.  
 ins. = *inscruit*.  
 M = codex Mediceus.  
 M<sup>1</sup> = codex M *a prima manu*.  
 M<sup>2</sup> = codex M *a secunda manu*.  
 marg. = codex M *secundum correctionem marginalem*.  
 H = codices Harleiani (described in Introd., pp. 74 ff., and in Pref. to ed. 2).  
 H<sup>3</sup> = codex Harleianus (2591 in Mus. Brit.) saec. xi.  
 T = codex Turonensis (described in Introd., pp. 78 ff.).  
 B = an Italian *codex*, supposed to belong to the 15th century.  
 C = codex Cratandrinus.  
 c = editio Cratandrina (1528).  
 Crat. = Cratander.  
 W = codex Viceburgiensis.  
 Z = codex Tornaesianus.  
 Zl = codex Tornaesianus teste Lambino.  
 Zb = codex Tornaesianus teste Bosio.  
 X, Y = Pseudo-codices Bosiani (commonly called respectively codex Crusellinus and Decurtatus).  
 A = codex Antonianus.  
 F = codex Faërninus.  
 E = codex Erfurtensis.

- R = editio princeps Romana (Rome, 1470).  
 I = editio Iensoniana (Venice, 1470).  
 N = ed. Neapolitana (Naples, 1474).  
 Min. = ed. of Minutianus (Milan, 1489).  
 Asc. = editio Ascensiana (Paris, 1522).  
 Vict. = Victorius (Venice, 1536-1571).  
 Hervag. = editio Hervagiana (Bale, 1540).  
 Corrad. = Corradus (*Epp. ad Att.* Venice, 1544).  
 Mur. = Muretus (*Variae Lectiones*, Venice and Paris, 1559-86).  
 Mal. = Malaspina (Venice, 1564).  
 Lamb. = Lambinus (Paris, 1566; 2nd, 1584, with notes of Orsini).  
 Ursin. = Orsini.  
 Man. = Ed. of Manutius (Ald. 1575; Ven. 1579).  
 Bos. = Simeo Bosius (*Epp. ad Att.* Limoges, 1580).  
 Grut. = Gruter (Hamburgh, 1618).  
 Graev. = Graevius (Amsterdam, 1677).  
 Gron. = Gronovius (Lyons, 1692).  
 Ern. = Ernesti (Leipsic, 1737).  
 Facc. = Facciolati (Padua, 1738).  
 Sch. = Schütz (Halle, 1809).  
 Bent. = Bentivoglio (Milan, 1820).  
 Or. = Orelli (Zurich, 1845).  
 Math. = Matthiae (Leipsic, 1849).  
 k = Klotz (1st ed. Teubner, Leipsic, 1858).  
 Kl. = Klotz (2nd ed., Teubner, Leipsic, 1869, 1870).  
 Hofm. = Hoffmann, *Ausgewählte Briefe* (Berlin, 1860).  
 Boot. = I. C. G. Boot (*Epp. ad Att.* Amsterdam, 1865).  
 Boot, Obs. } = Boot's *Observationes Criticae ad Cic. Epp.* (Amsterdam, 1880).  
 Crit. }  
 Müll. = C. F. W. Müller (Progr. Landsberg, 1865).  
 Btr. = Baiter & Kayser's ed. (Leipsic, 1867).  
 Kays. = Kayser.  
 Koch. = Koch (Einladungs Programm, May, 1868).  
 Büch. = Bücheler (*Q. Cic. Reliquiae*, Teubner, Leipsic, 1868, and *Mus Rhen.* xi.).  
 Madv. = Madvig (*Adversaria Critica*, vol. i., ii., Copenhagen, 1871-73; vol. iii., 1884).  
 Euss. = Eussner, (*Commentariolum Petitionis*, Wurzburg, 1872).  
 Wes. = Wesenberg (Teubner, Leipsic, 1872, 3).  
 Em. Alt. = Wesenberg's *Emendationes Alterae* Teubner, Leipsic, 1873.  
 Peerlk. = Peerlkamp.  
 Pluyg. = Pluygers.  
 Alan. = Alanus (Henry Allen, Trin. Coll. Dub.).

# ORDER OF LETTERS.

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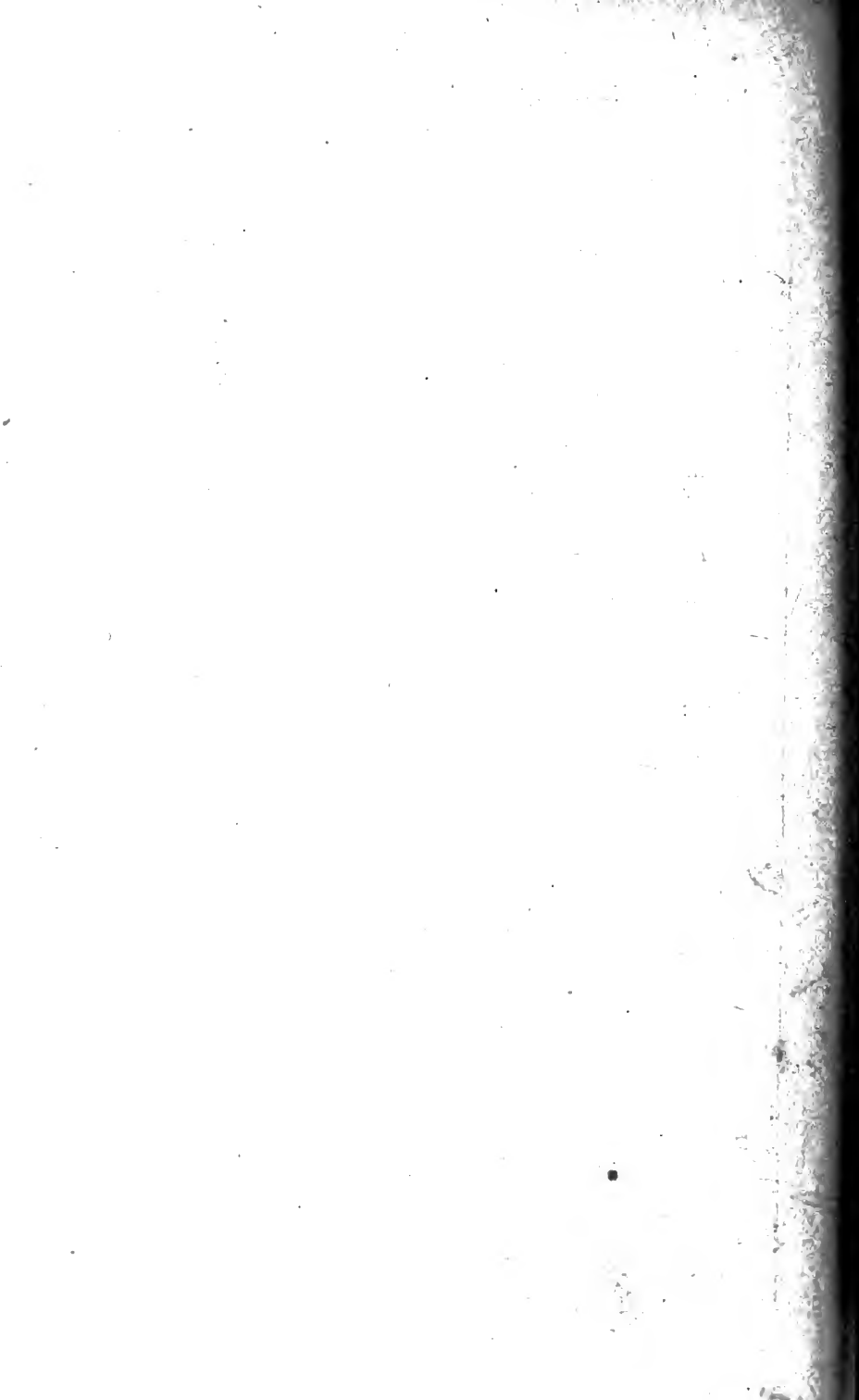
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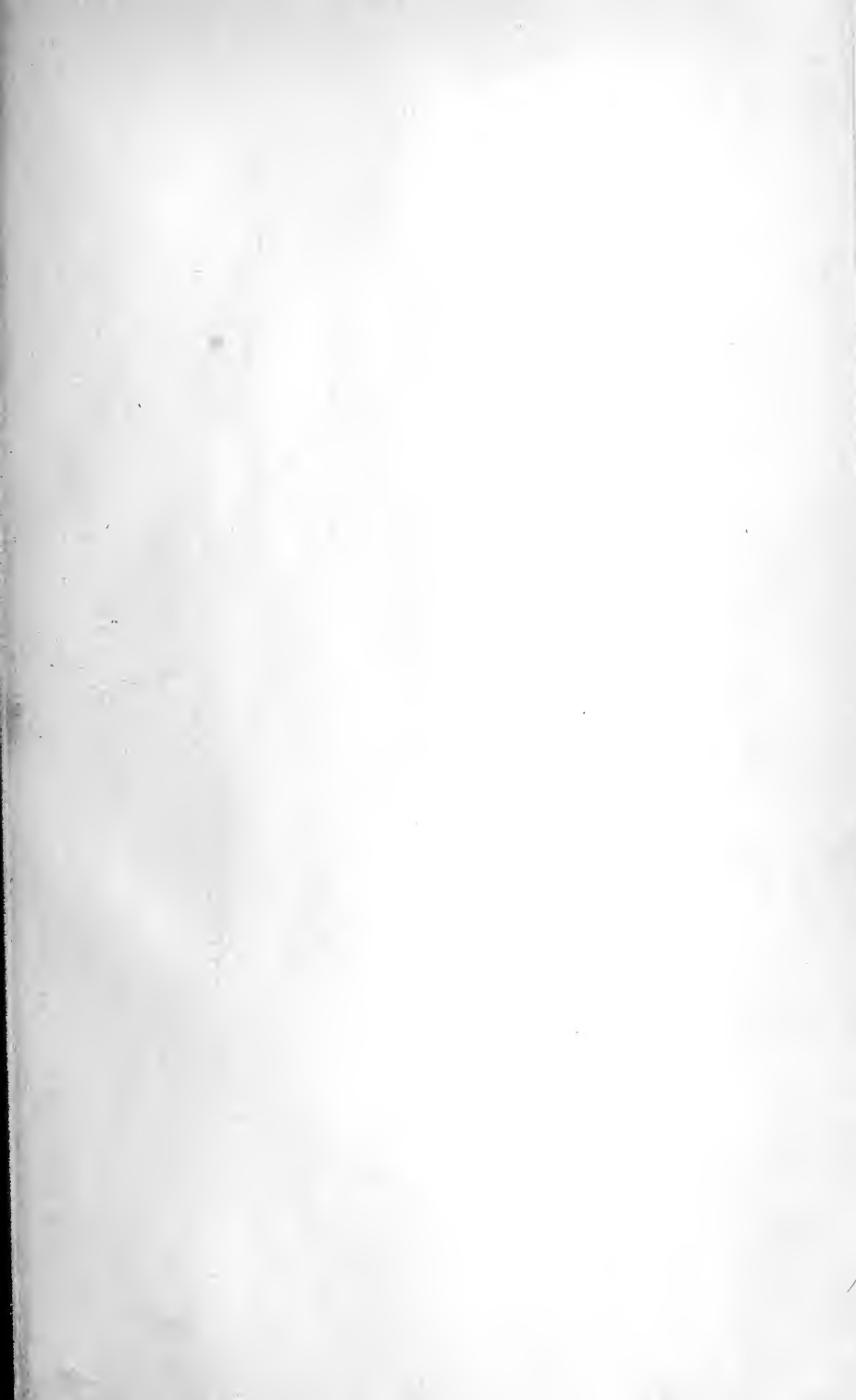
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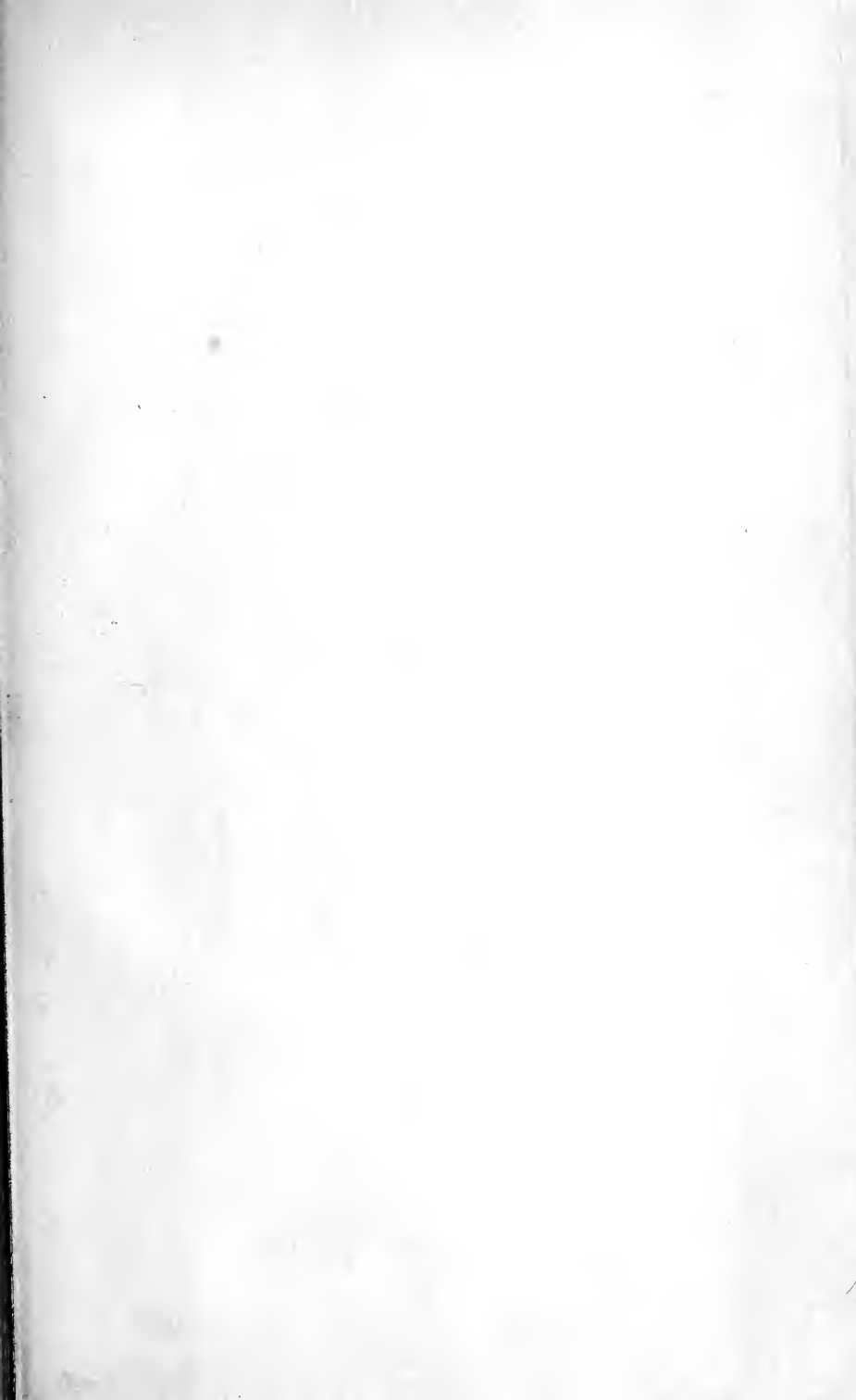
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